تاریخ فرشتہ

History of the Rise of the Mohamedan Power in India

Till the Year A.D. 1612

Translated from the Original Persian of

MOHAMED KASIM FERISHTA

Vol. III



JOHN BRIGGS
M.R.A.S.

HISTORY OF THE RISE OF THE MAHOMEDAN POWER IN INDIA

TILL THE YEAR A.D. 1612

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL PERSIAN OF

MAHOMED KASIM FERISHTA

by

JOHN BRIGGS, M.R.A.S.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL IN THE MADRAS ARMY

TO WHICH IS ADDED
AN ACCOUNT OF THE CONQEST
BY THE KINGS OF HYDRABAD
OF THOSE PARTS OF THE MADRAS PROVINCES DENOMINATED
THE CEDED DISTRICTS AND NORTHERN CIRCARS

WITH COPIOUS NOTES

In Four Volumes (Bound in Two)

VOL. III

LOW PRICE PUBLICATIONS

Delhi - 110 052

CONTENTS

CHAPTER III (CONTINUED)

SECTION II

HISTORY OF THE KINGS OF BEEJAPOOR, DENOMINATED ADIL SHAH

YOOSOOF ADIL SHAH

ISMAEL ADIL SHAH

IBRAHIM ADIL SHAH I.

ALLY ADIL SHAH

IBRAHIM ADIL SHAH II.

SECTION III

HISTORY OF THE DYNASTY OF THE KINGS OF AHMUDNUGGOUR, DENOMINATED NIZAM SHAHY

AHMUD NIZAM SHAH

BOORHAN NIZAM SHAH I

HOOSSEIN NIZAM SHAH I.

IBRAHIM NIZAM SHAH

AHMUD, THE SON OF SHAH TAHIR

BAHADUR NIZAM SHAH

MOORTUZA NIZAM SHAH II.

SECTION IV

HISTORY OF THE KINGS OF GOLCONDA, ENTITLED KOOTB SHAHY

SOOLTAN KOOLLY KOOTB SHAH

JUMSHEED KOOTB SHAH

IBRAHIM KOOTB SHAH

MAHOMED KOOLLY KOOTB SHAH

APPENDIX

TO THE HISTORY OF THE KINGS OF GOLCONDA

SOOLTAN KOOLLY KOOTB SHAH

MAHOMED KOOLLY KOOTB SHAH

SECTION V

HISTORY OF THE KINGS OF BERAR, ENTITLED IMAD SHAHY

FUTTEH OOLLA IMAD SHAH

ALLA-OOD-DEEN IMAD SHAH

DURIA IMAD SHAH

BOORHAN IMAD SHAH

TOOFAL KHAN

SECTION VI

THE HISTORY OF THE KINGS OF BIDUR, ENTITLED BEREED SHAHY

THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE

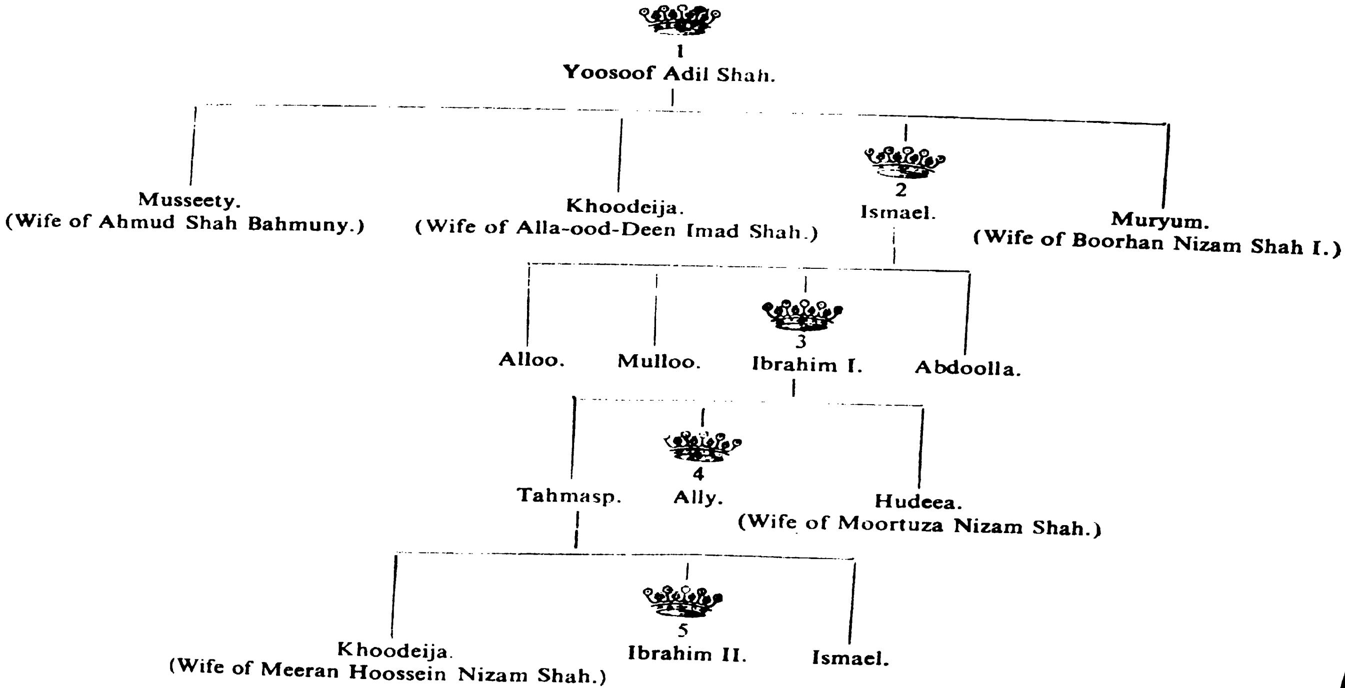
THIS humble individual, Mahomed Kasim Ferishta, desires it to be understood by those reflecting persons who peruse his work, that as the object of his labours, in the preceding part, has been to give a true account of the sovereigns of Dehly, and of the Bahmuny Kings of the Deccan, so shall his care be, in the remaining portion of it, to write a detail of the histories of all the other Mahomedan princes who have held independent sway in India. He proposes, therefore, to continue the narrative by commemorating, in the first place, the deeds of the illustrious monarchs who have reigned over Beejapoor; for the prosperity of which dynasty he constantly prays to Almighty God.

Situated as the author is, under the protection of this family, it may be supposed that he would be disposed to lavish encomiums on its ancestors, and either suppress or misrepresent facts for the purpose of obtaining pecuniary rewards; but his object is to write truth in simple and unadorned language. He has fortunately been already placed, by the bounty of his sovereign, Ibrahim Adil Shah II., above all pecuniary wishes, so that he is able to spurn gold beneath his feet. On that score, therefore, having nothing to desire, he is left free to indulge his own inclination, in fulfilling the commands of his Kings, by the honest performance of the task which he has undertaken.

To face page 1, Vol. III.]

GENEALOGY OF THE KINGS OF BEEJAPOOR,

ENTITLED ADIL SHAH.



HISTORY
OF THE
MAHOMEDAN POWER IN INDIA

CHAPTER III.
(CONTINUED)

SECTION II.

HISTORY OF THE KINGS OF BEEJAPOOR, DENOMINATED ADIL SHAH

YOOSOOF ADIL SHAH

ABOOL MOOZUFFUR YOOSOOF ADIL SHAH, the founder of the Adil Shahy dynasty, was the son of one of the emperors of Room,[1] of the Ottoman family. His father, Agha Morad,[2] dying in A.H. 854 (A.D. 1451),[3] he was succeeded by his eldest son Mahomed; on which occasion the ministers observed, that as in the beginning of the late reign, a person named Moostufa, calling himself a son of Elderim Bayezeed, occasioned great commotions in the empire, it was desirable that in future only one prince of the family should be suffered to live. Sooltan Mahomed, assenting to the suggestion, gave orders for his brother Yoosoof, then a child, to be put to death; and the executioners came to demand him from his mother, in order that, having strangled him, the body might be publicly exposed. The Queen entreated them to spare the infant; or, if state policy demanded so cruel a sacrifice, to indulge her by deferring the execution for a day, that she might prepare her mind for so melancholy an event. The ministers having consented, the Queen improved the time to save her son's life. She accordingly sent for Khwaja Imad-ood-Deen, a merchant of Sava, with whom she had been in the habit of making purchases of the products of Persia, and enquired if he then had any male slaves for sale. He replied, he had five Georgians, and two Circassians. Among these

1. Asia Minor.
2. Amurath II.
3. According to Gibbon, vol. xii., p. 150., Amurath died on the 2d of February, 1451, and was succeeded by Mahomed II., who afterwards took Constantinople.

was a Circassian who, on the whole, bore some resemblance to the Prince; and him she purchased, at the same time committing Yoosoof to the merchant's care, together with a large sum of money, entreating him to convey him to a place of security, out of the Emperor's dominions. The Khwaja, for the sake of the money, accepted the commission, and began his journey, with the infant Prince, the same night. The next morning, the ministers coming to the door of the Queen's apartments, demanded her son; when having admitted one of them, on whom she could rely, candidly informed him of the deception, and bound him to favour it by large gifts. The Circassian slave was accordingly strangled; and the body being brought out, wrapped in a shroud, by the minister, whose integrity was not suspected, it was interred without examination.[4]

Khwaja Imad-ood-Deen carried the young prince to Ardbeel, where he enrolled him among the disciples of the venerable Sheik Suffy; after which he conveyed him to the city of Sava. When he was seven years of age the Khwaja made known to him the secret of his birth, and placed him at school with his own children. The next year the Queen sent a person to Sava to enquire after her child; and the messenger, after an absence of nine months, departed homewards, but was taken so ill at Alexandria, that he remained there a year and a half; after which he returned to the Queen, and presented her with a letter written by Yoosoof, giving her pleasing accounts of himself. The Princess bestowed alms to the poor in gratitude for the preservation of her son; and shortly after sent his nurse, with her son Ghuzunfur Beg,[5] and her daughter Dilshad Agha, to Sava, accompanied by her former messenger, as also a large sum of money for the use of the Prince. Yoosoof

4. Gibbon, vol. xii. chap. lxviii. p. 186, mentions the fact of Mahomed having, on his accession, ordered all his brothers to be put to death. In a note, also, he says, that one of them, Calipin, was saved, and became a Christian under the name of Callisthus Othomannus. It is, therefore, as probable, that another might also have escaped; and if we are to believe the romantic story regarding Yoosoof, it seems very unlikely that the circumstance should either have been known in Europe, or, at all events, form any portion of European history.

5. Ghuzunfur Beg accompanied Yoosoof Adil Khan to India, and was his most distinguished general after he ascended the throne at Beejapoor. Ghuzunfur Beg's sister, Dilshad Agha, also became very conspicuous in the insurrection which nearly cost Ismael Adil Shah his life.

remained at Sava till he was sixteen years old, when his nurse imprudently divulged the secret of his birth, which having come to the ears of the governor, a Toork of the tribe of Akkooinloo, he made the Prince pay him four hundred tomans,[6] to permit him to quit the place in safety. Yoosoof intended to remain at Koom till the governor of Sava should be removed; but after some time, having left Koom, he proceeded to Kashan, Isfahan, and eventually to Shiraz, where a story is told that the prophet Khizr appeared to him in a dream, directing him to quit Persia and go to Hindoostan, where he should attain to sovereign power. Yoosoof accordingly left Shiraz, went to the sea-coast, and embarking at Gombroon for India, reached Dabul in the year 864. On his arrival there he became acquainted with Khwaja Mahmood Goorjistany, a merchant who had come to that port on business. Yoosoof's appearance and manners (being at that time only seventeen years of age) were at once striking and engaging, for he had received a liberal education at Sava. The Khwaja prevailed on him to accompany him to Ahmudabad Bidur, where he was sold, as a Georgian slave, to the minister Khwaja Mahmood Gawan for the royal bodyguard. This account the author received from Mirza Mahomed of Sava, the son of Gheias-ood-Deen, prime minister of Yoosoof Adil Khan at the time he declared his independence at Beejapoor, under the designation of Yoosoof Adil Shah. The same story is related by Shah Jumal-ood-Deen Hossein, the son of Shah Hoossein Anjoo, in his history; as also by Khwaja Nuzr, a member of the Bahmuny family. At the period of the marriage of Beeby Musseety[7] to the Prince Ahmud at Koolburga, that Princess took her seat above all the other ladies; and on remonstrance being made to her afterwards, she replied, as the daughter of Yoosoof Adil Shah, and the niece and granddaughter of two emperors of Room, she certainly considered herself inferior to no lady in the Deccan. Ameer Bereed of Bidur was afterwards at the trouble of sending persons to Constantinople to endeavour to falsify this statement; but the corroborating facts were so strong that the subject was not again agitated. Yoosoof Adil Khan is said to have derived the appellation of Savaee[8] from the circumstance of his having been educated at Sava.

6. 400*l*.

7. Daughter of Yoosoof Adil Shah.

8. The Portuguese historians call him, indifferently, Sabayo and the Hydalcan.

After two or three months, Khwaja Mahmood Gawan, with the approbation of the Queen-mother, placed Yoosoof under Azeez Khan, master of the horse; who finding him fit for the task, and being old and infirm himself, committed to him the whole duty of his department; by which Yoosoof had frequent opportunities of going into the presence of Mahomed Shah, whose notice he attracted. On the death of Azeez Khan (at the recommendation of Khwaja Mahmood Gawan) he succeeded to the office of master of the horse; but not agreeing with the bramin who kept the accounts, he resigned the office, and attached himself to Nizam-ool-Moolk Toork, one of the nobles at court, whose friendship he acquired to such a degree that he used to call him brother.

On Nizam-ool-Moolk's being appointed governor of Berar, he procured for his friend the title of Adil Khan, with the rank of a commander of five hundred horse, and took him with him. Nizam-ool-Moolk was afterwards killed at Kehrla;[9] when Yoosoof Adil Khan, leaving a strong garrison in the fort, conducted back the army, together with the rich plunder of a very successful campaign, as also thirty elephants, which procured him the royal approbation; from which time the star of his good fortune began to ascend.

When Mahmood Shah left this vain world, and dissensions prevailed throughout the kingdom, most of the foreign officers and soldiers attached themselves to Yoosoof Adil Khan; who, perceiving that the ministers of Mahmood Shah were bent on his destruction, withdrew with his family and followers from Ahmudabad Bidur to Beejapoor; and resolving to become the founder of a kingdom, he began to add to his territories by conquest.

When the hooma[10] of prosperity had spread the shadow of her wings over his head, Yoosoof Adil Khan, as well as Mullik Ahmud Bheiry, in the year A.H. 895 (A.D. 1489), according to the verse in the Holy Koran,

> "The sword for him who can wield it, and dominion to him who conquers,"

caused the Khootba to be read in his name, and assumed the canopy of royalty, at which time the foreigners unanimously acknowledged him King. After this event, he wrested many forts

9. Vide vol. ii. p. 296.

10. The fabulous bird which, hovering over the head of any one, portends that he will succeed to a kingdom.

from the governors of Mahmood Shah, and subdued all the country from the river Beema to Beejapoor, the inhabitants of which territory submitted to his authority; and being subsequently joined by many Deccany officers, who had formerly deserted him on his retiring from Ahmudabad Bidur, his power daily increased.

Kasim Bereed Toork, who had himself entertained hopes of founding a kingdom at Beejapoor, wrote to the Ray of Beejanuggur, that Mahomed Shah was willing to cede to him the forts of Moodkul and Rachore, if he would wrest them from Yoosoof Adil Khan; at the same time letters were addressed to Bahadur Geelany, who possessed Goa and all DUREABAR,[11] (the tract which, in the language of the Deccan, is called Concan,) inviting him to invade the country of Yoosoof Adil Khan.

Timraj, the general of the Ray of Beejanuggur, having crossed the river Toongbudra, laid waste the country as far as Moodkul and Rachore; and Bahadur Geelany reduced the fortress of Jumkindy. Yoosoof Adil Khan was too weak to repel these attacks by force. He accordingly made peace with Timraj, and expelled Bahadur Geelany from his dominions; but without attempting to recover Jumkindy, led his army, camposed of eight thousand foreigners, towards the capital, against Kasim Bereed.

Kasim Bereed applied for aid to Mullik Ahmud Bheiry, together with Khwaja Jehan Deccany, governor of Purenda, who joined him. The troops with Mahmood Shah Bahmuny II. marched from the capital, and were met by Yoosoof Adil Shah in the vicinity of Nuldroog where an action was fought. Duria Khan commanded the right wing, Fukhr-ool-Moolk Toork the left, and Yoosoof Adil Khan led the centre of his army, while his foster-brother, Ghuzunfur Beg, commanded a separate corps of a thousand foreign bowmen, to assist wherever there might be occasion. Kasim Bereed fled with the King at the first onset; upon which Yoosoof Adil Khan and Mullik Ahmud Bheiry, discontinuing the fight, entered into a treaty on the field, and each retired to his own dominions. This action is, however, differently related by the Bahmuny historian, who states, that Mullik Ahmud was not in the field, but his general Khwaja Jehan only; that Yoosoof Adil Khan was defeated, and retired to Beejapoor, where he shortly after obtained peace with his enemies; and then, on learning

11. The sea-coast.

that dissensions prevailed in Beejanuggur, he marched to retake Rachore.

On reaching the banks of the Krishna, Yoosoof Adil Khan amused himself for some time in hunting; but having brought on an ague and fever by exertion, he was confined to his bed for two months; during which time, his foster-brother, Ghuzunfur Beg, directed all public affairs. In this interval Timraj the minister, having composed his disputes with the young Ray of Beejanuggur, advanced at the head of an army to Rachore, which struck terror into that of Yoosoof Adil Khan, for whose recovery fervent prayers were offered up by his subjects. Not long after, Yoosoof recovering, distributed sixty thousand rupees among holy men and syuds of Medina, Kerbulla, and Nujuf. He also intrusted a considerable sum to Khwaja Abdoolla Hirvy,[12] who had come with him to Hindoostan in the same ship, directing him to build a mosque at Sava, and to give the surplus of the money among the poor of that city.

Meanwhile intelligence was received that Timraj, having crossed the Toongbudra, was advancing to Beejapoor. Yoosoof Adil Khan mustered his troops, and found them to consist of eight thousand Doaspa[13] horse and two hundred elephants of all sizes. Addressing himself to Ghuzunfur Beg, Mirza Jehangeer, and Dawood Khan Lody, his favourite officers, he said, that he trusted he should be able to defeat the enemy with this force, and communicated his determination to advance towards him. Next day he accordingly marched and encamped at a little distance from Timraj's army, and then dividing the ground among his officers to the best advantage, he threw up entrenchments round his camp to prevent surprise. Several days passed inactively, till on Saturday, in the month of Rujub, A.H. 898 (April, A.D. 1493), both armies drew out; and in the beginning of the action nearly five hundred of Yoosoof Adil Khan's troops being slain, the rest fell back in disorder. Fortunately, at this moment, one of his officers who had been taken prisoner made his escape, and represented, that the enemy were busily engaged in plunder, and might be attacked with advantage. The King, rallying his troops, prepared to renew the action; when Timraj, not having time to collect his whole army,

12 A native of Hirat in Khorassan.

13. For Doaspa, or double-horsed cavalry, vide note, vol. i. p. 89, and Malcolm's *History of Persia*, vol. ii. pp. 240, 241.

drew up seven thousand horse, a considerable number of foot, and three hundred elephants to oppose him. Yoosoof Adil Khan charged this body with such impetuosity, that Timraj, unable to stand the shock, fled, leaving two hundred elephants, and a thousand horses in the hands of the victors, besides sixty lacks of hoons,[14] with many jewels and other valuable booty. Timraj and the young Ray fled to Beejanuggur. The latter died on the road of wounds received in the action, and Timraj seized the government of the country; but some of the principal nobility opposing his usurpation, dissensions broke out, which gave Yoosoof Adil Khan a respite from war in that quarter.

Dustoor Khan relates, that the victory was gained by the following stratagem: Yoosoof Adil Khan, after the disorder of his troops, sent a messenger to Timraj entreating peace, and offering to acknowledge allegiance to the Ray for the country he held; upon which the minister and the Ray came, attended by three or four hundred followers and their principal nobility, to a conference in the field, when Yoosoof Adil Khan fell upon them by surprise with his whole army and routed them, killing seventy persons of rank. Their troops, alarmed at the death of their chiefs, fled, and left to be plundered by the victors. Yoosoof Adil Khan, after his success, conferred on Raab Jung Bahadur Khan fifty elephants with one lack of hoons, and detached him with a force to reduce the forts of Moodkul and Rachore; which having effected in the space of forty days, the King returned to his capital of Beejapoor This victory added greatly to his wealth, strengthened his power, and confirmed his authority. It is said, however, that he paid Mahmood Shah the compliment of sending to him two splendid vests, the borders of which were adorned with precious stones, two horses shod with gold, and saddles and bridles set with jewels, with an official report of his success.

Yoosoof Adil Khan was preparing to march against Jumkindy, which Bahadur Geelany had taken from him, when Mahmood Shah, in consequence of complaints from the King of Guzerat, resolved to march in person against the latter chief; on which occasion Yoosoof Adil Khan sent his general, Kumal Khan Deccany, with five thousand horse to attend the Bahmuny monarch. Jumkindy being taken, was delivered over to Yoosoof Adil Khan and Bahadur Geelany was slain in action. When Mahmood Shah

14. Upwards of two millions of pounds sterling.

returned from this expedition, Yoosoof Adil Khan went forth to meet him; and having conducted him into Beejapoor, then newly surrounded with a wall of stone, entertained him for ten days with great splendour. On his departure, he presented him with twenty elephants, fifty horses, four bracelets set with jewels, and other rare and valuable articles to a large amount. Mahmood Shah having made choice of one elephant, sent back the other articles, with a private message, that as they would be seized by his minister Kasim Bereed, he returned them, to be kept for him in trust, till such time as Yoosoof Adil Khan, like a faithful servant, should deliver him from his trammels.

Yoosoof Adil Khan, though he had it in his power to effect this object at once, did not think it desirable to do so; and answered, that such an undertaking could not succeed, unless Mullik Ahmud Bheiry of Ahmudnuggur should agree in promoting it, as also Imad-ool-Moolk of Gavulgur; and he promised, that when Mahmood Shah reached his capital he would prevail upon those chiefs to join with him in punishing the obnoxious minister. Mahmood Shah, satisfied with this declaration, departed for his capital; but before he left Beejapoor, Yoosoof Adil Khan conveyed to him privately a large sum of money, and also made considerable presents to Kasim Bereed and Kootb-ool-Moolk, who had attended the King in the campaign.

In the year A.H. 901 (A.D. 1495), Dustoor Deenar, the Abyssinian eunuch, who held the districts of Koolburga, Sagur, Alund, and other forts and districts between the river Beema and Tulingana, aspired to establish his independence. For this purpose he opened a communication with Mullik Ahmud Bheiry; observing, that as Futteh Ooolla Imad-ool-Moolk had, in cencert with Yoosoof Adil Shah, assumed royal titles in Berar, it would be consistent with his friendship to support him in doing the same. Dustoor Deenar was the adopted son of Nizam-ool-Moolk, the father of Mullik Ahmed Bheiry, and thought, in consequence, he had claims on his support Accordingly the eunuch, having adopted the regal canopy, seized many districts dependent on the capital of Ahmudabad Bidur, and expelled the officers of Kasim Bereed.

Kasim Bereed, on this occasion, demanded the assistance of Yoosoof Adil Khan, who directed his general, Ghuzunfur Beg, Duria Khan, and other chiefs, to join the King's army; writing to

Mahmood Shah, at the same time, that he should have attended in person, did he not forsee, in that case, that Mullik Ahmud Bheiry would think it necessary to join Dustoor Deenar with his whole force, a proceeding which would only prolong the war. Soon after, however, intelligence being received that Khwaja Jehan Deccany, at the instigation of Mullik Ahmud Bheiry, had moved from Purenda towards Koolburga with a considerable force to aid Dustoor Deenar, and that Mullik Ahmud was also preparing to march, Yoosoof Adil Khan thought it proper to join his own army; so that, after forming a junction with Mahmood Shah and Kasim Bereed, the whole moved against Dustoor Deenar without delay. The eunuch advanced to receive them with eight thousand horse, mostly Abyssinians, and twelve thousand auxiliaries, sent by Mullik Ahmud Bheiry under Khwaja Jehan of Purenda when, after a severe action, Dustoor Deenar was defeated, and taken prisoner. Mahmood Shah would have caused him to be put to death, at the instance of Kasim Bereed; but Yoosoof Adil Khan, not wishing to strengthen the hands of the minister, interceded for his pardon, and Koolburga was restored to him; after which Yoosoof Adil Khan, without paying his respects to Mahmood Shah, returned to Beejapoor, while the King and Dustoor Deenar repaired to their respective capitals. Mullik Ahmud Bheiry, who had begun his march to join the eunuch, hearing of the peace, returned to Ahmudnuggur.

In the year A.H. 903 (A.D. 1497), Mahmood Shah solicited the hand of Beeby Musseety, the infant daughter of Yoosoof Adil Khan, for his son Ahmud Shah, and fixing on Koolburga as a fit place to celebrate the nuptials both princes repaired to that city, an event which greatly offended Dustoor Deenar. Yoosoof Adil Khan at this time intimated privately to Mahmood Shah, that if he wished to displace Kasim Bereed, he must cede to Beejapoor the districts now belonging to Dustoor Deenar, which intervened between his own territory and the estates of the minister: an acquisition which would afford Yoosoof Adil Khan a plausible pretext for advancing troops into them, and give him an opportunity of expelling Kasim Bereed, before Mullik Ahmud Bheiry, or any other person disposed to assist him, could hear of his design. Mahmood Shah accordingly made out the requisite transfers, and dispossessed the officers of Dustoor Deenar, who, unable to resist, was obliged to consent to hold the rest of his districts subordinate

to Sooltan Koolly Kootb Khan of Golconda. Kasim Bereed. alarmed and offended at this proceeding, quitted Mahmood Shah, and putting himself at the head of his dependents, retired to Alund.

Yoosoof Adil Khan, upon this, moved with Mahmood Shah, who was accompanied by Sooltan Koolly Kootb Khan, and Mullik Elias, to reduce Kasim Bereed, whom they defeated near the town of Gunjowty, and the fugitives took shelter in various forts. After the victory, a rich carpet of cloth of gold was spread on the field, and Mahmood Shah taking Yoosoof Adil Khan by the hand, commanded him to sit, an honour he declined to accept, till after being repeatedly pressed. Here it was determined, that, on the following year, the allies should march and effectually subvert the power of Kasim Bereed. Mullik Elias fell in the action; and Yoosoof Adil Khan conferred his estates upon his eldest son, Mahomed, with the title of Ein-ool-Moolk, and quitting Mahmood Shah returned to Beejapoor.

On the following year, Yoosoof Adil Khan marched against Dustoor Deenar; but Mullik Ahmud Bheiry coming to his assistance, Yoosoof retired towards Bidur, where he received assurances of support from Sooltan Koolly Kootb Khan and Imad-ool-Moolk of Berar; on which Dustoor Deenar and Mullik Ahmud retired without hazarding an action to their respective capitals. On his return to Beejapoor, Yoosoof Adil Khan sent embassies to Mullik Ahmud Bheiry and to Imad-ool-Moolk; observing, that the Deccan was too small a country to maintain so many independent chiefs that therefore they three should, out of regard to their own security, unite and endeavour to occupy the whole country. After much discussion it was resolved, that Imad-ool-Moolk should have Mahoor, Ramgur, and all the territory then in possession of Khodawund Khan the Abyssinian; that Mullik Ahmud should have Dowlutabad, Antore, Galna, and the country beyond those forts as far as the borders of Guzerat; that Yoosoof Adil Khan, for his share, might seize the territories of Dustoor Deenar and Ein-ool-Moolk; that Kasim Bereed should be allowed to take the country of Sooltan Koolly Kootb-ool-Moolk, as an appanage to the capital of Ahmudabad Bidur, and its dependencies. By this treaty it was understood that the contracting powers were not to interfere with the plan now proposed, but, on the contrary, if necessary, unite to enforce it.

Yoosoof Adil Khan, in pursuance of this treaty, in order to ascertain if Ein-ool-Moolk were content to be dependent on his authority, despatched an order commanding him to his presence, whereas he had always before addressed him on terms of equality. Ein-ool-Moolk received the order with joyful submission, declaring that now he was convinced Yoosoof Adil Khan regarded him as loyal, by putting his submission to the test. He made a festival of a week in the fort of Goa on the occasion, and repaired with six thousand horse to Beejapoor, where Yoosoof Adil Khan received him as one of his subjects, exacting those salutations from him made only to crowned heads, and then conferred on him an honorary dress.

Dustoor Deenar, informed of the partition treaty which included his destruction, applied to Ameer Bereed for aid, who had just then succeeded his father in the office of a minister to Mahmood Shah II. Ameer Bereed, accordingly, sent three thousand horse to his assistance; and Dustoor Deenar encamped on the banks of the Bheema, where he was joined by Khwaja Jehan of Purenda, and his brother Zein Khan, and had also been excluded by Mullik Ahmud from the partition treaty. They brought with them five thousand horse. Mullik Ahmud Bheiry was at this time engaged in taking Dowlutabad, and defending himself against invasions from Guzerat.

Yoosoof Adil Khan, unmoved by the superiority of the enemy's numbers collected his troops, and liberally distributing among them the booty he had taken from the Beejanuggur army, marched from Beejapoor, and encamped within ten miles of the enemy. The day following he prepared his army for battle, sending on an advanced corps of two thousand select cavalry, under Mahomed Koolly Beg, brother of Ghuzunfur Beg, with directions to encamp within two miles of the enemy, and divert their attention by skirmishing parties. At the same time he sent a message to Dustoor Deenar, assuring him, that should he consent to submit and acknowledge his supremacy, both he and his dependents should receive the highest favour under his government; but if impelled by folly to reject his offer, he must abide the fate of war.

Dustoor Deenar, refusing the proffered terms, detached a large body of Abyssinian cavalry to attack the advanced corps of Yoosoof Adil Khan; but they were defeated with great slaughter, and many elephants and horses fell into the hands of the victors.

Yoosoof Adil Khan, the next morning advancing on the enemy, drew up his army near their camp in the following order: Ghuzunfur Beg commanded the right wing, Heidur Beg Tubreezy the left, and Mirza Jehangeer Koomy had charge of the pickets, while the King with a select guard took post in the centre. Dustoor Deenar, also, confident in his numbers, drew out his troops, mostly covered with iron armour, according to the practice in use in the Indian mode of warfare, disposing his elephants in different parts, and all his battering engines in front. Mirza Jehangeer advanced first, with the velocity of lightning, on the enemy, while Ghuzunfur Beg and Heidur Beg charged, at the same time from the right and left, with such fury that nothing could withstand their impetuosity. By the will of the Eternal One, Dustoor Deenar fell in this attack, and his troops fled, overwhelmed with terror. Ghuzunfur Beg, who had received a severe wound, approaching Yoosoof Adil Khan, knelt down with the rest of the nobles, and performed the ceremonies of congratulation, and waved money and jewels over his head, as is customary after victory. Yoosoof Adil Khan, kissing his eyes and forehead, clasped his brave foster-brother in his embrace, and superintended the dressing of his wounds, but all was vain; for, according to the declaration of holy writ, the

"When death comes, we cannot arrest him for one instant,"

hero, after three days and nights, having sipped of the cup of martyrdom, departed to the world eternal.

Yoosoof Adil Khan was deeply afflicted at this loss; but having performed the funeral rites, roused himself and took Koolburga, Sagur, and all the forts and territories of the late Dustoor Deenar, which he delivered to officers in whom he could confide, and then returned in triumph to Beejapoor. On his arrival in that city, he raised Mirza Jehangeer and Heidur Beg to the highest rank of nobility, for their gallantry in the late action, and conferred honours and gifts on all the officers and soldiers who had distinguished themselves during the war.

Having now attained the summit of his wishes, Yoosoof Adil Khan resolved to perform a religious vow, which he had determined on in his mind for many years. For this purpose, in the year A.H. 908 (A.D. 1502), he held a council of his principal subjects, and calling Mirza Jehangeer and Heidur Beg, who were of the Sheea sect, as also Syud Ahmud Hirvy and other learned men of that persuasion, to him, addressed them, saying, that

when the Prophet, appeared to him in a vision, and hailed him with the presage of his present dignity, he then made a vow, that if his dream should ever be fulfilled, to promulgate the faith of the Imans,[15] and grace the pulpit with proclamation of their titles; that also, when Timraj and Bahadur Geelany invaded his territories, and nearly seized the reins of government from his hands, he had renewed this vow; he therefore wished to have their opinions, whether the present was not a fit time for its performance.

The assembly unanimously broke out into prayers for the prosperity of his house. Some of those present approved of his devout intention, while others, more prudent, observed, that his power was yet but in infancy; that Mahmood Shah, though weak, was still the acknowledged lawful monarch of the Deccan; that most even among his own nobles were Toorks, Deccanies, and Abyssinians of the Soony persuasion, as were also the surrounding kings of the Deccan, such as Mullik Ahmud Nizam-ool-Moolk Bheiry, Ameer Bereed, and others, who were all zealous for their faith; therefore that it was more than probable an opposition too great to be overcome by his single power would attend any innovation of the established religion. Yoosoof Adil Shah, after a short pause, replied, that he had made a vow to God who had raised him by his goodness to royal power, and he did not doubt but on its fulfilment the same gracious arm would uphold him. At this instant news arrived that Shah Ismael Sufvy[16] of Persia had established the Sheea doctrines throughout his dominions, which confirmed Yoosoof Adil Khan, who was a disciple of that house, in his determination, and he took measures without delay to carry his project into execution.

On an appointment day, he accordingly went in great state to the grand mosque in the citadel of Beejapoor; and Nukeeb Khan, one of the venerable syuds of Medina, by his command ascending the pulpit, cried aloud, in calling to prayer, according to the custom of the Sheeas, "I bear testimony that Ally is the friend of God," after which he read the Khootba[17] in the names of the twelve Imans. Yoosoof Adil Shah was the first prince

15. The Sheea persuasion.
16. The Sophi of western literature.
17. The prefatory prayer previous to the established prayers from the Koran.

who dared to perform these ceremonies publicly in Hindoostan. Notwithstanding this bold attempt, he had the prudence not to permit the populace to utter scandalous and abusive epithets against the Sahiba,[18] so that fanaticism was prevented from spreading its baneful venom. The learned disciples of Jafur, and those eminently versed in the tenets of Mahomed Huneef, and of the Shafye persuasion, lived together in friendship; and in mosques of different sects each worshipped the true God according to his own belief, without interfering in the ceremonies of the other. The holy teachers and pious recluses were equally astonished at this well-regulated moderation, and attributed it to an almost miraculous ability in the wise King. The author of these sheets recollects an anecdote applicable to the toleration practised by some kings, which he thinks proper to insert for the information of his readers.

Mowlana Gheias-ood-Deen, a celebrated divine of Persia, much respected for his abilities and purity of life, was once asked by Ibrahim Adil Shah, which was the best of all the various sects of Islam? He replied, "Suppose a great monarch to be seated in a palace, with many gates leading to it, and through whichever you enter you see the King, and can obtain admission to his presence, --your business is with the Prince, and not with those at his gate." Ibrahim Adil Shah again asked him, which, in his opinion, was the best of all faiths? He replied, that, in his opinion, the best man of every faith followed the best faith. This observation pleased the King, who conferred upon the Mowlana large gifts.

Yoosoof Adil Shah having read the Khootba according to the ceremonial of the Sheeas, and established their tenets at Beejapoor, many of the principal chiefs, such as Duria Khan, Fukhr-ool-Moolk, Toork and others, embraced the same tenets as their sovereign; but some being rigid Soonies refused, and even expressed a wish to quiet his service. Yoosoof Adil Shah, when informed of the state of public feeling, permitted each person the free exercise of the doctrine, "My faith for myself, and your faith for yourself," which at length gave universal satisfaction. At this time, the King becoming jealous of the increas-

18. The Sahiba are the three first caliphs who were the means of excluding Ally, viz. Aboo Bucr, Oothman, and Oomur, against whom the Sheeas are inve[illegible]

ing influence of Ein-ool-Moolk Geelany, deprived him of the command he held in the army; and resuming the district he had possessed during his father's life, allotted to him for his private support Hookery and Belgam in their stead, with permission to retire from court and follow his own opinions in religious matters. All the Soony nobles were also allowed to read the Khootba, within their own jageers, in the names of the Sahiba, and no opposition was made to the exercise of their own mode of worship publicly. But in spite of these indulgences, the King found it necessary to observe a strict watch over the chiefs of the Soony persuasion.

Mullik Ahmud Bheiry and Ameer Bereed, who were strict and zealous followers of the Soonut, were alarmed at the innovation on the established faith of the Deccan, and spoke of it in reproachful terms. At length, forming an alliance, they invaded the territory of Yoosoof Adil Shah. Ameer Bereed seized on Gunjowty, and many districts taken from Dustoor Deenar, while Mullik Ahmud Bheiry sent ambassadors to Beejapoor peremptorily demanding the surrender of the fortress of Nuldroog. Yoosoof Adil Shah, incensed at this wanton attack on his dominions, sent back an answer full of indignation, and marching at once on Gunjowty recovered it forthwith. Mahmood Shah Bahmuny and Ameer Bereed now made application for aid to Sooltan Koolly Kootb-ool-Moolk, Imad-ool-Moolk, and Khodawund Khan Hubshy. Sooltan Koolly, though secretly of the Sheea persuation, yet in conformity with the spirit of the times, and by the advice of his officers, moved towards the camp of Mahmood Shah; but Imad-ool-Moolk and Khodawund Khan framed excuses, and did not join the league. Ameer Bereed now despatched his own son Jehangeer Khan to Ahmudnuggur, with such urgent remonstrances, that Mullik Ahmud Bheiry was induced to march with ten thousand horse and a train of artillery; which, added to the troops of Ameer Bereed and Sooltan Koolly Kootb-ool-Moolk, composed a formidable army, of which Mahmood Shah was nominally the leader. Yoosoof Adil Shah, thinking it unsafe to engage in a pitched battle with the inferior force at his command, sent his son Ismael, then an infant of five years old, with all his treasures and elephants, from Alund to Beejapoor, committing the care of that city and the sole direction of affairs to Kumal Khan Deccany. Having stationed

Duria Khan and Fukhr-ool-Moolk Toork to protect Koolburga, he himself, attended by Ein-ool-Moolk Geelany, and many foreign officers, together with an army consisting of six thousand horse firmly devoted to him, marched towards Beer, burning and destroying the country as he passed. Mullik Ahmud Bheiry, finding his territory thus pillaged, moved with Mahmood Shah Bahmuny and the allies in pursuit of the enemy. Yoosoof Adil Shah had taken this step to prevent the war being carried into his own country; and though he avoided a general action, he hovered around the allied army, harassed their followers, and cut off their supplies. Finding this plan not sufficiently successful, and his troops being exhausted with fatigue, after first plundering the environs of Dowlutabad, he penetrated into Berar, relying on the friendship of Imad-ool-Moolk. This chief was at the time encamped with his army near Gavul, resolved to maintain a strict neutrality, and to attend merely to the protection of his own country. Yoosoof Adil Shah, however, was received with kindness; but Imad-ool-Moolk, apprehensive that the allies would invade Berar, if he openly espoused the cause of Yoosoof Adil Shah, advised him to retire for the present towards Boorhanpoor, till some plan could be devised of dissolving the league formed against him; he recommended him also, strongly, by way of conciliating his enemies, to order the Soony rites to be re-established in Beejapoor. Yoosoof Adil Shah saw the necessity of compliance, and sent orders to that effect to Kumal Khan. Meanwhile, taking leave of Imad-ool-Moolk, Yoosoof Adil Shah proceeded to Boorhanpoor, where he was received with due respect by the ruler of Kandeish.

Imad-ool-Moolk, on his part, deputed one of his nearest relations to Mullik Ahmud Bheiry, and to Sooltan Koolly Kumal Khan. Meanwhile, taking leave of Imad-ool-Moolk, made religion a pretext to destroy Yoosoof Adil Shah, in order that he might secure Beejapoor for himself; and Imad-ool-Moolk added, that if Ameer Bereed, now master only of a small territory, was enabled to effect so much in the name of the King, the subversion of their own independence in the Deccan would, in the event of any great accession of dominion, necessarily follow. He, moreover, observed, that no man had any right to interfere in the religious concerns of another, since every one would be rendered accountable for his actions on the day of

judgment. Setting aside, however, this argument, Yoosoof Adil Shah had now formally retracted his profession of the Sheea doctrines, and had sent orders to restore the Soony rites in Beejapoor, so that no fair pretence now remained for continuing the war. Imad-ool-Moolk, therefore strongly recommended the confederates, instead of weakening themselves and becoming the dupes of an artful minister, to retire to their own dominions. Mullik Ahmud Bheiry and Sooltan Kooly Kootb-ool-Moolk, who paid great respect to the advice of this aged and experienced statesman, were convinced by his arguments, and retreated suddenly one night, without even taking leave of Mahmood Shah.

Ameer Bereed, not aware of the reasons which led to this desertion of his allies, applied to Imad-ool-Moolk for his assistance to invade Beejapoor, and suffered himself to be detained some days by idle negotiations, till Yoosoof Adil Shah arrived at Gavul from Boorhanpoor. Ameer Bereed now perceived the danger of his situation, and instantly fled with the King, attended only by a few followers, leaving his camp standing, which was plundered by the Berar troops. Yoosoof Adil Shah, having taken leave of Imad-ool-Moolk, returned to Beejapoor after an absence of three months; and being no longer apprehensive of his enemies, he renewed the public exercise of the Sheea religion, and inclined his mind to the improvement of his country, without meditating further conquests. At this time he sent Syud Ahmud Hirvy, with presents and declarations of attachment, to Shah Ismael Sufvy, King of Persia, with an account of his success in establishing the Sheea religion.

In the year A.H. 915 (A.D. 1510), the Christians[19] surprised the town of Goa, and put to death the governor, with many Mussulmans. On receiving intelligence of this event Yoosoof Adil Shah marched with three thousand chosen men, composed of Deccanies and foreigners, with such expedition, that he surprised the Europeans, retook the fort, and put many to death;[20]

19. According to Faria-e-Souza, vol. i. chap. v., Albuquerque attacked Goa, which was defended by one Yakoot, a Georgian, but it was eventually surrendered, 20th February, 1510, by Meer Ally. The Portuguese found it well stored with cannon.

20. The Portuguese state that it was retaken in May, after a siege of twenty days, by Kumal Khan, the general of Ismael Adil Shah, which is probably correct.

though some made their escape to sea in their ships. Having provided for the security of Goa, Yoosoof Adil Shah returned to Beejapoor, and died in that city of a dropsy, in the seventy-fifth year of his age, after having reigned with great prosperity twenty-one years. Shah Tahir relates that he was informed by Syud Ahmud Hirvy, who long lived at his court, that Yoosoof Adil Shah was a wise prince, intimately acquainted with human nature; that he was handsome in person eloquent in speech, and alike eminent for his learning, his liberality, and his valour. He wrote elegantly, and was a good judge of poetical composition, and even sometimes wrote verses himself. His taste and skill in music were superior to those of most of the masters of his time, whom he encouraged by munificent rewards to attend his court: he himself performed to admiration on two or three instruments, and in his gay moments would sing improvisatore compositions. Although he mingled pleasure with business, yet he never allowed the former to interfere with the latter. He always warned his ministers to act with justice and integrity, and in his own person showed them an example of attention to these virtues. He invited to his court many learned men and valiant officers from Persia, Toorkistan, and Room, also several eminent artists, who lived happy under the shadow of his bounty. In his reign the citadel of Beejapoor was built of stone.

When Yoosoof Adil Khan first established his independence, he heard that one Mookund Row Marhatta and his brother, who had both been officers under the Bahmuny government, had with a number of peasants fled and taken up a strong position among the hills, with the determination of opposing his authority: he accordingly marched against them at the head of two thousand cavalry, and five thousand infantry: they were defeated, and their families fell into the hands of the King. Among these was the sister of Mookund Row, whom Yoosoof afterwards espoused, and gave her the title of Booboojee Khanum. By this lady he had three daughters and one son, Ismael, who succeeded to the throne. Of the three daughters, Muryum,[21] the eldest, married Boorhan Nizam Shah Bheiry of Ahmudnuggur: Khoodeija, the second, married Alla-ood-Deen Imad-ool Moolk, King of Gavul and Berar; and Beeby Musseety, the third, married Ahmud Shah Bahmuny at Koolburga, as has been related.

21. Mary.

ISMAEL ADIL SHAH

ISMAEL ADIL SHAH, on his accession, being too young to direct the affairs of the kingdom, the sole administration was intrusted to Kumal Khan Deccany. This chief had been one of the nobles of the court of Sooltan Mahmood Shah Bahmuny II.; but on Yoosoof Adil Shah assuming independence, he came over to his interests, and was appointed Meer Nobut. After this period, showing distinguished gallantry in the battle against Timraj, he rose in favour and influence till he became prime minister. Yoosoof Adil Shah, on his death-bed, enjoined him to become regent during the minority of his son, and earnestly entreated Duria Khan, Fukhr-ool-Moolk, Mirza Jehangeer, Heidur Beg, and the rest of his officers, to maintain a strict friendship with him, as also among themselves. On this account they respect Kumal Khan as their superior, and leaving all affairs to direction obeyed him as regent.

Kumal Khan, on assuming his new dignity, evinced great good sense by restoring the exercise of the Soony religion, a measure by which he gained the affections of the people, and secured by his affability the support and attachment of the nobility. He cultivated the friendship of the neighbouring princes, such as Ahmud Nizam Shah, Sooltan Koolly Kootb Shah, and Ameer Bereed Shah. He also made peace with the Europeans, who, after the retreat of Yoosoof Adil Shah, had besieged Goa, and regained possession by giving large bribes to the governor. This event occurred on the accession of the infant King, and it was finally agreed that the Europeans should retain Goa, on condition of their not molesting the other towns and districts on the seacoast. Accordingly since that time the Portuguese have kept possession of Goa, and observing the treaty, have not made any farther encroachments on the Adil Shahy territory.

Kumal Khan, after thus setting the affairs of the kingdom, continued regent for some time. Meanwhile, Duria Khan and Fukhr-ool-Moolk dying, he divided their jageers among his own relatives and dependents, besides procuring for them honours and public employment. At the same time he deprived Mirza Jehangeer and Heidur Beg of some pergunas from their estates, to bestow upon his followers. The lands of all officers who died, or of persons convicted of treason, were confiscated, and he gave them to his own creatures. By these means Kumal Khan increased his

power so greatly, that at last he became giddy with his elevated station, and his evil genius prompted him to form schemes for seizing the crown.

The ambition of treacherous ministers had already proved fatal to the lawful kings of the Deccan. Timraj was the first usurper: he had poisoned the young Raja of Beejanuggur, son of Shew Ray, had rendered his infant brother the tool of his designs, and, by degrees, overthrowing the ancient nobles, he at length established his authority over the kingdom. Kasim Bereed and others had reduced Mahmood Shah II. to a mere pageant, and at length caused their own names to be read in the Khootba: Kumal Khan, also, tempted by these successful examples, having obtained the requisite means for assuming independence, addressed himself artfully to Ameer Bereed. He observed, that if he wished to extend his possessions, a favourable opportunity now offered itself. Ahmudnuggur was at present held by a weak infant, and Imad-ool-Moolk, the sovereign of Berar, immersed in the pleasures of youth, had no inclination for military glory. Under these circumstances, Kumal Khan promised Ameer Bereed, that if he would support his views on the crown of Beejapoor, he would in return forward Ameer Bereed's views on Ahmudnuggur. The latter heartily embraced the proposal, as he had been long secretly seeking an opportunity to extend his power; a secret treaty of offensive and defensive alliance was accordingly formed. It was stipulated that all the country formerly taken from Dustoor Deenar, such as Koolburga, Alund, Gunjowty, and Nuldroog, as far as the banks of the Beema, should be ceded to Ameer Bereed; and that Beejapoor, Concan, Moodkul, and Rachore, with other places, should remain in the hands of Kumal Khan, who might depose, or even put to death, Ismael Adil Shah, and proceed, if he chose, to reduce Sholapoor, and the country belonging to Zein Khan.

Ameer Bereed, having first confined his sovereign Mahmood Shah II. to his palace, moved to Koolburga; and Kumal Khan, imprisoning Ismael Adil Shah, with his mother Booboorjee Khanum, in the citadel of Beejapoor, marched with a force to Sholapoor, which he besieged for three months; and no relief coming from Ahmudnuggur, Zein Khan, on receiving security for the safety of his family and wealth, delivered it into his hands, together with five and a half districts, of which he had charge.

The cause of this distribution was as follows :—When the nobles of the Bahmuny dynasty threw off their allegiance, they each seized on the districts they then held in trust. Khwaja Jehan Deccany, at that time governor of Purenda, had eleven districts under him. His brother Zein Khan, governor of Sholapoor, laid claim to half of the eleven districts, and he even endeavoured to obtain royal grants from Bidur to that effect; but Khwaja Jehan, supported by Boorhan Nizam Shah of Ahmudnuggur, was enabled to retain the whole, and to oppose successfully the pretension of Zein Khan at the court of Bidur. At length, on the death of Ahmud Shah Bahmuny, Yoosoof Adil Shah marched against Khwaja Jehan, and compelled him to cede five and a half of the eleven districts to his brother Zein Khan. Ameer Bereed, who was now besieging Koolburga, after receiving from the Adil Shahy officers the places ceded to him by Kumal Khan, sent him a congratulatory letter on his success at Sholapoor; upon which the Regent, more haughty than before, returned to Beejapoor to complete his usurpation, by dethroning his sovereign, and usurping the kingdom.

On his arrival at Beejapoor, he brought the young King once into durbar for form's sake, to receive the compliments of the court. To strengthen his own party, he reduced the number of the Khaskheil, or royal guards, from three thousand foreign troops to three hundred, commanding the rest to quit Beejapoor in a week, under penalty of death, and forfeiture of their property to the state. The unfortunate exiles hastened with all speed to various parts to avoid such tyranny. The Regent having thus removed the chief obstacle to his accession, next adopted the practice of the court of Nizam Shah, and caused the officers of a thousand horse to be styled commanders of three thousand. He also raised a vast number of G'hora Rawoot,[22] till at length, having an army of twenty thousand horse devoted to his service, he called together his creatures on the 1st of Suffur, in the year A.H. 917 (April 29, A.D. 1511), to consult with them regarding a lucky day for deposing Ismael Adil Shah, and for causing his

22. Marratta horsemen, who received their pay annually, and were bound to appear fully equipped for service whenever called on. They provided their own horses, accoutrements, and arms, and maintained themselves.

own name to be read in the Khootba at Beejapoor. After much debate, the first of the ensuing month, Rubbee-ool-Awul, was fixed as the time propitious to his designs, he little supposing that the recorders of fate were then penning the concluding pages of the journal of his vainglorious life.

The young King and his mother were much alarmed at the intelligence of the Regent's intentions; and though the number of their friends was small, they contrived a plan to avert the danger. God having decreed the preservation of the Adil Shahy family, and the long continuation of its royal power, the astrologers represented to Kumal Khan, that the appearance of the heavenly bodies indicated certain days of the present month as unfavourable to his designs, he would, therefore, do well to avoid approaching any persons of whom he had the least suspicion. Fully impressed with these observations, the Regent committed the charge of the city to his own dependents; and having chosen an apartment in the citadel, close to the royal palace, shut himself up with his own family and officers, keeping the gates of the fort strongly barred within, and having guards without. After taking these precautions, he remained in one room for some days, pretending to suffer under a severe head-ache, vainly thinking by these precautions to evade that fate to which he was destined. The measures adopted by the Protector proved favourable to a plan which the Queen-mother had formed to destroy him. In order to carry it into effect, she applied to Yoosoof Toork, the foster-father of Ismael Adil Shah, who had been treated with great indignity by the Regent, and who mortally hated him, to be her agent in the business. This old officer entered into the Queen's plan, saying, that he would undertake to slay the Regent at all risks, and regretted that instead of one life he had not a thousand to sacrifice for his prince; for though it was clear one man could effect little against eight thousand Deccanies and Abyssinians, yet as he knew his life would be taken the instant Kumal Khan ascended the throne, he was willing to render it up as a sacrifice for his sovereign, and desired to be informed how he could be useful.

The Queen now sent for an old female attendant of her own, whom she knew to be employed as a spy upon her actions by Kumal Khan, and pretended to be under great uneasiness at the report of the Regent's indisposition. She desired the old female

to take a sum of money, as a wave-offering for his recovery, and to make enquiries regarding his health. When the old woman left her, and had gone some paces, the Queen called her back, as if suddenly recollecting something, and said that her faithful servant Yoosoof Toork was very much depressed in spirits, and wished to go on pilgrimage to Mecca; she, therefore, desired the old female to take him with her, and to prevail on Kumal Khan to grant him leave, and to give him, as usual, a pan[23] of dismissal with his own hand, telling the Regent she should regard it as a personal favour. The female consented; and going first in to Kumal Khan, delivered the Queen's offering and message in such a manner, that the Protector was highly pleased, and gave orders to admit Yoosoof. The Toork approaching, according to custom, with great respect and humility, made his obeisance, and uttered several flattering speeces, which pleased Kumal Khan, who calling him nearer to him, stretched out his hand to give him a pan. Yoosoof putting his hands under the cloth that covered his shoulders, advanced as if to receive it. The Protector stretched forth his hand to put the pân on the cloth, when Yoosoof, with the quickness of lightning, drawing a dagger concealed beneath the cloth, stabbed Kumal Khan in the breast with all his force, so that he fell down and expired immediately with a loud groan; upon which the attendants rushing in cut the assassin to pieces with their swords, as also the old woman, whom they concluded had acted in concert with him.

The mother of Kumal Khan, a woman of masculine spirit, commanded the attendants to refrain from clamour; and placing the body dressed out, supported by pillows on a musnud, in a balcony of the palace, as if to receive compliments from the court, instructed the Protector's son, Sufdur Khan, to go down and tell the guards it was his father's orders to surround the royal apartments and to seize Ismael Adil Shah. She sent orders also to the troops without the citadel to enter the city, and pay their compliments to the Regent as their sovereign prince.

Sufdur Khan, conceiving the force within sufficient to take the young King prisoner, closed the gates of the citadel, and with

23. The presentation of the aromatic leaf called pân, by the King, on taking leave, is a form as common as that of kissing hands in Europe.

his relatives and followers armed with musketry, sabres, spears, bows and arrows, advanced to the apartments where the Prince resided with his mother and family. The Queen apprehending that Yoosoof had failed in his attempt, and that Kumal Khan out of resentment had hastened his operations to dethrone her son, thought it prudent to pretend ignorance of Yoosoof's design, and to endeavour to avert the storm by flattery and submission. But the King's foster-aunt, Dilshad Agha, who had lately come from Persia to Hindoostan in the latter part of the reign of Yoosoof Adil Shah, remarked, that, in such a crisis as the present, valour and fortitude would be of more avail than submission. She instantly ordered the palace-gates to be shut, and sent out her eunuch, Mullik Sundul, to the few of her countrymen on duty in the outer court of the seraglio, informing them, that Kumal Khan, with a view of deposing Ismael Adil Shah their sovereign, who was of the same country as themselves, was advancing to assassinate him and the whole of the royal family. She entreated them, therefore, that if they were men, they would not regard the superiority of the enemy, but valiantly assist their Prince against the traitor, who, by the divine blessing, would be overwhelmed in the enormity of his accursed ingratitude.

The foreign guards declared their resolution to defend their young sovereign, and both Dilshad Agha and Booboojee Khanum (the Queen-mother) now came out, dressed as men, and clad in armour, with bows and arrows in their hands, attended by the young King, Ismael Adil Shah, who had the yellow umbrella of his father held over him by a Toorky female, name Moortufa.

Meanwhile Sufdur Khan, the Regent's son, who was endeavouring to force the gates, was opposed by the Toorks with arrows from the palace wall. The young King, as well as the women, assisted, but the enemy's superiority was so great, that the party of brave Toorks had little chance. Many of them were killed by musket-balls, and the rest falling back, a mournful cry of despair ensued. At this instant, Moostufa Khan and Sikundur Khan Koomy, who had formerly the charge of the citadel, (and whom Kumal Khan, thinking weak and insignificant, had not thought worth while to expel), hearing of the disturbance, hastened with fifty Deccany matchlock-men to the foot

of the palace wall, and hailing Dilshad Agha ascended the terrace, and joined the royal party. The minister's party, though now kept in check, could not effectually be repulsed. Many persons continued to fall on both sides; and Dilshad Agha sent a servant privately over the wall in to the city, to inform all the foreigners of the danger to which their King was exposed, entreating them to hasten to his assistance, promising to admit them over a bastion behind the palace. The rebels not having secured this spot, many of the King's friends ascended by ropes thrown over to them by this enterprising female for the purpose, till at last the party in the palace amounted to one hundred and fifty foreign archers, fifty matchlock-men, nineteen Toorky slaves, and twenty-five Abyssinians. Dilshad Agha, with a veil on her head, fought with them, and by animating speeches encouraged their exertions, promising that the King would reward them all with high honours. Sufdur Khan, perceiving that the numbers within increased, secured the approaches to the palace to prevent more from entering, and made a desperate attack with five hundred men, bringing cannon also to batter down the walls. Many of the besieged fell at this time, and almost all the Deccanies and Abyssinians threw themselves over the battlements and fled. The foreigners now concealed themselves, and remained silent behind the parapet wall. Sufdur Khan, concluding they had fled, broke open the outer gate of the palace, and entered the court, but while endeavouring to force the inner door the gallant Dilshad caused a volley of shot and arrows to be discharged from the terrace, which did great execution, killing and wounding some of the principal men of the minister's party. An arrow also pierced the eye of Sufdur Khan, who ran under a wall over which the King himself was standing; and the royal youth, knowing his person, rolled down a heavy stone from the terrace, which crushed him to death as he lay couched to avoid the shot. The troops, seeing their chief killed, ran to the house of Kumal Khan, where they now learned that he also was dead, upon which they opened the gates of the citadel, and fled in different directions. Khoosrow Khan Toork, a faithful slave of the late king, perceiving the numbers of the enemy, without to be considerable, shut the gates again; and, at the suggeston of Dilshad, sent out the heads of the minister and his son with a guard by a sally-port, to be displayed through the streets of the city, for the in-

formation of the people. Mahomed Ein-ool-Moolk (who had given his daughter to Sufdur Khan in marriage), together with all the principal friends of the Regent, quitting their houses, made their escape out of the city. At length, the capital being claered of the rebels, the King came out with the body of his foster-father Yoosoof, which he caused to be deposited near the tomb of the venerable Ein-ood-Deen Jooneidy; and after distributing alms, he ordered a dome to be erected over the remains of his faithful servant, and a mosque to be built, for the maintenance of which public lands were allotted. During his whole reign, Ismael Adil Shah went constantly once a month to visit this tomb.

Early the next morning, the King ascended the throne, and gave public audience; on which occasion all the officers of the court and the inhabitants of the city paid their respects, and made offerings according to their rank and ability. Letters were despatched to the surrounding states, with an account of the death of the Regent, and the fortunate emanicipation of the King. Ameer Bereed, on receiving this information, raised the siege of Koolburga; but Timraj, who had taken advantage of the times to invade the King's dominions, still continued before Rachore, which at last surrendered to him, Ismael Adil Shah being too much employed in establishing the authority of his government to afford it timely relief.

The King's first acts were to reward those who had assisted him in the late crisis; he next sent letters to Mirza Jehangeer, Raab-Jung, Heidur Beg, and other noblemen, who had fled from the persecutions of Kumal Khan, inviting them to return to his court, and resume their employments. With the magnanimity becoming a great prince, he drew the pen of forgiveness over the crimes of the Regent's mother, and the rest of his family, who had been taken prisoners; and giving them a considerable sum of money, ordered them to quit his territories. The astrologers, who had so truly foretold the danger of Kumal Khan, he took into his own employment. The veterans of his father now assembling from all quarters, he soon collected a gallant body of Toorks and Moguls. Khoosrow Toork, who had assisted in his late deliverance, was honoured with the title of Assud Khan, and had Belgum conferred on him as a jageer. During his confinement, the King had vowed not to enlist any Deccanies or

Abyssinians in his service; and he kept his word for nearly twelve years, maintaining no other troops but foreigners, till at length, at their request, he permitted the children of foreigners born in India, to be received into the army, and afterwards, by degrees, consented to enrol Afghans and Rajpoots, provided they were not natives of the Deccan; a practice which was rigidly adhered to at the Adil Shahy court, till the reign of Ibrahim Adil Shah II.

Mirza Jehangeer, on his return to court, having the districts of Koolburga conferred on him, expelled the forces of Ameer Bereed, with the loss of four hundred men on their side; he also retook the forts of Noosrutabad Sagur and Etgeer, and wholly recovered all the country taken from Beejapoor during the regency of Kumal Khan. Ameer Bereed, incensed at these losses, issued orders in the name of Mahmood Shah to all the sovereigns of the Deccan, demanding assistance; upon which, Boorhan Nizam Shah, Sooltan Koolly Kootb Shah, and Alla-ood-Deen Imad Shah, each sent troops to join the Bahmuny standard; and in the year A.H. 920 (A.D. 1514), Ameer Bereed obliged the Bahmuny king to march from Ahmudabad Bidur, at the head of the allies, consisting of twenty-five thousand horse, towards Beejapoor, committing vast depredations on his route.

Ismael Adil Shah deemed it prudent to remain in his capital, permitting the enemy to advance without opposition to Allapoor, a town built by Yoosoof Adil Shah, within a mile and a half of Beejapoor, when quitting the city at the head of twelve thousand horse, all of whom were foreigners, he attacked the allied forces. Notwithstanding the superiority of the enemy in numbers, the Beejapoor troops defeated them so completely, that they fled, leaving behind them Mahmood Shah and his son, the Prince Ahmud, who both fell from their horses during the action. All the baggage of the fugitives fell into the hands of the victors. Ismael Adil Shah, on hearing of the situation of the princes, went to pay his respects to them : he made offerings of horses, with furniture set in jewels, and proposed to conduct them in magnificent palkies into Beejapoor, and to emancipate them from the oppression of Ameer Bereed. Mahmood Shah, however, not consenting to enter the city, encamped near Allapoor: where he remained some time to recover of the bruises he had sustained in his fall, and afterwards requested that Beeby Musseety,

sister to Ismael Adil Shah, might now be married to his son Ahmud, to whom she had formerly been betrothed. Ismael Adil Shah giving his consent to the nuptials, the ancient city of Koolburga was fixed on for its celebration; and both kings repaired thither, where the marriage ceremony was conducted with great magnificence; and the bride being delivered to the Prince Ahmud, Ismael Adil Shah sent an escort of five thousand cavalry to attend the royal pair, accompanied by Mahmood Shah, to Ahmudabad, which was deserted by Ameer Bereed on their approach. Mahmood Shah II., for some time, tasted the sweets of liberty, and was released from the control of his minister; but the Beejapoor troops no sooner left Bidur than Ameer Bereed returned, and resumed the charge of affairs as before.

Some years previous to these events, the King of Persia, Shah Ismael Sufvy, had sent ambassadors to the several states of Hindoostan, who had been received with due respect both by the Ray of Beejanuggur and the King of Guzerat. At this time Mahmood Shah, also, received an ambassador from him with proper attention, and wished to dismiss him with royal presents, but was prevented by Ameer Bereed. In this dilemma the ambassador wrote to Ismael Adil Shah, complaining of his being detained at Ahmudabad Bidur. The King of Beejapoor demanded the dismissal of the Persian ambassador, who, having obtained his audience of leave, came to Beejapoor, where he was met by Ismael Adil Shah at Allapoor. He was honoured with rich presents, and a suitable escort attended him as far as the port of Dabul, from whence he embarked on his return to Persia. The King of Persia, in return for this attention to his ambassador, in the year A.H. 925 (A.D. 1519), deputed Ibrahim Beg Toorkman, an officer of high rank, with letters and presents to Ismael Adil Shah: among the latter was a sabre set with valuable jewels. The King of Persia having in his letter addressed Ismael Adil Shah as an independent prince, he went twelve miles to meet the ambassador; and being highly gratified at the flattering acknowledgment of his sovereignty, he received Ibrahim Beg with extraordinary honours, and commanded the officers of his army to wear scarlet caps, having twelve points, a dress by which the followers of Sheikh Suffy were distinguished. He also ordered, that on Fridays and holidays a prayer should be recited at the mosques for the royal family of Persia.

In the year A.H. 927 (A.D. 1519), Ismael Adil Shah made preparations for marching to recover Moodkul and Rachore from the Ray of Beejanuggur; who gaining early intelligence of his intention moved with a great force, stationed his camp on the banks of the Krishna, where he was joined by many of his tributaries; so that his army amounted to at least fifty thousand horse, besides a vast host of foot. The King would now have deferred his expedition, as the enemy held possession of all the ferries of the Krishna, but his tents being once pitched, he considered it would be undignified to delay. He therefore marched with seven thousand cavalry, composed entirely of foreigners, and encamped on the bank of the river opposite to the Hindoos, waiting for the preparation of rafts to cross and attack. Some days after his arrival, as he was reposing in his tent, he heard one of his courtiers without the screens, reciting this verse : "Rise and fill the golden goblet with the wine of mirth, before the quaffer shall be laid in dust." The King, as if inspired by the verse, called his favourites about him, and spreading the carpet of joy, gave way to the pleasures of music and wine. When the banquet had lasted longer than was reasonable, and the effects of the liquor began to exercise their influence, a fancy seized the King to pass the river and attack the enemy. He accordingly called on his military officers to state the cause of the delay in preparing the boats and rafts. He was told that one hundred boats were already finished, and the rest would be ready in a few days. The King, heated with the banquet, resolved to cross immediately; and mounting his elephant, without making his intentions known, proceeded to the river, as if to reconnoitre, but suddenly gave orders for as many of his troops as could go to embark on the rafts, directing others to follow him on elephants. The officers in vain represented the imprudence and danger of this precipitation; but the King, without reply, plunged his own elephant into the stream, and was instantly followed by some of his officers and soldiers, on about two hundred and fifty elephants. By great good fortune all reached the opposite banks in safety, and as many troops as could cross on the rafts and boats at two embarkations had time to arrive before the enemy opposed him. The Hindoos, however, were in such force as precluded every hope of the King's success, with whom were not more than two thousand men to oppose thirty thousand. The heroes of Islam, as if animated with one soul, behaved so gallantly, that above a thou-

sand of the infidels fell, among whom was Sungut Ray, the chief general of Beejanuggur. The Mahomedans, however, found themselves so harassed by cannon shot, musketry, and rockets, which destroyed nearly half their numbers, that the survivors threw themselves into the river, in hopes of escaping. Tursoon Bahadur and Ibrahim Beg, who rode on the same elephant with their King, drove the animal across the stream; but so rapid was the current, that with the exception of that elephant and seven others the rest were all drowned. The King's rashness was severely punished by so great a loss. He took a solemn vow never to indulge again in wine till he had wiped away the stain of this defeat; and for this purpose he bent his whole mind to repair his misfortune.

Mirza Jehangeer having fallen in the late action, the King had recourse to the advice of Assud Khan as to the measures necessary to retrieve his disaster. Assud Khan observed, that as his loss was great, and the troops were dispirited, it would be advisable to return for the present to Beejapoor, and lay aside all thoughts of revenge till he could strengthen himself by an alliance with Boorhan Nizam Shah, and remove his natural enemy Ameer Bereed from his border. These objects being once effected, the punishment of the infidels might be subsequently accomplished. The King approving this advice marched from the Krishna to Beejapoor; and conferring the dignity of Sipahsalar on Assud Khan, added several districts to his jageer, and made him henceforward his principal counsellor in all important affairs.

Syud Ahmud Hirvy, who had formerly been sent as ambassador from Ismael Adil Shah to the King of Persia, was now despatched in the same capacity to Ahmudnuggur, to cement the bonds of friendship with that state; and being met near the city by Shah Tahir and the principal nobles, he was introduced to Boorhan Nizam Shah, and received with great honour. Letters and civilities having been previously interchanged, it was determined, that an interview should take place between the Kings of Beejapoor and Ahmudnuggur at the town of Sholapoor. On which occasion, Boorhan Nizam Shah demanding the hand of Muryum, the sister of Ismael Adil Shah, the nuptials were concluded with due ceremony. Valuable presents, including elephants and horses, were interchanged by both kings; and the rejoicings in honour of this alliance continued during the whole month of Rujub, of the

year A.H. 930 (May, A.D. 1524); after which, both kings took leave of each other, and returned to their respective capitals.

It is asserted, that in the treaty of alliance formed on this occasion Ismael Adil Shah consented to give up, as a marriage-portion to his sister, the fort of Sholapoor[24] with its five and a half districts taken by the late regent from Zein Khan; but it is certain this article was not immediately fulfilled. Boorhan Nizam Shah, for some time, neglected noticing the omission; but in the next year, having secured the co-operation of Imad Shah, King of Berar, and of Ameer Bereed, Regent of Bidur, the confederates marched with forty thousand men to besiege Sholapoor, and to occupy the ceded districts.

Ismael Adil Shah, collecting ten thousand foreign cavalry, moved to oppose the invasion; and both armies continued encamped during forty days between the forts of Sholapoor and Nuldroog, at the distance of four miles from each other, without coming to action. Three thousand foreign bowmen of Ismael Adil Shah were sent forth daily to hover round the enemy's camp, and cut off his supplies; in which service they were very successful. Khwaja Jehan Deccany, governor of Purenda, in consequence, vexed with the inactivity of Boorhan Nizam Shah, quitted the camp attended by four thousand select Deccany cavalry, with the resolution of surprising the Beejapoor archers. On the following evening, the foreigners, as usual, took up their post for the night on the banks of a rivulet, and having picketed their horses, were unarming, and waiting for their servants to dress their food. At this time, when the night had just shut in, Khwaja Jehan Deccany, with a reconnoitring party, came upon them, but was discovered at a short distance from the outposts by a sentry, who gave the alarm. The bowmen instantly took to their horses; but before they were all mounted, Khwaja Jehan fell upon them, and killed about three hundred; the rest owed their escape to the speed of their horses. Khwaja Jehan's Deccanies, after returning from the pursuit, came to the spot on which the archers had been encamped, and dismounting, employed themselves in plundering and in eating the victuals which had been left in the pots on the fires. The Beeja-

24. Purenda and Sholapoor, including eleven districts, were the original estate of Fukhr-ool-Moolk. At his death his two sons, Khwaja Jehan and Zein Khan, divided them; and the latter ceded them to Kumal Khan, the Regent of Beejapoor, vide p. 21.

poories, stung by the disgrace of this shameful defeat, determined on turning it to advantage, and concluding the enemy's army might also be surprised, they resolved to make an attack on the camp of Boorhan Nizam Shah. They accordingly moved direct to his lines, and the sentinels, taking them for Khwaja Jehan's detachment returning to camp, permitted them to pass. When in the midst of the camp, the Beejapoor bowmen discharging their arrows made great havoc, and pursued their route direct to the tents of Boorban Nizam Shah. Confusion soon prevailed in every quarter; friends could not be distinguished from foes; and the bowmen, when sated with slaughter and plunder, retired with very little loss. On the following morning, Ismael Adil Shah advanced to give battle to the enemy while yet suffering from the terror occasioned by the night-attack. Boorhan Nizam Shah and Imad Shah drew up their line, but in so great disorder and with such precipitation, that they were unable to withstand the assault of the Beejapoor troops. Imad Shah being charged by Assud Khan fled from the field without scarcely making any opposition, and did not halt, except at night, till he reached his fort of Gawul in Berar. Boorhan Nizam Shah was also on the point of giving way; but being timely reinforced by Ameer Bereed with six thousand fresh horse, continued to oppose for some time longer. At last, Khoosh-Geldy Agha and Ismael Agha, Toorky officers in the Beejapoor service, gained the enemy's rear with two thousand horse, while Assud Khan made a simultaneous attack on the right wing. These assaults threw the enemy into utter confusion; and Boorhan Nizam Shah, overcome by the weight of his armour, was nearly falling from his horse through faintness. In this state of the action, some Toorky slaves, observing the condition of the King of Ahmudnuggur, led his horse off the field, and the rout of his army instantly succeeded. About three thousand of the Armudnuggur troops were slain in the pursuit, and the royal standard of Nizam Shah fell into the hands of Assud Khan, besides forty elephants, many pieces of cannon, and the tents and baggage of the enemy, which became the reward of the victors. Ismael Adil Shah, after this victory, returned in triumph to Beejapoor, where he made rejoicings for a whole month, and conferred rewards and honours on the officers who had most distinguished themselves. To Assud Khan he gave five large and six small elephants, and on the same occasion he increased the pay of every soldier in his army. To

enable him to bear this expense, he appropriated all the lands hitherto allotted for the support of the seraglio to his troops, and gave up half the customs levied at the forts for the same object. Being one day told that some officers were still unprovided for, and on the minister saying, that the treasury could not maintain so many troops on the present pay, he asked what number of districts were set aside for the support of his wardrobe and kitchen? and having ascertained they amounted to twenty-four, he commanded half to be allotted to the pay of the troops; saying, that it was better for him to suffer some inconvenience than that the soldiers should have reason to complain.

In the year A.H. 935 (A.D. 1528), Boorhan Nizam Shah, accompanied by Ameer Bereed, again invaded the territories of Ismael Adil Shah. They were, however, completely defeated, within twenty coss of Beejapoor, by Assud Khan; on which occasion, Khwaja Jehan of Purenda and several officers of distinction were taken prisoners. Assud Khan pursued the fugitives as far as Purenda, and took much baggage and twenty elephants, among which was that which carried the ambarry[25] of Nizam Shah. Ismael Adil Shah conferred all the elephants on Assud Khan, except one named Alla Buksh (or the Gift of God), and honoured his general with the title of Furzund (or Son) in the firmans addressed to him. The King, by his advice, this year, gave his sister Khoodeija in marriage to Alla-ood-Deen Imad Shah, King of Berar; and these two monarchs had a meeting in the town of Oorsingy to celebrate the nuptials; after which, they took leave of each other with mutual presents and professions of regard.

This year, also, Bahadur Shah of Guzerat having invaded the territories of Boorhan Nizam Shah, Ismael Adil Shah sent ten lacks of hoons[26] and six thousand horse to assist his ally. These troops, after the retreat of Bahadur Shah, returning to Beejapoor, informed their sovereign that Ameer Bereed had endeavoured to currupt their fidelity, and to prevail on them to join him in an attack on Beejapoor, promising to reward them with a share of territory. Ismael Adil Shah, justly incensed at this treachery, resolved to punish Ameer Bereed; and in the year A.H. 936 (A.D.

25. An ambarry is the seat or throne on which the chief sits upon the elephant: it is covered with a canopy supported on pillars at the corners. This canopy distinguishes the ambarry from the howda.

26. 400,000*l*. sterling

1529), sent intelligent ambassadors to Boorhan Nizam Shah, complaining that Ameer Bereed had frequently conspired against his family and had more than once induced his enemies to invade his dominions; that he (Ismael Adil Shah) had hitherto refrained from attacking him, but that now he had resolved to do so, both from religious and political motives; for, he observed, it was contrary to wisdom to treat the wolf with gentleness, or the snake with kindness. He concluded by stating, that if Boorhan Nizam Shah would remain neutral on the occasion, he intended shortly to take ample vengeance on the ancient enemy of his house. Boorhan Nizam Shah, who lay under obligations to the King for his late succours, acquiesced in his wishes. The Ambassadors returned with this answer; and Ismael Adil Shah immediately prepared for his intended expedition.

The King having now formed an army of ten thousand cavalry, consisting of Arabians, Persians, Toorks, Oozbuks, Koords, and other foreigners, whom his liberality had bound to his interest, marched towards Ahmudabad Bidur. On his approach, Ameer Bereed, who was old and infirm, by the advice of Heemajy, a bramin, his minister, committed the charge of the fort of Bidur to his eldest son Ally Bereed, and himself withdrew to the fortress of Oodgeer.

Ismael Adil Shah, on arriving before Ahmudabad Bidur, blockaded the city on all sides; but the garrison made repeated sallies, and being nearly equal in numbers to the besiegers, greatly retarded their operations. At length the sons of Ameer Bereed, with five thousand horse, came out of the city, resolved, as the Beejapoor troops were composed only of bowmen, to charge them under cover of their shields, and cut them to pieces in close combat with their swords. Ismael Adil Shah, who had foreseen such an event, had provided three thousand cavalry, expert swordsmen, whose horses, as well as themselves, were covered with iron armour. This body was commanded by Syud Hoossein, an Arab chief of distinction. A very severe action in consequence ensued, on the plain before the gate of Bahmunypoora, and foreigners and Deccanies both displayed great courage. Ismael Adil Shah, in spite of the remonstrances of Assud Khan, engaged in the action, and killed with his own hand two of the sons of Ameer Bereed, who attacked him successively on that day. Both armies were loud in the praises of the King's valour, and his own officers,

alighting from their horses, kissed his stirrup. The engagement was scarsely ended, when four divisions of troops were seen on the right, which appeared to consist of about four thousand. Assud Khan instantly sent off one of his attendants, named Goodurz, with forty horsemen to learn who they were. They proved to be four thousand cavalry detached by Sooltan Koolly Kootb Shah of Golconda to the aid of Ameer Bereed; accordingly Ismael Adil Shah, having ordered Assud Khan to oppose them, prepared to renew his attack on the troops of Ally Bereed himself. At this moment Syud Hoossein Arab earnestly entreated to be entrusted with that duty, and begged the King not to expose his person unnecessarily. Moved by his remonstrances, the King promised to remain merely as a witness of the battle, at the same time presenting to Syud Hoossein his own sword, still reeking with the blood of his enemies. The Beejapoor generals were both successful; and the troops of the allies, after losing about five hundred men each, fled in disorder, leaving the field in possession of Ismael Adil Shah. Assud Khan, in this battle, gained great credit; for after driving off the four thousand Tulingas of Kootb Shah he came to the assistance of Syud Hoossein. When the King dismounted, after the victory, and was seated on an eminence overlooking the field of battle, he thanked all his officers, particularly distinguishing Assud Khan above the rest, by clasping him in his embrace. To Syud Hoossein he gave the horse he himself rode during the battle. On the part of the enemy, two of the sons of Ameer Bereed, and Roostoom Beg, commander of the Kootb Shahy auxiliaries, were slain.

Ismael Adil Shah now laid closer siege to the city than before; and Ameer Bereed, reduced to great distress, wrote to Alla-ood-Deen Imad Shah, earnestly requesting him to come and mediate a peace. Imad Shah, therefore, without even going to Oodgeer, to which place Ameer Bereed had retired, came and encamped within a mile of the besieging army at Bidur. Ismael Adil Shah went to visit the King of Berar, attended by his principal officers. On this occasion, after congratulating him on his late successes, Imad Shah declared that he had marched merely for the purpose of sharing in his victories, but that he now hoped to be able to mediate terms between him and Ameer Bereed. The King replied, that Ameer Bereed had done his family more injuries than could be enumerated; that in this war many of his brave officers had

fallen, and that he would listen to no terms short of absolute submission. Imad Shah, perceiving the determination of Ismael Adil Shah, did not press him farther; and the two princess, after spending a week together in festivity, parted. Ameer Bereed, hearing of this circumstance, now left Oodgeer, and came to the camp of Imad Shah, again entreating him to effect a peace. But being informed no other offer than the actual surrender of the city would be listened to by Ismael Adil Shah, he retired in disgust to his own camp, near that of Imad Shah, and to drown his cares gave himself up to pleasure. The troops of Ameer Bereed were much harassed, and became careless at night; so that even the outposts lay down to sleep, while many, following the example of their leader, had recourse to wine.

Ismael Adil Shah, having heard of the arrival of Ameer Bereed, ordered Assud Khan, with two thousand chosen horse, to surprise his camp. Assud Khan warned the troops for the duty, as if intended to relieve those at the trenches as usual; but when he had got beyond the lines, he made known to them his designs, and proceeded as silently as possible towards the tents of the enemy. Having arrived close to the outposts, and not hearing the smallest noise, he ordered his own men to remain quiet, and sent spies to learn the situation and state of the enemy. The scouts soon returning, declared that they had advanced uninterruptedly to the tents of Ameer Bereed, where the few men on guard were all asleep; in confirmation of which assertion, they presented some turbans and sabres they had stolen from them. Assud Khan, ordering his troops to remain in profound silence where they were till his return, proceeded with twenty-five horsemen and a few foot through the enemy's camp to the tents of Ameer Bereed. Here he saw the guards lying on all sides, apparently dead-drunk, amid the broken vessels of liquor. Assud Khan, unwilling to murder them in so helpless a condition, ordered some of his infantry to stand over them with drawn sabres, in case any should awake, and attempt giving the alarm. He now dismounted, and entering the King's tent with a few of his soldiers, resolved to carry off Ameer Bereed Shah alive; but in case of any attempt at rescue, to put him to death, and carry his head to his master. Ameer Bereed Shah lay senseless on his couch, around which the dancers and singers male and female, were indiscriminately jumbled together, amid the filth of broken vessels and spilt liquors. The bed

of Ameer Bereed, that old, experienced, and crafty prince, was now lifted up by Assud Khan's soldiers. They were moving out of the tents quietly with their prize, when one of the lamp-men, (called "*deoties*" in the Deccan, and who watch by the chief at night,) awaking, was in the act of crying out, but Assud Khan clapped his hands on the watchman's mouth, and his people seizing him strangled him on the spot, after which the party reached the troops waiting on the skirts of the camp without molestation. Assud Khan, now addressing his soldiers, said, that the main object ot their enterprise being accomplished, it was better to desist from a night-attack on the camp, as in the darkness the Hindoos could not be distinguished from the Mussulmans, and, consequently, many of the faithful must be slain. He accordingly moved towards the royal camp, carrying his prisoner on his bed without attempting to awaken him. Ameer Bereed Shah, however, finding his bed in motion, awoke, and fancying evil spirits or genii carried him through the air, began to cry out in terror, and called on God to protect him from enchantment. Assud Khan now explained to him his situation, and reproached him with imprudence; observing, that for a reverend old man, experienced as he was in the arts of government, to suffer himself to be taken in a state of intoxication in the neighbourhood of his enemy was as degrading to his character as to his sense. Ameer Bereed Shah, covered with shame and vexation, returned no answer; but Assud Khan consoled him by assuring him of his influence with the King to procure kind treatment.

On arriving at the Beejapoor camp, Assud Khan without delay presented his important prize to his master, who was overjoyed at the success of the enterprise. Sending for Ameer Bereed Shah, he asked how a person possessed of such art and cunning as he had displayed throughout a long life could allow himself to be so ensnared? The captive monarch replied, Fate and Providence had thus decreed it. The King then delivered him over to Assud Khan, and ordered him to bring his prisoner to court on the next day

Ismael Adil Shah, on the following morning, being seated on his throne, Ameer Bereed was placed opposite to him, with his head bare, and his hands tied behind his back, exposed to a hot sun. When he had stood for two hours in this situation, the King gave orders for his being put to death, and an executioner ad-

vanced to do his duty with a drawn scimitar. Ameer Bereed Shah, perceiving his helpless condition, condescended to beg his life; saying that undoubtedly he had been guilty of many insults to the King and his late father of blessed memory, and was conscious of meriting revenge at his hands; but if the King would forget these circumstances, and suffer him to live and repent, he would surrender to him the city of Ahmudabad, with the fortress of Bidur, whose battlements the ladders of an enemy had never yet scaled,--and he promised to deliver into his hands the treasurers of the Bahmuny royal family.

The King having consented to spare his life on these terms, Ameer Bereed despatched a message to one of his sons, acquainting them with his situation, and the agreement he had made. His son returned for answer, that as he was very old, and the period of his existence drawing to a close, it were folly to surrender such a fortress for a few remaining days of life. The object of this message, however, was only to gain time, in hopes of assistance from the allies; for the sons sent secret instructions by a confidential person to agree to the terms if their father should be in real danger. Ameer Bereed Shah affected to complain of the cruelty of his sons; but Ismael Adil Shah, who suspected the scheme, gave orders for him to be thrown before a vicious elephant, observing that he would trust to his army for gaining the city by assault. Ameer Bereed again had recourse to entreaty, and begged that he might be carried before a certain tower of the fort, in order that his sons might behold his condition, and be thus moved to save his life. This being done the sons seeing no other means but submission to save the life of their parent, offered to resign the city and fortress, on condition that they and their own families should be allowed to depart with the clothes on their persons without search. This being agreed on, they loaded themselves and their women with as many of the valuable ornaments and robes of the royal family of Bahmuny as they were able to conceal, and retired, with their followers, unmolested, to the fortress of Oodgeer.

Assud Khan with some chosen troops, entered the city to prevent plunder, and commenced to take a list of the treasurers and effects belonging to the vanquished. Ismael Adil Shah having fixed on a lucky moment proceeded on foot attended by all his officers and nobles from the gate of the city to the palace, and

having entered the grand hall of audience, ascended the throne of the Bahmuny kings. On this occasion he offered up thanks to God for his success, and deputed his son, the Prince Mulloo Khan, accompanied by Assud Khan and other chiefs, to invite Alla-ood-Deen Imad Shah to his court. Ismael Adil Shah met him at the steps of the palace, and the two kings sat down together on the same throne.

The treasurers were now laid before the Kings. They consisted of ten lacks of hoons[27] in money, several valuable jewels, a large quantity of gold and silver plate, magnificent china, and rich dresses. Ismael Adil Shah desired Alla-ood-Deen Imad Shah to take whatever he chose; and in order to avoid the imputation of having made war for the sake of the riches of the Bahmuny family, he divided the treasures into presents, which he sent partly to the surrounding states, and partly distributed among his own army, not reserving for himself a single coin. He intrusted fifty thousand hoons to Syud Ally Akheel, a person celebrated for his learning and integrity, to be distributed in charity to the poor inhabitants of Nujuf, Kurbela, and Mushed; and gave fifty thousand to Syud Ahmud Hirvy, to be bestowed on learned men in the Beejapoor dominions. He then desired the poet Mowlana Syeed of Koom to go to the treasury and take as much gold as he could lift; but the poet, who was infirm from sickness, observing, that when he first came to his court he was as strong again as at present, the King, laughing, desired him to take as much as he could carry away at two attempts. The poet, however, still desired to wait till he should recover from his indisposition before he made the effort : on which the King repeated the following verse :

"There is danger in delay, and it injures the petitioner."

The poet contrived to carry off on two occasions as many bags as contained twenty-five thousand hoons; and the King, on being told the amount by his treasurer, replied, "The Mowlana spoke truth in complaining of his weakness." He then declared that he would not rise till he had disposed of all the plunder, and accordingly commanded Assud Khan to make a division among the troops; which was effected in such a just manner that every person was content with his share.

Imad Shah now again interceded for Ameer Bereed. Ismael

27. 400,000*l*.

Adil Shah at length consented to enrol him among the number of his officers on Assud Khan's becoming security for his fidelity. Kulliany, Oodgeer, and some other districts, together with the revenue derived from the city lands, were allotted for his support, on condition of his attending the King's army with three thousand horse. A week after this event, the King marched his army to the south, attended by Alla-ood-Deen Imad Shah and Ameer Bereed with their forces. The affairs of the kingdom of Beejanuggur had been lately thrown into confusion, owing to the death of Hemraj, to whom his son Ramraj had succeeded. Against this prince rebellions were excited by several Rays, so that the Mahomedans met with no interruption to their progress. Rachore and Moodkul both surrendered by capitulation, after a seige of three months, after having been in possession of the infidels for seventeen years.

Ismael Adil Shah, who had vowed to refrain from wine till the reduction of these fortresses, was now induced to make a splendid festival on which occasion he drank wine and gave full scope to his inclinations. Alla-ood-Deen Imad Shah and Ameer Bereed partook of the banquet, and Assud Khan was also admitted to sit with them; he even drank out of the same goblet with his sovereign, who filled it with his own hand, and received another goblet in return from him. At the request of Assud Khan, too, fifteen hundred captives were released, and received presents of scarlet caps and vests. Many of these prisoners chose to remain in the service of Assud Khan, which the King permitted. During this festival, the King promised on his return to Beejapoor to restore to Ameer Bereed the government of Ahmudabad Bidur. These rejoicings continued for a whole month; in commemoration of which, Moolla Ibrahim Isferahy wrote a poem consisting of a thousand verses descriptive of them. At this period intelligence was received that Bahadur Shah of Guzerat was again preparing to invade the Deccan; on which, Ismael Adil Shah having dismissed Alla-ood-Deen Imad Shah to his capital returned to Beejapoor, when he agreed to restore the city of Ahmudabad Bidur to Ameer Bereed in six months, provided the latter should, within that period, deliver the forts of Kulliany and Kand'har into the King's hands; for which purpose he was permitted to quit Beejapoor. It is related, that on the late expedition the King being one day entertained by Alla-ood-Deen Imad Shah, received from him several trays of valuable jewels, of which he pressed his accep-

tance. The King, a few days afterwards, having invited Alla-ood-Deen Imad Shah to a banquet, drew up twelve thousand of his foreign cavalry before him; observing, that these were the only jewels he had collected during his reign, and told him he might select from among them a number for his own use. Alla-ood-Deen Imad Shah applauded his wisdom, and observed, with a sigh, that had he taken the same measures, he should not have lost the fortress of Mahoor.

Ameer Bereed neglecting to send the keys of the fortresses of Kulliany and Kand'har, Ismael Adil Shah resolved, in the year A.H. 938 (A.D. 1531), to reduce them by force, and sent his tents with one of his sons out of Beejapoor to prepare for his march. Ameer Bereed, meanwhile, applied to Boorhan Nizam Shah for aid, who sent ambassadors to Beejapoor, to request Ismael to forego his designs against Ameer Bereed. Ismael Adil Shah observed, in reply, that he had not interfered in the attack of Boorhan Nizam Shah on Mahoor, and that, moreover, to oblige him, he had even refrained from endeavouring to recover Goa from the Portuguese. He went on to remark, that as the cool season had commenced, and he did not choose to remain at home, he proposed making a tour of his dominions, and intended to visit Sholapoor and Nuldroog; but that he hoped Boorhan Nizam Shah would warn the officers of his frontier not to be alarmed nor misconceive the object of his march. Boorhan Nizam Shah, being now under no apprehensions in the direction of Guzerat and Berar, replied by acquainting Ismael Adil Shah, that he would do well not to refuse the request he had made, but be content to remain at home as better suited to his own interest.

Ismael Adil Shah having already marched from Beejapoor, received this communication at Bahmunhully while at evening prayers; and was so indignant that he moved with only four hundred horse and forty foot, and reached the river flowing under Nuldroog before evening prayer the next day. He then dismissed the ambassadors of Nizam Shah, telling them, he had done all that was incumbent on him to avoid a war, but that he should now wait for his royal brother to come, as he had repeatedly done before, and amuse himself with a view of the tempestuous ocean of war.

Boorhan Nizam Shah did not refuse the challenge, but, attended by Ameer Bereed proceeded with twenty-five thousand horse

and a considerable train of artillery to the frontiers of Beejapoor. Ismael Adil Shah left the organisation of the troops to Assud Khan, who was thus arranged them :—All the young men, sons of foreigners and Rajpoots, were formed into one body, composing a light division. under command of Sunjur Khan, son of Mirza Jehangeer Koomy, while their fathers, who were mostly old, remained in the line; observing that this was a day for the young soldiers to display their courage. Assud Khan assumed the command of the right wing, leaving the left to Moostufa Agha, Sikundur Agha, and Khoosh Geldy Agha, Toorky chiefs of distinction. The centre was commanded by the King in person, who joined as soon as the line was formed. On observing that the colour of the canopy, the royal standard, and flags of the enemy, which were formerly white, were changed to green, the King asked the cause of this alteration. He was told these were the insignia conferred on Boorhan Nizam Shah by Bahadur Shah of Guzerat. While he was yet speaking, the light division became engaged; and Ismael Adil Shah instantly advanced with his whole line, by which the action became general, and was so well maintained on both sides that victory was long doubtful. At length Khoorsheed Khan, commander of the Nizam Shahy army, being killed, his troops fled in disorder. Boorhan Nizam Shah was shortly after surrounded by the Beejapoor Mogul horse, and in danger of being taken prisoner, when his body guard, by a desperate effort, liberated their sovereign and escorting him safely from the field, he fled with precipitation to Ahmudnuggur, without waiting to collect his scattered army. Much plunder fell into the hands of the victors; and the superiority of Ismael Adil Shah became established throughout the Deccan. The battle was called the Victory of the Foreign Boys, by whose exertions it was principally won. This corps now rose daily in the King's esteem, and many of them were raised to the rank of nobility, in reward for their serivces during the lifetime of their fathers. This was the last contest between Ismael Adil Shah and Boorhan Nizam Shah. An alliance was subsequently formed between them, when they had an interview on their frontiers, in which it was agreed that the former should be at liberty to reduce the country of Kootb Shah, and the latter be permitted to add Berar to his possessions without molestation.

In consequence of this arrangement (A.H. 940, A.D. 1533), Ismael Adil Shah becoming reconciled to Ameer Bereed, induced

him to join in the attack on Tulingana; and they accordingly proceeded and laid seige to Kowilconda, one of the principal fortresses on the frontiers of that kingdom. This fort had very nearly been reduced, when Ismael Adil Shah was attacked by a violent fever which obliged him to keep his bed. Finding his disorder increase, he sent for Assud Khan Lary and Ameer Bereed, who were both absent from the camp, laying waste the enemy's country. On their arrival he expressed his wish that they should continue the siege, while he retired to Koolburga for change of air, till his recovery should enable him to rejoin his army. It was accordingly fixed that the King should begin his journey on the next morning in a palky; but before daylight, a severe relapse of fever coming on he was united with the elect on Wednesday the 16th of Suffur, A.H. 941 (Sept. 6, A.D. 1534), after a glorious reign of twenty-five years.

Assud Khan having embalmed the royal corpse, placed it in a close litter, and sent it privately to Gogy. He concealed the King's death for two days; at the end of which time he communicated the fatal intelligence to Ameer Bereed and all the nobility, whom he advised to keep the event secret, in order to avoid disputes between the two young princes in an enemy's country. It was proposed, therefore, to raise the siege of Kowilconda, and to defer making arrangements for the succession till their arrival at Koolburga, where they might seek inspiration to direct their choice at the tomb of the blessed Syud Mahomed Geesoo-Duraz, who lies buried near that city. All the chiefs approving of this counsel, Assud Khan, at the head of the army, accompanied by the princes, began their march from Kowilconda.

Syud Ahmud Hirvy relates that Ismael Adil Shah was just, prudent, patient, and liberal; and from the abundance of his magnanimity he gave rewards without too minutely inspecting the condition of his treasury. He was extremely generous also, frequently pardoning state criminals, and was averse from listening to slander. He never used passionate language. He possessed great wit, to which he added a sound and acute judgment. He was an adept in the arts of painting, varnishing, making arrows, and embroidering saddle-cloths. In music and poetry he excelled most of his age. He was fond of the company of learned men and poets, numbers of whom were munificently supported at his court. He was delighted with re-partee in conversion, and had

a great fund of humour, which he often displayed in his intercourse with his courtiers : no other king of the Deccan equalled him in this respect. He was fonder of the Turkish and Persian manners, music, and language, than the Deccany : he seldom made use of the latter tongue. This partiality was owing to his being educated under the tuition of his aunt, Dilshad Agha,[28] who by desire of his father kept him as much as possible from the company of Deccanies, so that he had little relish for that people. He was buried at Gogy, near the tomb of his father, Yoosoof Adil Shah.

MULLOO ADIL SHAH

WHEN Ismael Adil Shah was about to take his departure from this temporary mansion of care, he addressed Assud Khan, saying, that although he feared his eldest son, Mulloo Khan, had not abilities to govern, yet paternal affection led him to wish he might succeed according to his birthright. He appointed Assud Khan protector of the kingdom, with full powers to place the Prince Mulloo on the throne; conjuring him to remain steadfast in his loyalty towards him; and concluded by saying, that he had full reliance on the minister's abilities, which he was sure would make up for any deficiency or imprudence to which his son might be prone.

The Prince Ibrahim, the King's youngest son, who had long entertained ambitious views towards the throne, had gained over many of the nobles to his interest; so that when their father's death could no longer be concealed from them, the brothers were on the eve of coming to open war, though in an enemy's country, and actually conducting the siege of Kowilconda. Sooltan Koolly Kootb Shah of Golconda, obtaining information of the state of affairs, conceived the opportunity so favourable that he directed his troops to hover round the Adil Shahy camp, and stop its supplies of provisions; and he even caused the ears and noses of the prisoners to be cut off, and then released them in this mutilated condition to return to their camp.[29] The officers of the army having espoused opposite parties refused to lead detachments

28. She was aunt to his foster-brother, and sister to his nurse.

29. Faria-e-Souza relates this fact with much exaggeration. He states, also, that Sooltan Koolly had twelve Portuguese in his service at the siege of Kowilconda.

against the enemy, lest advantage should be taken by their rivals of their absence; and the camp followers suffering from the attacks of the Tulingas, and unsupported by their own troops, refrained from bringing in forage or grain, so that famine began to rage, and discontent and consternation pervaded the army. Assud Khan, who was respected by all, finding the disorders daily increasing, boldly resolved to put an end to them by the exercise of his authority. In the first place, he seized and put to death those evil disposed persons who had excited the princes against each other, and calling together all the nobles, he forbade them to visit either of the princes. He directed them, for the present, to attend him, as usual, daily at the audience-tents, in order that they might conduct public affairs till the time should arrive for seating one or other of the princes on the throne. Both parties submitted to these measures; and the whole army approved of the conduct of Assud Khan, and promised to fulfil his wishes. Having assumed the title of Protector, he detached a force to dislodge the Tulingas from the vicinity of the camp, and placed strong guards of his own dependents over the princes: informing them, that the astrologers had declared ten days must elapse before the favourable moment for accession to the throne; and as it was his opinion, that remaining much longer in an enemy's country would be imprudent, he advised the immediate march of the army to Koolburga, where they might invoke the blessed spirit of Syud Mahomed Geesoo-Duraz to direct them in the succession.

The princes acceding to this proposal raised the siege of Kowilconda, and the army moved to Koolburga, where Assud Khan consulted with the principal ladies of the haram of his late sovereign and the nobility on the choice of a king. Most of them being of opinion that the King's last will should be implicitly acted on, he acquiesced; and confining the Prince Ibrahim, he placed Mulloo Adil Shah on the throne, who was immediately acknowledged by the nobility and army. Assud Khan, on his return to Beejapoor, disgusted with the conduct of the new king, delivered over the Prince Ibrahim to the care of his grandmother, Booboojee Khanum; and resigning his office at court retired to his jageer of Belgam with all his family, and Ismael Khan Deccany was raised to the office of prime minister in his stead.[30]

30. The value and authenticity of the Mahomedan historian will be fully appreciated by all those readers who take the trouble to consult the confused Portuguese accounts of these events.

Mullo Adil Shah, free from all restraint, abandoned himself to excess as to women, wine, music, dancing, and low vices; in the indulgence of which he spent the whole of his time, leaving the direction of his affairs to a few profligate favourites. His conduct soon became offensive to all the respectable part of his subjects, whose children, if they pleased him, he seized by force, and dragged to his palace for shameful purposes. At length, he insisted on having one of the children of Yoosoof Khan, a Turkish nobleman of rank, sent to him. Yoosoof Khan refused compliance; and the King became so incensed, that he sent some of his guards, with orders, if Yoosoof Khan persisted in his refusal to bring his head. Yoosoof Khan being prepared for resistance repulsed the soldiers, and on the same day retired, in spite of great opposition, to his own jageer of Kittoor, with all his family and followers. Other persons of distinction soon followed his example, left court, and repaired to their estates; but the King took no notice of these indications of revolt, nor did he alter his conduct.

The Dowager Boohoojee Khanum, mother to the late king, equally offended at the King's shameful vices, resolved to depose him, and wrote to Yoosoof Khan, that as Mulloo Adil Shah was unworthy to reign, she wished he would assist her in dethroning him, and in elevating his younger brother Ibrahim to the musnud. Yoosoof Khan, despatching one of his friends to Belgam, informed Assud Khan, that owing to the tyranny of Mulloo Adil Shah he had fled from Beejapoor, and explained the overtures made to him by the Dowager-queen. Assud Khan, in reply, observed, that as the conduct of the King had disgusted all ranks, the safety and honour of the state required that he should follow the council of Boohoojee Khanum without delay; on which Yoosoof Khan sent back the Queen's messengers with assurances of implicit compliance with her commands; and shortly after, on a day fixed on between them, he arrived by forced marches at Beejapoor, and suddenly entered the citadel with two hundred armed soldiers. Noor Khan, the commander of the garrison, made little opposition. Mulloo Adil Shah was seized, and blinded, by orders of his grandmother, together with his youngest brother, Alloo Khan, after an inglorious reign of only six months. The Prince Ibrahim was immediately after seated on the throne, amid the acclamations of the nobles and the people.

IBRAHIM ADIL SHAH, on his accession to the throne, having rejected the names of the Imams from the Khootba, restored the exercise of the Soony rites, and commanded that no person should in future wear the scarlet cap of twelve points, which had been adopted by all the troops of his father, in imitation of the Persians. Instead of foreign troops he enlisted Deccanies in his service, and permitted only four hundred foreigners to remain in his bodyguard. All the foreign officers, with the exception of Assud Khan Lary, Khoosh Geldy Agha, Roomy Khan, and Shoojat Khan Koord, were degraded. and Deccanies and Abyssinians were promoted in their stead. All the foreign troops which were thus dismissed entered into the service of different princes. Ramraj, the Hindoo Prince of Beejanuggur, entertained three thousand of them; and in order to reconcile them to the act of making obeisance to him, he caused a Koran to be placed before him when they came to pay their respects; which enabled them to do so without a breach of the ordinances of their religion.

Ibrahim Adil Shah, by this new regulation, created an army of thirty thousand cavalry composed of men who rode the King's horses.[31] The customs which prevailed in the reign of Ismael

31. Some observations on the constitution of the Indian governments may be necessary in this place. Each Hindoo principality seems to have been originally subdivided among the great military officers of the state, whose administration was regulated on some generally fixed principles, but the details of which did not come under the direct cognisance of the head of the government. The Mahomedans, at a very early period, fell into the same practice, and each governor of a province was at the same time a military leader and a civil ruler. One portion of the estimated revenue was set aside for the civil expenses, a second portion for the governor's establishment, and the balance was made applicable for the support of the troops. These were enlisted wholly on the responsibility of the governor, and consisted chiefly of cavalry. This latter body was composed of silehdars, literally, mail-clad, or men at arms, and bargeers: the latter seem to have been like the squires of the feudal time in Europe, retainers of the silehdars, or knights. The word bargeer, "one who has charge of baggage," is sometimes changed to bangeer, literally, rocketeer, because in later times, they carried rockets on their horses, and were employed in night-attacks to harass an enemy. The silehdars were the owners of their own horses, and supplied them to their bargeers, or retainers.

In order to insure the fidelity of the governors of provinces, each governor maintained a portion of his followers at court, under the

Adil Shah were wholly laid aside; and the public accounts, formerly kept in Persian, were now written in Hindvy, under the management of bramins, who soon acquired great influence in his government. Assud Khan was ordered to enlist Deccanies in his service, and to adopt the Soony faith. Out of a thousand foreigners, he discharged six hundred, but refused to change his persuasion, and both in his camp and on his own jageer he publicly exercised the Sheea ceremonies, an indulgence the King thought it prudent to allow. The year after his accession, the King led his army to Beejanuggur, on the requisition of the Ray; but before the particulars of the expedition are recited, it is necessary to relate the causes which led to it, and to give some account of the revolutions which had taken place at that court.

The government of Beejanuggur had remained in one family in uninterrupted succession for seven hundred years, when Shew Ray dying, he was succeeded by his son a minor, who did not long survive him, and left the throne to a younger brother. Not long after, he died also, leaving an infant only three months old. Timraj, one of the principal ministers of the family, celebrated for his wisdom and experience, became sole regent, and was cheerfully obeyed by the nobility and vassals of the kingdom for forty years. On the occasion of the young King's attaining the age of manhood, Timraj poisoned him; and put an infant of the family on the throne, in order to have a pretence for retaining the regency in his hands. Timraj at length dying, was succeeded in his office by his son Ramraj, who having married a daughter of Shew Ray, added by that alliance greatly to his influence and power. By degrees raising his own family to the highest rank, and destroying many of the ancient nobility, Ramraj aspired to reign in his own name, and intended totally to extirpate the race of Shew Ray. Many of the nobility, however, opposing this project, he complied with their wishes, and placing an infant boy of the female line on the throne, committed his person to the care of the child's uncle, one Bhoj Tirmul Ray, who being deemed almost an idiot, Ramraj considered he had little to apprehend from him. Ramraj, in the space of five or six years, cut off by treachery almost all those

command of his eldest son or nearest relative; and the king preserved his own dignity and strength with the aid of a formidable body of household troops (frequently foreigners), who were entirely dependent on the crown.

chiefs who formerly opposed his pretensions to the throne; and leaving the city of Beejanuggur in charge of a slave, whom he had raised to high rank, he marched with an army against some of the Rays of the country of Malabar, who withheld their tribute. These princes he soon reduced, and deprived them of their fortresses; after which, having moved against a powerful zemindar to the south of Beejanuggur, he was detained for six months without making the smallest impression on him, though he had been en-engaged in several general actions.

Ramraj having expended the treasures of his military chest wrote to his deputy to send him a supply of money from Beejanuggur, in order to enable him to continue the war; but the deputy, on opening the vaults of the treasury, and perceiving the magnitude of its wealth, instantly resolved on rebellion against his patron, and set at liberty the young Ray, having first induced Bhoj Tirmul Ray to embrace his interest. The deputy now assumed the office of minister, and began to levy troops. Several tributary Rays, who were offended with Ramraj's administration, hastened to Beejanuggur to rally round their lawful King, and in a short time thirty thousand horse, and vast hosts of foot, were assembled under his standard at the city. Bhoj Tirmul Ray, apprehending that the slave, now the minister, might repent of his rebellion and eventually betray them to Ramraj, put his benefactor to death, and assumed the management of affairs at Beejanuggur.

Ramraj, on hearing of this revolt, concluded a hasty peace with his enemy, and returned towards Beejanuggur; but being deserted by several of his officers, who left him on the route to join their lawful sovereign, he thought it advisable at present to desist from war, and to rest content with his extensive jageer. A treaty was accordingly brought about between him and the young Ray, by which Ramraj was suffered to remain in independent possession of his country. Quiet being now restored, the nobility, who had supported the revolution, left their sovereign under the care of his uncle Bhoj Tirmul Ray, and returned to their several districts. Not long afte rthis event, the uncle, becoming ambitious of reigning, strangled his nephew, and seized the throne of Beejanuggur, and being a member of the royal family the nobility preferred his authority to that of Ramraj; but in a short time, being unwilling to endure his tyranny and oppression, they became dis-

affected towards him, and invited Ramraj to return, and assume the administration of affairs.

Bhoj Tirmul Ray, obtaining intelligence of their designs, despatched ambassadors with a sum of six lacks of hoons,[32] and many valuable presents, to Ibrahim Adil Shah of Beejapoor, soliciting him to march to his assistance, in return for which he promised to acknowledge himself tributary, and to pay down a sum of three lacks of hoons for every day's march his army might make. Ibrahim Adil Shah, tempted by the greatness of the offer, and by the advice of Assud Khan, mover from his capital in the year A.H. 942 (A.D. 1535), and arrived at Beejanuggur without opposition, when he was conducted into the city by Bhoj Tirmul Ray, who seated him on the royal musnud, and made rejoicings for seven days. Ramraj and the confederate nobles now sent letters to the Ray expressing contrition for their rebellion, and assuring him of their future firm allegiance. They represented in strong colours the evil consequences of introducing the Mussulmans into their country; that their temples and the idols would be defiled and destroyed, and that the children of all ranks of people, as in the times of the Bahmuny kings, would be carried away into captivity. Ramraj, moreover, swore never again to depart from his allegiance, if Bhoj Tirmul Ray would cause the retreat of the King of Beejapoor to his own dominions. Bhoj Tirmul Ray, thinking he had now no further use for his allies, requested the return of the Mahomedan army, and paid down fifty lacks of hoons,[33] the amount of the settled subsidy, besides making presents to a vast amount to the King, among which were twelve fine elephants and some beautiful horses.

Ibrahim Adil Shah had not yet recrossed the Krishna, when Ramraj and the confederates, who had bribed many of the troops in the city, broke their promises, and hastened towards Beejanuggur, resolving to put the Ray to death, on pretence of revenging the murder of his predecessor. Bhoj Tirmul Ray, finding he was betrayed, shut himself up in the palace, and becoming mad from despair, blinded all the royal elephants and horses, and cut off their tails, that they might be of no use to his enemy. All the diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and other precious stones and pearls, which had been collected in the course of many ages, he crushed

32. 240,000*l*.
33. About 1,750,000*l* sterling.

to powder between heavy mill-stones, and scattered them on the ground. He then fixed a sword-blade into a pillar of his apartment, and ran his breast upon it with such force, that it pierced through and came out at his back; thus putting an end to his existence, just as the gates of the palace were opened to his enemies. Ramraj now became Ray of Beejanuggur without a rival.

Ibrahim Adil Shah, hearing of this revolution on his arrival at Rachore, despatched Assud Khan with the greatest part of his army to reduce the important fortress of Adony, which was on the point of surrendering, when Venkatadry, the younger brother of Ramraj, marched from Beejanuggur with a great army to relieve it. Assud Khan, upon his approach, raised the siege and moved towards him. A sharp engagement ensued; and Assud Khan, finding that he was likely to have the worst of the action from the vast superiority of the enemy, retreated in good order, and was followed to the distance of seven fursungs[34] by the victors, when he pitched his camp. Venkatadry, in order to be ready to harass the retreat again the next day, halted in full security at the distance of six fursungs[35] from Assud Khan, who ardently wished for such an event. Before daylight, on the next day, Assud Khan, with four thousand chosen horse, surprised the camp of Venkatadry, whose self-confidence had thrown him wholly off his guard against such a manœuvre. Assud Khan penetrated to his tents before the alarm was given, and Venkatadry had scarcely time to make his escape, leaving his treasures, family, and elephants, in the hands of the victors. When day appeared, Venkatadry collected his scattered troops, and drew them up as if to engage; but seeing Assud Khan prepared to maintain his advantage, and apprehensive of the consequences to his wife and children, he declined a battle, and retiring some miles off, fixed his camp. From thence he wrote an account of his disaster to Ramraj, and requested reinforcements. Ramraj immediately sent supplies of men and money, giving out his intention of carrying on the war, but he privately informed his brother, that he had reason to imagine Ibrahim Adil Shah had not been induced to besiege Adony of his own accord, but that he suspected the zemindars of that quarter had invited him to make war, and that many of the officers with

34. About twenty-one miles.
35. About eighteen miles.

Venkatadry were secretly in the enemy's interest; therefore he thought he would act prudently by making peace with the Mussulmans at present, and obtaining the release of his wife and family from Assud Khan. In consequence of this advice, having procured the mediation and influence of Assud Khan, Venkatadry made overtures to Ibrahim Adil Shah for peace; which being granted, and the terms settled to the satisfaction of both states, Ibrahim Adil Shah returned to Beejapoor, accompanied by Assud Khan and the rest of his nobility and army.

In this expedition some malicious persons told the King that Assud Khan had received a vast sum of money, besides jewels and gold and silver plate, from Ramraj, in order to procure the release of the prisoners, and for mediating the peace. Ibrahim Adil Shah, instead of being displeased, or coveting the great sum said to have been received, reproved the informers, and observed, he returned God thanks that he had a servant to whom great kings condescended to pay contributions, and who bore the yoke of submission on their necks. He then, in the presence of the informers, called for Assud Khan, and honoured him with a suit of his own robes, and conferred on him other distinguishing marks of favour; which confounded his enemies, and for some time prevented their further machinations against him.

The King, on his return to the capital, nominated Assud Khan to the office of prime minister, as well as commander-in-chief of his armies; which circumstance excited more and more the envy of his enemies, who took every opportunity of hinting that his influence was growing dangerous. Though these insinuations for a long time were disregarded, yet some impression was at length made on the royal mind, and the King was heard in private to express his wish to humble the minister. Yoosoof Toork, one of the King's chamberlains, thinking this a fit instant to alarm his master, observed, that Assud Khan, from a similarity of religious tenets, maintained a secret correspondence with Boorhan Nizam Shah, to whom he mediated resigning the fort of Belgam, and entering his service. This story confirmed the suspicion of Ibrahim Adil Shah, who now asked his confidant what would be the surest method of securing his minister. Yoosoof recommended that he should be invited to court from Belgam, on pretence of his being required on the ceremony of the circumcision of the young Prince Ally, when, if he came, he might be easily

confined, or his authority curtailed. The King's water-cooler happening to overhear this consultation, told it in confidence to his own family, who revealed it to their friends; so that in a short time the King's displeasure against the minister became the topic of conversation among all ranks, and Assud Khan was placed on his guard. When the royal order was sent, commanding him to court, he excused himself from attending, on pretence of illness: attempts were then made to corrupt his servants to poison him, but all in vain; these measures only serving to render him more vigilant against treachery. At last it was resolved that Yoosoof should have lands conferred on him in the vicinity of Belgam, and retire to them with his dependents, to be at hand to seize any favourable opportunity that might offer of surprising the minister.

Assud Khan, an experienced and cautious politician, was not to be easily deceived by these arts. One day he proceeded with only a few attendants to visit a garden-house at some distance from Belgam, leaving orders for four hundred horsemen to follow. One of Yoosoof's spies obtaining information of Assud Khan's movement hastened to inform his master that the minister had gone out almost unattended, and might easily be surprised and taken prisoner. Yoosoof accordingly advanced towards the garden, which, to his astonishment, he found surrounded by troops. Seeing, however, his own party superior in numbers, he resolved on attempting to effect his object by force; but was repulsed by Assud Khan, who returned triumphant to Belgam after taking many prisoners.

Ibrahim Adil Shah denied that this attack was made with his consent; and in order to corroborate this assertion, he commanded Yoosoof to appear at court, and placed him in confinement; at the same time writing to Assud Khan that he was much offended with Yoosoof's conduct, and would punish him in any manner the minister wished. Assud Khan, who knew the real state of the case, sent back a reply, respectfully saying that he himself was the only guilty person, and would willingly have gone to court to implore forgiveness; but that as the King had been pleased of his own accord to overlook his conduct, he was at a loss for words to express his sense of the obligation. With this letter he sent back all his prisoners, after having presented them with honorary

dresses, and committed to their charge valuable offerings for the King.

The breach between the King and his minister becoming public throughout the Deccan, Boorhan Nizam Shah and Ameer Bereed availed themselves of it to circulate insidious reports, that Assud Khan had promised to deliver up Belgam to them whenever they should approach; and accordingly, in the year A.H. 949 (A.D. 1542), they invaded the territories of Ibrahim Adil Shah, and wresting the five districts dependent on Sholapoor from his officers, gave them up to the servants of Khwaja Jehan Deccany, after which they moved in the direction of Belgam. Assud Khan, though not originally privy to the invasion, deemed it prudent, in order to save his estates from plunder, to join them on their approach with six thousand horse. The allies, inspired with fresh courage by this accession of power, spread desolation through the country to the neighbourhood of Beejapoor; and Ibrahim Adil Shah, conceiving himself unable to oppose them in the field, retired with his family to Koolburga.

Assud Khan, true to the interest of his sovereign, though abandoned by him, secretly despatched Ally Mahomed Budukshy, one of his most faithful servants, to Elichpoor, the capital of Berar, representing to Alla-ood-Deen Imad Shah,[36] that from the strange and inconstant vicissitudes of fortune an event had occurred, which had involved him in a maze of embarrassment, entreating Imad Shah to march to the aid of Ibrahim Adil Shah, and that he, Assud Khan, would join him as soon as he should reach the borders. Imad Shah, in compliance with this solicitation, moved without delay towards Koolburga; and Boorhan Nizam Shah and Ameer Bereed, then lying before the citadel of Beejapoor, raised the siege, and after devastating the suburbs of the city, marched for the purpose of preventing a junction of the Berar army with Ibrahim Adil Shah. Assud Khan, according to agreement, now quitted the allies, and with all his followers joined Imad Shah, to whom he represented, that the traitor Yoosoof having filled the mind of his prince with suspicions of his loyalty, and Ibrahim Adil Shah having listened implicitly to every idle report tending to his dishonour, the ministers of Boorhan Nizam Shah took ad-

36. Alla-ood-Deen Imad Shah espoused the daughter of Yoosoof Adil Shah, and was, consequently, the uncle by marriage of Ibrahim Adil Shah.

vantage of the King's displeasure towards him, and with a view to promote their own advantage had openly declared that he, Assud Khan, had offered to join their master if the King of Ahmudnuggur would invade the territory of Beejapoor. Ibrahim Adil Shah believing this vile tale, became more incensed against him, and not only removed him from his office, but attempted in various ways to take his life. He stated that the enemy, on finding their arts had succeeded, entered his estates to give colour to their story, and finding himself unsupported by his sovereign, he was (from regard to self-preservation) obliged to join the confederates for a time; but that as Imad Shah had now come to his assistance, he relied on him to remove from the King's mind the effects produced by the accusation of his enemies; but if that could not be effected, he declared himself willing to submit to any punishment the King his master might think fit to inflict on him.

Imad Shah, convinced of the integrity of Assud Khan, heartily espoused his cause, and conducted him on the same day to Ibrahim Adil Shah, to whom he also soon made clear the error into which he had been led. Ibrahim Adil Shah clasped Assud Khan in his embrace, expressing contrition for his ill usage of him; and in order to convince him of his sincerity, he not only imprisoned Yoosoof and his agents, who had abused his confidence, but conferred his estates on Ein-ool-Moolk Geelany, an officer of distinction whom Assud Khan had prevailed to quit the service of Ameer Bereed. The reconciliation between the King and his minister soon changed the state of affairs, and Ibrahim Adil Shah and Imad Shah marched to give the allies battle, who retreated with expedition towards Dowlutabad. They were were hotly pursued by the Beejapoor and Berar troops, who took ample revenge for the depredations the enemy had committed in the Beejapoor territory. An event occurred, however, which brought about a peace. Ameer Bereed dying suddenly, Boorhan Nizam Shah was reduced to sue for terms; and the venerable Shah Tahir was sent as his ambassador to make the overtures. In the treaty which ensued, it was agreed that the Sholapoor five districts, which had been taken by the allies, should be restored to Ibrahim Adil Shah, and Boorhan Nizam Shah promised never again to lay claim to them. The treaty being signed and exchanged, each of the sovereigns returned to their respective capitals.

In the following year A.H. 950 (A.D. 1543), Ibrahim Adil Shah married the daughter of Alla-ood-Deen Imad Shah,[37] named Rubeea Sooltana, and the nuptials were celebrated with great splendour. Boorhan Nizam Shah, jealous of his military reputation, and vexed at the termination of the late war, declared he should enjoy no rest till re recovered the five districts he had been compelled to relinquish to Beejapoor. Accordingly, shortly after, availing himself of some disagreement which occurred between Ibrahim Adil Shah and Imad Shah, Boorhan Nizam Shah formed secret alliances with Ramraj of Beejanuggur, and Jumsheed Kootb Shah of Golconda, to wage war against the Beejapoor territories on the south and east, while with his own army, and the troops of Ally Bereed and Khwaja Jehan, he invaded them on the north-east. With this force he laid waste many districts, and on several occasions defeated the Beejapoor troops sent to oppose his progress. Jumsheed Kootb Shah, entering the kingdom on the east, seized the district of Kakny, in which he built a strong fort, and occupied the whole country to the walls of Koolburga, and, moreover, laid siege to the fortress of Etgeer, near the city of Sagur; while on the south Ramraj deputed his brother Venkatadry to reduce the fort of Rachore; so that the kingdom of Beejapoor, attacked at once by three powerful armies in separate quarters, seemed on the brink of destruction.

Ibrahim Adil Shah, at a loss how to act, and without confidence in the opinions of his counsellors, sent for Assud Khan from Belgam, and asked his advice. Assud Khan observed, that Boorhan Nizam Shah was the true enemy, who had instigated the rest to hostility, and that if he could be removed, it would be easy to manage the others. He advised, therefore, that peace should be concluded with him, by resigning the five districts dependent on Sholapoor. He recommended, also, that separate overtures should be made to Ramraj, and presents sent to propitiate his friendship; observing, that small concessions would suffice to ensure his forbearance, as his own country, the Carnatic, was as yet by no means in a settled state, many of the dependent Rays being still in revolt. In conclusion, he stated, that when free from the attacks of these two powers, Assud Khan would himself undertake the

37. This princess was the daughter of Khoodeija, Ibrahim Adil Shah's aunt. Vide Genealogy.

chastisement of Kootb Shah, and promised in a short time to recover all the places he had taken from Beejapoor.

Ibrahim Adil Shah acted according to this advice, and peace being concluded with Boorhan Nizam Shah and Ramraj, Assud Khan marched against Jumsheed Kootb Shah, and reduced the newly-erected fort of Kakny after a siege of three months, and levelled it with the ground. He then moved on towards Etgeer, of which place the enemy raised the siege on his approach, and not thinking it prudent to hazard an engagement, retreated to his own dominions. Assud Khan followed him closely to the walls of Golconda, when Jumsheed Kootb Shah halting gave him battle. On this occasion, the King of Golconda was defeated in a severe action, and received a sabre wound in his cheek from Assud Khan as they fought hand to hand, which disfigured him for life. Thus Assud Khan, after a glorious campaign, returned triumphant to Beejapoor, where he was received by the King with honour, having fulfilled to the utmost all that he had promised.

Some time after this campaign, Boorhan Nizam Shah was instigated by Ramraj to march for the purpose of reducing Koolburga, and Ibrahim Adil Shah moved from Beejapoor to oppose him. On his arrival near the town of Hoorchean, the Beejapoor troops found Boorhan Nizam Shah strongly posted on the opposite bank of the river Beema; and seeing it impossible to cross at that spot, Ibrahim Adil Shah encamped on the right bank. Both armies lay inactive during three months of the rains, in sight of each other, with the river between them. At length, Ibrahim Adil Shah, tired of delay, found means to cross, and a general action ensued, in which the army of Boorhan Nizam Shah was totally routed with heavy loss, leaving on the field of battle two hundred and fifty elephants, one hundred and seventy pieces of cannon, besides ammunition, waggons, and all the royal insignia and camp-equipage. Ibrahim Adil Shah, in this action, fought personally with the utmost bravery, and slew three antagonists with his own hand; but he had the generosity to attribute his victory solely to the conduct of Assud Khan, on whom he conferred several districts in addition to his jageer.

The King, elated by vain-glory, treated the ambassadors of Boorhan Nizam Shah who came to treat for peace in a contemptuous manner; and from this time he behaved tyrannically even towards his own subjects, putting to death some of his best officers,

and severely punishing others on slight pretences, measures which occasioned great disaffection in his government. Boorhan Nizam Shah, taking advantage of these discontents, again made war on the King of Beejapoor, and defeated him in two engagements in the space of six months, on which occasions he took many elephants; and the Nizam Shahy troops committed such ravages as seemed to threaten the very existence of Ibrahim Adil Shah's power. The Beejapoor king, fancying his losses were occasioned by the disaffection of his officers and by the intrigues of the bramins at the head of the civil affairs, caused forty Hindoos and seventy Mussulmans of rank to be put to death in the short space of two months, on vague suspicions. At last, numbers of the nobility, reduced to despair, formed a conspiracy to dethrone the King, and to raise his brother Abdoolla to the throne. Matters had gone far, when one of the conspirators, in hope of obtaining a considerable reward betrayed the plot to Ibrahim, who put him to death with most of those against whom he had informed. His brother Abdoolla, with much difficulty, made his escape to Goa, where he was honourably received by the Portuguese, who afforded him protection.[38] The King, enraged at his flight, punished all the bramins whose office it was to superintend the police with tortures, in the great square of Beejapoor, where they expired in excruciating agonies. At this time, also, renewing his suspicions of the fidelity of Assud Khan, the King conducted himself so, that the old minister was induced to withdraw for self-protection to his estates at Belgam, from whence he sent a confidential friend with an offering of nine elephants, nine horses, and many valuable curiosities, with the following letter to the King :—

"Why, ah! why, art thou thus estranged from me? What have I done, what hast thou heard, what hast thou seen in me?

"If I have committed a crime, let my head fall beneath the stroke of the sabre; but it is neither generous nor just to be incensed without cause.

38. The Portuguese historian, Faria-e-Souza, makes no mention of Abdoolla Khan; but states, that Assud Khan recommended the Portuguese to occupy part of the Beejapoor territory near Goa, and that he was afterwards the first to lead an army against them. The Portuguese account is confused, unsatisfactory, and altogether improbable. Faria-e-Souza, though in India at the time, appears to have been profoundly ignorant of the internal state of the country; and his narrative is certainly full of extravagant exaggeration.

"I know not the reason of this unkindness, nor what can have occasioned such coldness.

"Whatever crimes interested persons have attributed to my charge, I may have committed an hundred times; but I know not their accusations; and, like the wolf accused of destroying Yoosoof, I am innocent, and condemned unseen or unheard. The language they attribute to me has never passed my lips, nor have evil designs been conceived in my mind.

"The reason of my delay in this fortress, and of my absence from the court, is to avoid the designs of my enemies, who daily misrepresent the purity of my intentions, and the sincerity of my attachment. They have already tainted my character with the stain of disaffection, and have made the peaceful recess of the King's heart a cave of spleen, nay, of grief, and a recess of burning fire. By accusing me of treachery, they diminish the glow of cheerfulness on the part of the King. They pollute, with the alloy of suspicion, the pure gold of my loyalty, and dissolve thine heart in the tormenting crucible of jealousy.

"If, however, the kindness of the King of kings should, in compassion for my situation, cause mine enemies to be put to shame, and command my presence, I will, when the rains are at an end, proceed to throw myself at the foot of the throne : in one month will I hasten, with joyful presents and offerings, to the royal court."

Ibrahim Adil Shah, moved by this letter, treated the family of Assud Khan, then at Beejapoor, with many marks of favour, and was about to permit them to join him at Belgam, when the rebellion of the Prince Abdoolla suddenly breaking out, his mistrust of the minister was renewed, and his favourable disposition towards him removed.

The Prince Abdoolla, having effected his escape to Goa from the harsh treatment of his brother, was induced, by the advice of many of the nobility of Beejapoor who attended him, to enter into a correspondence with Boorhan Nizam Shah of Ahmudnuggur, and Jumsheed Kootb Shah of Golconda, in hopes of obtaining their assistance. These princes, seeing the distracted state of affairs at Beejapoor, and fully aware of the disgust of Assud Khan, promised their aid to place Abdoolla on the throne, and wrote to the Portuguese of Goa, that, owing to the cruelty and tyranny of Ibrahim Adil Shah, they foresaw that such troubles

would soon break out in his government as he could by no means suppress; and it was, therefore, their wish, that the Prince Abdoolla might be sent to them, as they intended seating him on his brother's throne. The Portuguese agreed to support this project; but observed, they could only hope to succeed by the cordial co-operation of Assud Khan.

Boorhan Nizam Shah, on receipt of this answer, despatched one of his principal bramins to Assud Khan to prevail on him to join in the plan : but that faithful minister, starting with horror at the idea of disloyalty, told the bramin indignantly, that but for the laws of civilised nations, which respect the persons of ambassadors, he would put him to death; commanding him, as he regarded his safety, to depart instantly from the reach of his authority, lest indignation should get the better of his reason, and induce him to forget what was due to his character. The Bramin returned with this message to Boorhan Nizam Shah; but the Portuguese, perceiving that all the powers of the Deccan, excepting Assud Khan, were united in support of the Prince Abdoolla, they marched with him from Goa, and he openly proclaimed himself King. Most of the nobility at the capital were about to desert Ibrahim Adil Shah, and go over to Abdoolla, when an event occurred which changed the face of affairs. Assud Khan was taken dangerously ill; and Boorhan Nizam Shah, supposing he might die, cast his eye on the fort of Belgam; and instead of marching direct to Beejapoor with Abdoolla, which would have insured the accession of that prince to the throne, he halted at Mirch, to prosecute his own designs; and deputing the same bramin, who had formerly gone to Belgam, with a vast sum of money, he was directed to employ it in corrupting the soldiers of the garrison to deliver the fort into his hands, in case of Assud Khan's death. The bramin had nearly succeeded in his commission when the plot being discovered by Assud Khan, he slew the spy, together with seventy of the soldiers whom he had already bribed. The nobles of Beejapoor, on hearing of this event, became fully convinced that the old minister took no share in the pretensions of the Prince Abdoolla, and accordingly remained firm in their allegiance to Ibrahim Adil Shah, while the adherents of the Prince began to fall off daily.[39]

39. Ferishta, who wrote this account at Beejapoor, within half a century of the time, could hardly be misinformed; and yet the Portuguese

The disorder of Assud Khan continuing, and old age having rendered him too weak to contend against it, he prepared to meet death, and entreated Ibrahim Adil Shah to honour him with a farewell visit in the following verses :—

"Haste, like the morning breeze, to the bower of friendship; come, like the graceful cypress, to the garden."

Ibrahim thinking it advisable to comply with his request, marched in the month of Mohurrum, A.H. 956 (A.D. 1549), towards Belgam. After passing Hookery he received accounts of the minister's death; from whence the King pushed on, and arrived on the same night at Belgam, where he administered consolation to his mourning family and attendants, giving them assurances of his favour; but he attached, in the meanwhile, all Assud Khan's estates and treasures. In this state of affairs, the Portuguese marched back to Goa, accompanied by the Prince Abdoolla, while the other confederates also retreated to their own dominions.

Assud Khan was remarkable for his judgment and talents; and his administration of the government during the reign of Ismael Adil Shah has justly rendered his name celebrated in history. For nearly forty years he was the patron and protector of all the noble and distinguished men of the Deccan. He lived universally respected and esteemed, and maintained a splendour and magnificence suited to his high station. The sovereigns of Beejanuggur, and others, acknowledged his great abilities and influence, by frequently honouring him with letters, and propitiating him with valuable presents. His household servants, Georgians, Circassians, Hindoos, and Abyssinians, amounted to two hundred and fifty. He had sixty large elephants, and one hundred and fifty of a smaller size. In his stables were four hundred Arabian horses, exclusive of those of mixed breed, foaled in India. During his administration he had amassed great wealth. In his kitchen were every day expended one hundred maunds[40] of rice, Deccan weight, fifty sheep, and one hundred fowls; from which some notion may be formed of the expenditure of other articles. He first introduced the fashion of wearing the waistband of gold cloth, and the dagger, which have been ever since assumed by persons of

distinctly state that Assud Khan was the prime mover of the whole insurrection in favour of Abdoolla, whom they call Meale, confounding him with Mulloo Khan.

40. 2700 lbs.

rank in this country. He also attempted to ride elephants with bridles, instead of managing them with the *kujjuk*, or goad; but as those animals have frequently sudden starts of vice, this mode of guiding them was not found to answer. Ibrahim Adil Shah, agreeably to his last will, gave the daughter of Assud Khan (Mahtab Beeby) in marriage to Ally Bereed Shah, with whom he sought an alliance.

Boorhan Nizam Shah, soon after the death of Assud Khan, deputed ambassadors to Ramraj with presents, and professions of regard were inter-changed between the Princes. On learning this circumstance, Ibrahim Adil Shah treated the ambassadors of the latter, who were with him at Beejapoor, with such marked neglect that they became alarmed, and retired abruptly, without taking leave, to Beejanuggur, where they communicated to Ramraj, that Ibrahim Adil Shah, out of resentment of his alliance with Boorhan Nizam Shah (had they not made their escape), would probably have put them to death. Ramraj was much incensed; and in order to involve Ibrahim Adil Shah in war with the King of Ahmud-nuggur, he wrote to that prince, recommending him to attack Kulliany, belonging to Ally Bereed, the ally of Ibrahim Adil Shah.

Boorhan Nizam Shah, accordingly moved from Ahmudnuggur with an army, and surrounding Kulliany, effectually blockaded it. Ibrahim Adil Shah, at the request of Ally Bereed, marched to relieve it; and encamping within sight of the enemy, threw up an entrenchment around his army, not choosing to risk a battle on the plain. Boorhan Nizam Shah, unwilling to raise the siege, also fortified his camp. In this state of affairs, Ibrahim Adil Shah ordered his Bergy[41] officers, who were expert light troops, to occupy the roads, and prevent supplies of grain and forage reaching the enemy. These orders were so implicitly obeyed, that a famine soon prevailed in the camp of Boorhan Nizam Shah, so that in the month of Ramzan,[42] the King and his army, true believers, and Hindoos, all fasted alike, from absolute necessity. Boorhan Nizam Shah, in this distress, consulted his generals; some of whom proposed to raise the siege, and retreat to Ahmudnuggur; while others recommended him to make peace with Ibrahim Adil Shah. Shah Jafur and Kasim Beg (two foreign chiefs) dissented

41. Marratta cavalry.

42. This is the fast of the Mahomedans, when they are permitted to eat only between sunset and sunrise during a whole month.

from both these opinions, and strongly advised offering battle to the enemy; a resolution which Boorhan Nizam Shah determined to adopt. Accordingly Seif-ood-Deen Ein-ool-Moolk, with other chiefs, at daylight on the morning of the dissolution of the fast, surprised the camp of Ibrahim Adil Shah, whose troops were off their guard, and employed in preparing for the festival. The King, who was then in the warm bath, had scarcely time to make his escape; and his troops fled in such confusion, that all the tents, baggage, and artillery, were left in possession of the victors. Boorhan Nizam Shah, elated by his success, directed an assault to be made on the fort of Kulliany on the same day; and the garrison, intimidated by the defeat of their ally, laid down their arms, and surrendered the place without opposition.

Ibrahim Adil Shah was by no means disheartened by this affair; and in order to save his own territory from devastation he invaded that of the enemy. He came suddenly before Purenda, and finding the gates open, rushed with a body of troops into the fortress, which submitted, and was given over in charge to one of his Deccany officers. From thence he proceeded to lay waste the neighbouring districts; and after having levied considerable contributions, he retreated, on the approach of Boorhan Nizam Shah, towards Beejapoor. Boorhan Nizam Shah proceeded to recover Purenda. Before he arrived within many miles, the dastardly governor, being alarmed, fled by night, without communicating his design to his followers, and on the next morning they imitated the example of their chief. The third day after this the evacuated fortress was quietly taken possession of by its former master.

Ibrahim Adil Shah put to death the Deccany chief on his arrival at Beejapoor, and began to make preparations for retaking the fort of Kulliany. Boorhan Nizam Shah, on receiving nitimation of this design, sent ambassadors to Ramraj, who agreed to meet him near Rachore, in order to concert a plan of operations for the ensuing year. Ramraj accordingly moved with a considerable force to that place in the year A.H. 959 (A.D. 1551), when it was resolved that the forts of Moodkul and Rachore should be conquered for Ramraj, and that he should aid in reducing the city and dependencies of Sholapoor. The allies took Rachore and on its falling into their hands the garrison of Moodkul also surrendered without opposition; and Ramraj having left his younger brother, Venkatadry, with an army, to assist Boorhan Nizam

Shah, returned to Beejanuggur. Boorhan Nizam Shah took Sholapoor in a short time, and having strengthened it, returned to Ahmudnuggur.

Some time after, Boorhan Nizam Shah dying, peace was concluded between his successor Hoossein Nizam Shah and Ibrahim Adil Shah. The two kings had a friendly meeting on their borders, and parted much pleased with each other; but this good understanding did not last long. Khwaja Jehan Deccany,[43] who had fled to avoid the resentment of his sovereign, Hoossein Nizam Shah, coming to Beejapoor, inspired Ibrahim Adil Shah with hopes of retaking Sholapoor; and for this purpose Ibrahim Adil Shah concluded a treaty with Ramraj, and invited into his service Seif Ein-ool-Moolk commander-in-chief of the army of the late Boorhan Nizam Shah, who had taken refuge in Berar from the oppression of the present sovereign. These overtures were accepted by that distinguished chieftain; and the King of Beejapoor conferred on him high titles, with considerable estates, and an immediate present of money. By his advice Ibrahim Adil Shah soon after espoused the cause of the Prince Ally, son of Boorhan Nizam Shah, who had taken refuge at his court. It was agreed between them, that on Ally Nizam Shah being seated on the throne of Ahmudnuggur, the forts of Kulliany and Sholapoor should be surrendered to the King of Beejapoor. In order to effect these objects, the Prince Ally, accompanied by the body of two thousand horse which had come with him from Ahmudnuggur, marched to the frontier for the purpose of drawing over the nobles of that kingdom to his cause; but in this attempt he met with little success : and Hoossein Nizam Shah having put his army in motion, Ibrahim Adil Shah marched from Beejapoor to support the Prince Ally, having previously distributed large sums among his troops.

Both armies met on the plains of Sholapoor, and drew up to engage. Ibrahim Adil Shah gave the command of his right wing to Seif Ein-ool-Moolk Geelany and Ankoos Khan, and that of the left to Noor Khan and Imad-ool-Moolk, himself taking post with the household troops in the centre. The *hirawul*, or advanced picquet, was commanded by Seif Ein-ool-Moolk, who pushed on from the line, and began the action with great impetuosity; Ibra-

43. This person has been frequently mentioned as the hereditary chief of Purenda.

him Adil Shah, disapproving of his separation so far from the main body, directed that the picquet should remain nearer the line, in order the sooner to receive support, if necessary. The general returned for answer, that his Majesty's observation was very just; but that as he had advanced so far, to return would only give spirits to the enemy. Having sent this message, he went on, and seized the enemy's cannon, which he spiked, and drove their picquets back on their main body. Here, however, he was resolutely opposed by Hoossein Nizam Shah, who commanded in person, notwithstanding which the Nizam Shahy army began to give way, and must inevitably have been defeated, had the gallantry of Seif Ein-ool-Moolk met with proper support. At this crisis, several Nizam Shahy chiefs, who had been engaged on the left, advanced to the assistance of their sovereign, and almost surrounded Seif Ein-ool-Moolk, whose division was thrown into temporary confusion; but still seeing the standards of Ibrahim Adil Shah, though at a distance, he, as was his custom on desperate occasions, dismounted from his horse, resolved to conquer or die. Some of the troops, on seeing him dismount, told the King that Seif Ein-ool-Moolk, having gone over to the enemy, had just alighted to pay his respects to Hoossein Nizam Shah. Ibrahim Adil Shah, who from the first entertained suspicions of his fidelity, was now confirmed in them, and fled from the field without halting, till he reached Beejapoor. Seif Ein-ool-Moolk, finding the King had fled, nobly fought his way through the enemy with great loss; and upon his arrival at the capital, sent word, respectfully, to his master, that he had lost all his baggage, and was without tents or any covering for himself or his miserable followers; he begged, therefore, an advance of cash, to enable him to repair his losses, and appear at court according to his rank and station. The King, who was persuaded his defeat originated in the first disobedience of his orders for the picquets to fall back, replied, that he wanted no such insubordinate and obstinate servants, and that he might provide for himself wherever he could. Seif Ein-ool-Moolk, who could not accuse himself of any crime, was overwhelmed with astonishment, and sent another message to represent that he had served the King at the risk of his life with unshaken fidelity, and had sacrificed five hundred brave relations and friends in the battle; and that in his present miserable situation he could not move. He stated he had no other refuge but the King's

threshold; and that having quitted his place of refuge at his invitation, he could not repair to any other court. The King conceiving the latter part of Ein-ool-Moolk's message to reflect on himself, ordered the bearer of it to be beaten, and turned out of his presence.

Seif Ein-ool-Moolk, despairing of redress, had recourse to the advice of his friends how to proceed; and they recommended his going to his jageers, and raising the collections of the autumn harvest, then just ripe, after which, should the King send a force to expel him, he might retire wherever he should see best. This plan he accordingly adopted; and having marched from Beejapoor to Man-Dese,[44] collected the revenues, and divided them among his troops. Ibrahim Adil Shah sent one of his officers with five thousand horse to expel Ein-ool-Moolk from the country, but the royalists were defeated; and the chief, thus urged into revolt, growing bolder by success, collected the revenues of many districts, such as Walwa, Mirch, and others. The King now detached against him ten thousand horse and foot, under command of Neeaz Koolly Beg and Dilawur Khan Hubshy. These troops were also defeated; and so many elephants and horses, with such a quantity of valuable baggage, fell into the hands of Ein-ool-Moolk, that he began seriously to think of establishing himself in the country as an independent chief, with which view he levied additional troops.

Ibrahim Adil Shah, at length thought it necessary to take the field in person, at the head of five thousand chosen horse, three thousand foot, and a train of artillery. Ein-ool-Moolk encamped on the river Man, and the King arrived, and halted some days on the opposite bank without attacking him. Seif Ein-ool-Moolk could not make up his mind to retreat, and resolved not to quit the country without fighting. For three days successively he advanced towards the King's camp, as if to engage, but as often returned; the royal army remaining under arms on each occasion from dawn till sunset, expecting the attack. On the fourth day, Ein-ool-Moolk put his troops again in motion; but the King supposing that his design was only to parade, as on the preceding days, neglected to make preparations for his reception, the common guards of the camp only getting under arms. At length the enemy's standard appearing in sight, Ibrahim Adil Shah marshal-

44. The tract through which the Man river flows.

led his troops in great haste, and moved out of the camp to give battle. Ein-ool-Moolk, averse from engaging the King in person, consulted with his friends; observing, that it was treason to fight against the royal standard; to which all assented except Moortuza Khan Anjoo, who remarked, that the standards did not fight, and there was no danger of shedding royal blood. Ein-ool-Moolk, satisfied with this casuistry, and finding it too late to hesitate, charged the royalists, and attacking the centre, where Ibrahim Adil Shah was posted, pressed on it so vigourously that it was soon thrown into disorder, and the King fled; upon which his whole line broke, and victory declared in favour Ein-ool-Moolk, who seized the royal canopy, elephants, and artillery, besides all the tents and baggage. The King shut himself up in the citadel of Beejapoor; and so great was the alarm of the people of the town, that the ruin of the royal family was pronounced to be inevitable. Seif Ein-ool-Moolk, following up his success, appeared before Beejapoor, where he for several days assaulted various parts of the city, and endeavoured to cut off the supplies.

In this exigency, Ibrahim Adil Shah applied to the Hindoo prince Ramraj for assistance, sending him a present of 1,200,000 hoons;[45] upon which he despatched his brother Venkatadry, with a considerable force, to expel the enemy. Seif Ein-ool-Moolk, in imitation of Assud Khan, thought to surprise the infidel's camp; but Venkatadry having intelligence of his designs, ordered his troops to be on their guard, and having procured long faggots, with cloths steeped in oil bound round one end of each, commanded his followers, upon the alarm being given, to light them, and, holding them up as high as possible, afford the troops a full sight of the enemy. Ein-ool-Moolk, in prosecution of his intentions, having one night chosen two thousand men for the purpose, marched, accompanied by Sulabut Khan, to the enemy's camp, which he was allowed to enter unmolested; but upon the preconcerted signal being given, all the brands were instantly lighted up, and Venkatadry, who was fully prepared, fell upon the enemy with such success, that above five hundred of them were slain before the detachment could clear the camp. Ein-ool-Moolk and Sulabut Khan with the greatest difficulty made their escape; and losing the road through the darkness of the night, a report spread through his camp on the return of some of the fugitives that Ein-

45. 420,000*l*.

ool-Moolk was killed. The troops became panic-struck at their situation, and separating in all directions during the night, fled to different quarters. Ein-ool-Moolk and Sulabut Khan, with two hundred horse, about daylight arriving at their ground, and seeing it deserted, fled by the route of Man-Dese to the dominions of Hoossein Nizam Shah, where they sought protection, but were basely assassinated by his treachery, the particulars of which will appear in their proper place, in the history of that dynasty.

Ibrahim Adil Shah, soon after the restoration of his affairs, having long abandoned himself to hard drinking, and to promiscuous intercourse with women of bad character, was afflicted with a complication of disorders. During his illness, he put to death several physicians who failed in curing him, beheading some, and causing others to be trodden to death by elephants, so that all the surviving medical practitioners, becoming alarmed, fled from his dominions. At length, deserted by his physicians, he departed this life in the year A.H. 965 (A.D. 1557), and was buried at Gogy, near his father and grandfather, after a reign of twenty-four years and some months. He left behind him two sons and two daughters.

ALLY ADIL SHAH

ALLY ADIL SHAH, from his childhood, was remarkable for his ready wit and various accomplishments. While yet a youth, his father Ibrahim, one day in his presence, praised God who had given him grace to abandon the heretical precepts of his father and grandfather, and embrace the orthodox religion. The Prince humorously remarked, that as his Majesty had thought proper to depart from the faith of his parents, it was incumbent upon all good children to follow so excellent an example. The King, displeased at this sarcasm, asked him what sect he admired; to which he replied, that at present he was of the same opinion with his Majesty, but hereafter God must direct him. Ibrahim Adil Shah, from this answer, conceiving him to be inclined to the Sheea persuasion, disgraced his preceptor Khwaja Inayut Oolla Shirazy, and in a few days after put him to death, in conformity with the sentence passed on him by the Soony doctors at Beejapoor; and Moolla Futteh Oolla Shirazy was nominated preceptor to the Prince in his stead. This learned man was also secretly a Sheea,

though for his own safety he outwardly professed the doctrines of Mahomed Huneef, and was much beloved by his pupil. Not long after this event, a party of the nobility having entered into the schemes of Boorhan Nizam Shah, proposed, by bribing the clerk of the kitchen, to poison Ibrahim Adil Shah, after which it was intended to raise his brother Abdoolla to the throne, and to restore the public exercise of the Sheea worship. The clerk of the kitchen, who had at first favoured the design, no sooner heard that the intention was to change the form of religion of which he was a strict follower, than he revealed the plot to the King, who put all the conspirators to death; but the Prince Abdoolla escaped to the port of Goa. Ibrahim Adil Shah, from this moment, became suspicious of his son Ally, and sent him with his tutor to the fortress of Mirch, giving strict orders to the governor, Sikundur Khan, to watch him closely, and to prevent any persons of the Sheea persuasion from approaching his person, or allowing their doctrines to be mentioned in his presence. It happened, however, that the governor and his son-in-law, Kamil Khan Deccany, were privately of the Sheea sect, so that, instead of observing the orders of the King, they attached themselves to the Prince, and endeavoured to acquire his good will by granting him every indulgence. When Ibrahim Adil Shah was taken ill, and his end appeared nigh, the Prince frequently ascended the pulpit in a mosque, and read the prayers after the ritual of the Sheeas, and sometimes Kamil Khan himself officiated. This behaviour coming to the King's knowledge, he resolved to nominate his younger son Tahmasp to be his successor; but learning that he was by far a more zealous Sheea than his brother, he became incensed against him, and committed him to confinement in the fortress of Belgam. He then said he must leave the succession to be determined by the decrees of Providence, and to the ministers of the government, who might elect either of the princes they chose for their sovereign after his death.

When the life of Ibrahim Adil Shah was despaired of, Mahomed Kishwur Khan, governor of the districts of Hookery, Belgam, and Raybagh, who possessed great wealth and influence in the state, moved towards the fort of Mirch, representing to Sikundur Khan, who commanded the latter place, that as the King's end was approaching, it was probable that many officers of the court and jageerdars would embrace the cause of the Prince Tahmasp,

and raise dissensions in the state; that, therefore, it would be as well to prepare the royal insignia for the Prince Ally immediately, and at once to encamp near the walls of Mirch, in order that people might join his standard, and be able to move to Beejapoor without delay, on the death of the King. Sikundur Khan, accordingly, invested the Prince with the insignia of royalty, and sent his son-in-law, Kamil Khan to attend him out of the fort. Ally was immediately joined by Kishwur Khan, who presented him with a large sum of money; and that chief in return was honoured with a dress, and received the office of commander-in-chief, while Kamil Khan Deccany was raised to the rank of a noble. The news of the Prince's proceedings spreading abroad, the King's troops repaired to his standard from various quarters; and many of the officers of the court, together with the body-guard, quitted Beejapoor, and hastened to pay their respects. Upon the death of Ibrahim Adil Shah, Ally, without delay, moved towards the capital, and was met on the route by all the members of the court with the regal insignia of his father, which they laid at the feet of the new sovereign; and on arriving within two miles of the city Ally Adil Shah ascended the throne in the garden of Kishwur Khan. All the syuds and learned men prayed for the prosperity of his reign, and the nobles and other officers of government, raising their voices in congratulation, presented offerings. The King gave orders for a town to be erected near the place, to commemorate his accession; which was soon built, and called Shahpoor. Of his disposition towards the Sheea religion he gave immediate proofs, by issuing orders for the Khootba to be read throughout his dominions in the names of the Imams, as in the reign of his grandfather; at the same time, he ordered forty persons to be employed in his train as criers, to utter curses against the Sahiba, agreeably to a ceremony adopted by those of the Sheea persuasion; so that curses were uttered in the mosques, at the public audiences, and in the King's presence whenever he appeared abroad. Justice is a treasure which increases by expenditure, and an edifice which fire cannot burn, nor the engines of vicissitude destroy: the King, by his strict attention to this virtue, became entitled to rank among the most upright of monarchs, paying such scrupulous attention to the rights of his subjects, that the revenues of his dominions were increased, and the limits of his kingdom greatly extended.

In the first year of his reign, being desirous of recovering the forts of Kulliany and Sholapoor, which had fallen into the hands of Hoossein Nizam Shah, the King, without waiting for the customary compliment of receiving ambassadors from the surrounding powers, to congratulate him on his accession, despatched Kishwur Khan and Shah Aboo Toorab Shirazy to negotiate a treaty of alliance with Ramraj[46] at Beejanuggur; at the same time he sent Mahomed Hoossein Sadicky for the same purpose to Ahmudnuggur. Ramraj received the ambassadors with proper honours, and sent back one of his confidential officers with Kishwur Khan, to congratulate the King on his accession; but Hoossein Nizam Shah, jealous of the designs of Ally Shah against Sholapoor, did not evince proper respect to his embassy, nor send any in return, but gave strong indications of decided enmity. Ally Adil Shah, intent on adding to his dominions, and repairing the losses sustained by his father, entered into a close alliance with Ramraj; and on the occasion of the death of a son of that Prince, he had the boldness, attended only by one hundred horse, to go to Beejanuggur, to offer his condolence in person on that melancholy occasion. Ramraj received him with the greatest respect, and the King, with the kindest persuasions, prevailed upon him to lay aside his mourning. The wife of Ramraj, on this occasion, adopted the King as her son, and at the end of three days, which were spent in an interchange of friendly professions and presents, Ally Adil Shah took his leave; but as Ramraj did not attend him out of the city he was offended, and treasured up the affront in his mind, though too prudent, for the present, to evince any signs of his displeasure.[47]

46. The name is properly Rama Raja; but I adhere to the orthography of Ferishta.

47. The importance which is attached to the neglect of little points of etiquette of this nature in the East generally, but in India more particularly, is very remarkable. The practice of escorting a guest on part of his way home does not seem so usual among the Hindoo princes as among the Mahomedans. Dew Ray neglected this ceremony on the departure of Feroze Shah Bahmuny from his court in 1406, vide vol. ii. p. 239; and the latter swore vengeance against him, when no insult probably was intended; nor was there, perhaps, any premeditated offence in the present instance of Ally Adil Shah and Ramraj. This is one of the numerous examples which history affords, and which daily expe-

Ally Adil Shah's enmity towards Hoossein Nizam Shah daily increasing, he intimated to him, by a message sent through Shah Hoossein Anjoo, that it was clear to the whole world that the forts of Kulliany and Sholapoor belonged to his family by ancient right, though, owing to the misfortunes of his father, they had passed into the hands of the Nizam Shahy government, but that now he hoped they would both be restored, or, at all events, the former. Shah Hoossein Anjoo failed in every argument in prevailing on Hoossein Nizam Shah to give up either place; and Ally Adil Shah sent another ambassador to Ahmudnuggur, representing that passion and obstinacy in the discussion of political questions of such importance did not become great kings; and that to prevent ill consequences, he trusted Hoossein Nizam Shah would see the justice of giving up the forts, when the friendship between their states would increase; but if not, he might expect the march of an army into his dominions, which should be laid waste without mercy.

Hoossein Nizam Shah, inflamed by this message, sent back a reply so indecent as to be unfit to relate; which increased the anger of Ally Adil Shah to such a degree, that changing the colour of his canopy and standard from yellow to green, the colour of Hoossein Nizam Shah, by way of defiance (according to the custom of the Deccan), challenged him to come and reclaim his honour.

In the year A.H. 966 (A.D. 1558), Ally Adil Shah having invited Ramraj to join him, those two monarchs invaded the territory of Hoossein Nizam Shah, and laid it waste so thoroughly, that from Purenda to Joonere, and from Ahmudnuggur to Dowlutabad, not a vestige of population was left. The infidels of Beejanuggur, who for many years had been wishing for such an opportunity, left no cruelty unpractised. They insulted the honour of the Mussulman women, destroyed the mosques, and did not respect even the sacred Koran. Hoossein Nizam Shah, by the advice of Kasim Beg Hukeem, Shah Jafur, and other ministers, declining any opposition in the field, retired to Peitun, and after some time purchased peace by giving up Kulliany to Ally Adil Shah; but the enemy had no sooner retired than he entered into an alliance with

rience teaches us, of the necessity of studying minutely the customs of the people among whom we live, and whose good will we desire to cultivate.

Ibrahim Kootb Shah, and marched in conjunction with him to retake the fort he had just surrendered. Ally Adil Shah, on receiving intelligence of this league, again despatched Kishwur Khan and Aboo Toorab to Beejanuggur, to solicit aid from Ramraj; and also invited Ally Bereed Shah to enter into the same confederacy. Ramraj, who knew the character of the King, judging that should he refuse his assistance he would make peace with the Mussulman powers, and attempt the recovery of Moodkul and Rachore, marched to join him with fifty thousand horse and a great army of foot. The allies met on the banks of the Krishna, and moved immediately towards Kulliany, which was then besieged by the Nizam Shahy and Kootb Shahy forces.

Ibrahim Kootb Shah, according to his usual mode of embracing the strongest party, quitted his ally, and came over suddenly to Ally Adil Shah; upon which Hoossein Nizam Shah, without delay, retreated to Ahmudnuggur. The allies followed him with the utmost expedition to that city, and he did not think it prudent to remain there, but having thrown a reinforcement and supplies into the citadel, retired to the town of Joonere. The three sovereigns laid siege to Ahmudnuggur, and sent detachments on all sides to lay waste the country. The Hindoos of Beejanuggur committed the most outrageous devastations, burning and rasing the buildings, putting up their horses in the mosques, and performing their abominable idolatrous worship in the holy places. The siege was pushed with the greatest vigour, but the garrison held out with resolution, hoping that at the approach of the monsoon the enemy would be necessitated to retire. In this they were not disappointed; for when the rains set in, the floods, the damp, and the want of provisions, caused the utmost distress to prevail in the camp. At the same time, also, Ibrahim Kootb Shah maintained a secret correspondence with the besieged, to whom he privately sent in grain. Ally Adil Shah, suspecting the causes of the obstinacy of the besieged, and, probably, scandalised by the behaviour of his Hindoo allies, persuaded Ramraj to raise the siege, and to march against Sholapoor. Upon their arrival within some miles of the fortress, Kishwur Khan, seeing the danger of the aggrandisement of the Hindoo prince, represented to Ally Adil Shah, that if the fort of Sholapoor should fall, Ramraj would most probably keep it for himself, and extend his views to the neighbouring countries: it seemed, therefore, advisable to endeavour to

reduce the fort of Nuldroog, and to leave the reduction of Sholapoor to a more convenient time, when there would be no apprehension of any rivalry for its possession. Ally Adil Shah, approving this advice, persuaded Ramraj to alter his views, and move to the place where Raja Nul had formerly erected a strong fortress. Here, after throwing up an extensive work of stone, the allies took leave of each other, and returned to their several dominions.

In the first expedition, when Ally Adil Shah had invited Ramraj to his assistance, the Hindoos committed great outrages at Ahmudnuggur, and omitted no mark of disrespect to the religion of the faithful, singing and performing their abominations and superstitious worship in the very mosques. The King was then much offended; but as he had not the means of preventing it he pretended not to observe it. In the conclusion of this campaign, Ramraj, looking with contempt on the Islam monarchs, and regarding them as of little consequence, refused to pay proper honours to the officers sent to communicate with him. When he admitted them to his presence, he did not permit them even to sit, and treated them with the utmost contempt and haughtiness. He made them attend when in public in his train on foot, not allowing them to mount till he gave orders; and on the return from the last expedition to Nuldroog, the officers and soldiers of his army, in general, treated the Mussulmans with direct insolence, making use of contemptuous language to them. Ramraj, after taking leave, casting an evil eye on the countries of Kootb Shah and Adil Shah, despatched armies to the frontiers of each, and Ally Adil Shah was compelled to purchase his forbearance by ceding the districts of Etgeer and Bagrakote; and Ibrahim Kootb Shah, to obtain the same end, resigned Kowilconda, Pangul, and Guntoor.

Ramraj daily continuing to encroach on the dominions of the Mussulmans, Ally Adil Shah resolved to curb his insolence and reduce his power by a league of the faithful against him; for which purpose he convened an assembly of his friends and confidential advisers. Kishwur Khan Lary and Shah Aboo Toorab Shirazy, whose abilities had often been experienced, represented, that the King's desire to humble the pride of the Ray of Beejanuggur was undoubtedly meritorious and highly politic, but could never be effected unless by the union of all the Mahomedan kings of the

Deccan, as the revenues of Ramraj, collected from sixty[48] seaports and numerous flourishing cities and districts, amounted to an immense sum; which enabled him to maintain a force, against which no single king of the Mussulmans could hope to contend with the smallest prospect of success. Ally Adil Shah commanded Kishwur Khan to take measures to effect the object of a general league; and an ambassador was accordingly despatched without delay to sound Ibrahim Kootb Shah, and to open to him, if prudent, the designed plan.

Ibrahim Kootb Shah, who had been inwardly stung with indignation at the haughty insolence and the usurpations of Ramraj, eagerly acceded to the proposed alliance, and offered to mediate a union between Ally Adil Shah and Hoossein Nizam Shah, and even promised to obtain for the former the fort of Sholapoor, which had been the original cause of their disagreement. With this view Ibrahim Kootb Shah despatched Moostufa Khan Ardistany, the most intelligent nobleman of his court, to Ally Adil Shah, with orders, if he should find him still sincere in his intentions towards the league, to proceed from thence to Ahmudnuggur, and conclude the alliance. Moostufa Khan, on his arrival at Beejapoor, fully perceiving that the object of the alliance was for the sake of prosecuting war against the infidels, departed for Ahmudnuggur, and laid the subject before Hoossein Nizam Shah. He reminded him, that during the times of the Bahmuny princes the whole strength of the Mussulman power was united under one king, which maintained the balance against the force of the Ray of Beejanuggur; that now, though the Mussulman dominion was divided, yet policy required that all the princes of the faithful should unite in restraining the increasing power of their common enemy. He observed, that the authority of the Ray of Beejanuggur, who had reduced all the rajas of the Carnatic to his yoke, required to be checked, and that his influence should be removed from the countries of Islam, in order that the people of their several dominions, who should be considered as being committed by the Almighty to their care, might repose in safety from

48. This is, probably, a mere figure of speech; for it would be difficult to enumerate such a number even on both shores of the peninsula, knowing as we do, from the Portuguese historians, how large a portion of the western coast was independent of his authority.

the oppressions of unbelievers, and their mosques and holy places no longer be subject to pollution from infidels.

These remarks had their full effect upon Hoossein Nizam Shah, who, pleased with the communication of Moostufa Khan, treated with unreserved confidence, so that he had every opportunity he could wish of promoting the object of his mission. After some days it was agreed, that Hoossein Nizam Shah should give his daughter Chand Beeby in marriage to Ally Adil Shah, with the fortress of Sholapoor as her dowry; and that he should receive the sister of that Prince, named Huddeea Sooltana, as a consort for his eldest son Mooturza; that a treaty of eternal friendship should be entered on between both states, and that they should unite sincerely to reduce the power of Ramraj; for which purpose it was resolved to march against him at the earliest practicable period. These points being settled, Moolla Inayut Oolla accompanied Moostufa Khan as ambassador on his return to Beejapoor; on which occasion the political treaties and marriage agreements were drawn out, and mutually confirmed by the most solemn oaths. It was agreed, also, that on the same day, nuptial rejoicings and festivals should be held at Beejapoor and Ahmudnuggur, and the two princesses be sent to their separate courts. Hoossein Nizam Shah, Ally Adil Shah, Ibrahim Kootb Shah, and Ally Bereed Shah, now began to make active preparations for the campaign against Ramraj.

Ally Adil Shah, preparatory to declaring war, and in order to afford himself a pretence for breaking with Ramraj, despatched an ambassador to his court, demanding restitution of Etgeer, Bagrakote, Rachore, and Moodkul, which had at different times been wrested from him. Ramraj, as was expected, expelled the ambassador with disgrace from his court; and the united sovereigns made this circumstance a plea for hastening their preparations to crush the common enemy of Islam.

In the year A.H. 972 (A.D. 1564), the four princes, at the head of their respective armies, met on the plains of Beejapoor, and on the 20th of Jumad-ool-Awul (Dec. 26) of the same year mached from that neighbourhood. After some days they arrived at Talikote,[49] and the armies encamped near the

49. The battle which ensued has been called the battle of Talikote by the Mahomedans, because the head-quarters of the several sovereigns

banks of the Krishna; where, as the country on the north bank belonged to Ally Adil Shah, he entertained his allies with great splendour, and sent strict orders to all the governors of his dominions to forward supplies of provisions from their districts regularly to the camp.

Ramraj, though he saw this formidable union of the Mussulmans against him, did not descend in the least from his former haughty language, but treated the Mahomedan ambassadors with scorn, regarding their enmity as of little moment. In the first instance he detached his youngest brother Yeltumraj, with twenty thousand cavalry, five hundred elephants, and one hundred thousand foot, to occupy the right bank of the Krishna, and secure all the passages of the river. He also sent his second brother Venkatadry with another equally large army, himself following by slow marches with the whole power of his dominions. The allies, finding that all the known ferries and fords were thus pre-occupied by the enemy, despatched spies to explore the river, in hopes of finding some place at which they might be able to cross their troops : it was at length fully ascertained that the only safe passage for the army was directly in the enemy's front, which was in his possession, and who had constructed field-fortifications, strengthened by cannon and fireworks, on the opposite bank. On obtaining this information the allies held a council, when it was determined that they should march to another part of the river, as if with the intention to cross, in hopes that the enemy might be induced to quit his position and follow, when the Mahomedans might return suddenly, and throw part of the army across at the desired ford without interruption. Agreeably to this plan, the army of Islam moved on the next morning, and continued to march for three days successively, which completely deceived the enemy, who quitted all his posts, and manœuvred along the opposite bank of the river. The allies, on the third night, suddenly struck their camp, and moved with such rapidity, that during the next day, they gained the ford which the enemy had deserted, and crossed the river without opposition. On the next morning they made a forward movement to within ten miles of the camp of Ramraj; who, though somewhat astonished at their activity, was by no means dismayed, but commanded his brothers to fall back

were near that village. The battle was fought on the south bank of the Krishna, nearly twenty miles off.

and join him. The allies now drew up their army in order of battle. The right wing was intrusted to Ally Adil Shah, the left to Ally Bereed Shah and Ibrahim Kootb Shah, and the centre to Hoossein Nizam Shah. The artillery, fastened together by strong chains and ropes, was drawn up in front of the line, and the war elephants were placed in various positions, agreeable to custom. Each prince erected his particular standard in the centre of his own army, and the allies moved in close order against the enemy.

Ramraj intrusted his right wing to his brother Yeltumraj, to oppose Kootb Shah, and his left wing to his other brother Venkatadry, against Ally Adil Shàh, while he himself commanded the centre. Two thousand war elephants and one thousand pieces of cannon were placed at different intervals of his line. About noon, Ramraj mounted a sing'hasun,[50] in spite of the remonstrances of his officers who wished him to be on horseback, as much safer; but he said, there was no occasion for taking precaution against children, who would certainly fly on the first charge. Both armies being in motion soon came to battle, and the infidels began the attack by vast flights of rockets[51] and rapid discharges of artillery, which did not discourage the allies. On this, the action became general, and many were slain on both sides. Ramraj, experiencing a very different reception to what he expected, descended from his sing'hasun, and seating himself on a rich throne set with jewels, under a canopy of crimson velvet, embroidered with gold and adorned with fringes of pearls, caused his treasurer to place heaps of money around him, that he might confer rewards on such of his soldiers as merited the distinction; rich ornaments of gold and jewels were also placed before him for the same purpose. The infidels, inspired by the generosity of their prince, charged the right and left of the allies with such vigour, that they were thrown into temporary disorder; and Ally Adil Shah and Ibrahim Kootb Shah began to despair of victory, and even to prepare for retreat. Hoossein Nizam Shah, however, remained firm in the centre, and pushed on so ardently, that the division of Ramraj was thrown into confusion, on which the Ray, although seventy years of age, again mounted his sing'hasun, which was soon after abandoned

50. A sort of litter of state.

51. This weapon, so lately introduced into European warfare, seems to have been familiar to the Hindoos three centuries ago, and probably at a much earlier period.

by the bearers on the approach of a furious elephant belonging to Hoossein Nizam Shah; and before he had time to recover himself and mount a horse, a party of the allies took him prisoner, and conducted him to Chuleby Roomy Khan, commanding the artillery. This officer brought him before Hoossein Nizam Shah, who ordered his head to be instantly struck off, and caused it to be placed on the point of a long spear, that his death might be thus announced to the enemy.[52] The Hindoos, according to custom, when they saw their chief destroyed, fled in the utmost disorder from the field, and were pursued by the allies with such success, that the river was dyed red with their blood. It is computed, by the best authorities, that above one hundred thousand infidels were slain during the action and in the pursuit. The plunder was so great, that every private man in the allied army became rich in gold, jewels, tents, arms, horses, and slaves, the kings permitting every person to retain what he acquired, reserving the elephants only for their own use.[53] Letters with accounts of this important victory were despatched to their several dominions, and to the neighbouring states, while the kings themselves, shortly after the battle, marched onwards into the country of Ramraj, as far as Anagoondy;[54] and the advanced troops penetrated to Beejanuggur, which they plundered, rased the chief buildings to the ground, and committed every species of excess. When the allies had destroyed all the country around, Venkatadry, who escaped from the battle to a distant fortress, sent humble entreaties to the kings, to whom he agreed to restore all the places which his brother had

52. It affords a striking example at once of the malignity of the Mahomedans towards this Hindoo prince and of the depraved taste of the times, when we see a sculptured representation of Ramraj's head, at the present day, serving as the opening of one of the sewers of the citadel of Beejapoor; and we know that the real head, annually covered with oil and red pigment, has been exhibited to the pious Mahomedans of Ahmudnuggur, on the anniversary of the battle, for the last two hundred and fifty-four years, by the descendants of the executioner, in whose hands it has remained till the present period.

53. Cæsar Frederick states, that the Hindoos lost the battle owing to the treachery of two Mahomedan chiefs in Ramraj's army; a circumstance which Ferishta omits to mention. The Portuguese historians take no notice of this battle at all, though it was one of the most important political events which occurred during the period of the zenith of their power.

54. A town near Beejanuggur.

wrested from them; and the victors being satisfied, took leave of each other at Rachore, and returned to their respective dominions. The kingdom of Beejanuggur since this battle has never recovered its ancient splendour; the city itself was so destroyed, that it is now totally in ruins and uninhabited; while the country has been seized on by the tributary chiefs, each of whom hath assumed an independent power in his own district.

Hoossein Nizam Shah dying not long after this event, was succeeded by his son Moortuza, then a minor. Ally Adil Shah, conceiving this a favourable opportunity of extending his dominions on the south, moved with an army to Anagoondy, in order to place Timraj, the son of Ramraj, on the musnud of Penkonda, and to depose Venkatadry; hoping, by degrees, to acquire for himself a portion of the territory of Beejanuggur. Venkatadry, informed of his designs, wrote both to Moortuza Nizam Shah and to his mother Khoonza Sooltana (who directed his affairs) for assistance. The Queen, unwilling to witness the aggrandisement of the King of Beejapoor, and acting by the advice of Moolla Inayut Oolla, took her son with her, and marched at the head of an army to Beejapoor; upon which, Ally Adil Shah was compelled to retreat expeditiously from Anagoondy, and return to protect his capital, before which he found the Ahmudnuggur army encamped. Frequent skirmishes took place between the two armies; when at length the Queen deemed it advisable to return with her son to Ahmudnuggur, without prosecuting hostilities any further.

The next year, at the request of the Queen-regent of Ahmudnuggur, Ally Adil Shah accompanied the army of Moortuza Nizam Shah to Berar, which they laid waste, and then returned on the approach of the rains to their capitals. This year the stone wall round Beejapoor was completed. In consequence of the mismanagement of the relatives of Khoonza Sooltana, the government of Moortuza Nizam Shah was much distracted, and Ally Adil Shah formed the project of adding some parts of its territory to his own. In furtherance of this project he presented Kumal Kishwur Khan with the standard of Assud Khan, on which was embroidered an angry lion; and in the beginning of the year A.H. 975 (A.D. 1567), detached him, with a body of twenty thousand horse, to invade the Nizam Shahy territories. This general occupied some of the districts with little opposition; and in a short

time after he constructed a fort for their defence, and named it Dharoor. Moortuza Nizam Shah, having now attained the age of manhood, wrested the authority out of the hands of his mother, and marched to recover his losses; on which Kishwur Khan shut himself up in the fort, which he had well stocked with stores and provisions, and prepared to sustain a siege. Ankoos Khan, and other chiefs, who had been sent to his support by Ally Adil Shah, whether from hatred of him, from dishonesty, or folly, chose to quit him, under pretence of drawing off the enemy's attention by plundering and laying waste the environs of Ahmudnuggur. Moortuza Nizam Shah, unaffected by this manœuvre, took an oath not to retire without reducing the fortress; and on reaching Dharoor, made an immediate assault, without any regular approaches, and succeeded, contrary to the expectations of his own troops, by the lucky accident of Kishwur Khan being killed by an arrow, as he was conducting the defence. After the death of their chief, his followers fled through a wicket out of the place, which fell into the hands of Moortuza Nizam Shah, with all the districts that had been wrested from him by the army of Ally Adil Shah. Khwaja Meeruk and Peer Khan Isfahany were immediately detached with a large force in pursuit of Ein-ool-Moolk, one of the Beejapoor officers, who had moved towards Ahmudnuggur for the purpose of plunder; and overtaking him, a desperate action ensued, in which that chief was killed, the second in command, Noor Khan, taken prisoner, and the remains of Ally Adil Shah's army returned to Beejapoor with great difficulty.

In the following year A.H. 976 (A.D, 1568), Ally Adil Shah marched to Goa, in order to recover it out of the hands of the Europeans; but he retreated without effecting any object, after the loss of a vast number of his troops.[55] He next moved against the fortress of Adony, which had hitherto resisted all the efforts of the Mahomedans. This fort was now in possession of one of the principal officers of the late Ramraj, who, on the death of his master, had assumed independence. Ankoos Khan was despatched on this service with eight thousand horse, a body of

55. The Portuguese historians, who are most likely correct in the date, place this event in the latter end of 1569 and the beginning of 1570; and they give a very full and detailed account of the military operations of the Mahomedan army. Vide Faria-e-Souza, vol. ii. part iii. chap. vii.

infantry, and a considerable train of artillery. Several indecisive actions were fought on the plain; till at length the chief shut himself up in the fortress, which, though well supplied with stores and provisions, yet, owing to the vigour with which Ankoos Khan carried on the siege, it submitted to his arms. Adony is situated on the summit of a high hill, and contains many ponds and fountains of clear and sweet water, with numerous princely structures. The Rays of Beejanuggur, regarding it as impregnable, had all contributed to make it a convenient asylum for their families; and it was fortified with eleven walls, one within another, so that it appeared impossible to reduce it by force; and nothing but the close and the long blockade of Ankoos Khan could have effected that object.

This acquisition having added greatly to the military reputation of Ally Adil Shah, he resolved on prosecuting other conquests : prior to entering on which he judged it proper to have a meeting with Moortuza Nizam Shah, who, at his request, came to an interview on his borders; on which occasion it was agreed, that the latter should be allowed to occupy Berar, and that Ally Adil Shah should be permitted to conquer as much of the dependencies of Beejanuggur as he thought proper, without any interference on the part of Moortuza Nizam Shah.

In the year A.H. 981 (A.D. 1573), Ally Adil Shah, accordingly, marched against the fortress of Toorkul, which he had lost during the invasions of Ramraj, after whose death it had fallen into the hands of Venkutty Yesoo Ray, an officer of the Beejapoor government, who had seized it for himself, and now, after a siege of seven months, surrendered himself prisoner, and was put to death by painful tortures. The King then moved to reduce Dharwar, one of the strongest of the forts in the Carnatic, and at that time in possession of one of the officers of the late Ramraj, who, though he paid annually a small tribute to Yeltumraj, had now acquired great power. By the ability of Moostufa Khan Ardistany, who had been appointed prime minister, the fort was taken in six months; and when the surrounding country was perfectly reduced to order, Ally Adil Shah, at the persuasions of this minister, carried his arms against Bunkapoor. This place was the principal residence of Velapa Ray, who had been originally a principal attendant of Ramraj; after whose death he assumed independence,

and had lately compelled the Rays of Jerreh,[56] Chundurgooty, and Karoor, to become his tributaries. Upon the approach of the Beejapoor army Velapa shut himself up in the fort, and detached his son, with a thousand horse and ten thousand foot, to occupy the woods and passes, in order to harass the enemy as opportunity offered, and to endeavour to cut off his resources. At the same time, he sent letters to Venkatadry, the brother of Ramraj, profesing great contribution for his defection from him, and begging for assistance against the Mahomedans; in consideration of which he promised to pay annual tribute, and in future to continue firm to his allegiance. Venkatadry, in reply, wrote him, that by his wickedness and evil example most of the dependents on his house had become rebels, and departed from their duty, so that it was with difficulty he could support himself at Penkonda and Chundergeery, the only places which the kings of Islam had left him. He advised him, therefore, if money or jewels could purchase terms from the Mahomedans, to procure them on any conditions; but if he should find this impossible, he recommended him, by all means, to induce the neighbouring rajas to espouse his cause, and to prevail on them to join his son with their followers, in order to harass the Mussulmans, by cutting off their supplies, and by making frequent night attacks. He promised, moreover, to issue his orders to all his vassals to assist him, though he could not rely on their obedience.

Velapa Ray, by this answer, was reduced to despair, yet, in compliance with the advice it contained, he prevailed on some chiefs to join his son; who acted with such vigour, that grain became scarce in the King's camp, which was molested every night by bands of robbers and assassins, who did much execution. The infantry of the Carnatic,[57] who value their lives but little, were quite naked, and had their bodies anointed with oil, to prevent their being easily seized : thus prepared, they entered the tents at night and stabbed the soldiers, while sleeping, without mercy. Every night numbers were killed by them in this treacherous manner; and so great a dread and discontent prevailed among the troops, that they were near forcing the King to raise the siege. At length Moostufa Khan provided a remedy, both to ward off

56. The situation of Jerreh has not been determined.

57. See Wilks's description of the siege of Chittledroog by Heidur or Hydur Ally.

famine and to repel the nightly murderers. He detached the Bergy chiefs with six thousand horse against the enemy in the field, and stationed a chain of eight thousand foot round the camp every night. By this precaution the robbers became tired of making further attempts, as they found it impossible, if they once got within the lines, to escape with impunity. The Bergy chiefs performed their duty so well, that the communication with the country was again opened, and plenty restored to the camp. The siege, however, continued for one year and three months, when provisions in the garrison began to fail, and the son of Velapa Ray dying, all the feudal rajas who had attended him retired home. Velapa Ray, despairing of relief, at length sent offers for surrendering the fort to the King, on condition of being allowed to march away with his family and effects, which Ally Adil Shah thought proper to grant, and the place was evacuated accordingly. The King ordered a superb temple within it to be destroyed, and he himself laid the first stone of a mosque, which was built on the foundation, offering up prayers for his victory. Moostufa Khan acquired great credit for his conduct, and was honoured with a royal dress, and had many towns and districts of the conquered country conferred upon him in jageer. The King, who was much devoted to his pleasure, intrusted to the sole management of Moostufa Khan all affairs of state, and resigned to him his seal, with orders to use it as he pleased, without waiting for particular instructions.

Four months after the reduction of Bunkapoor, when the country was properly settled by the royal officers, and the different chiefs had submitted to pay tribute, Ally Adil Shah took up his residence in the fort, where he spent his time in a round of amusements, and detached Moostufa Khan, with twenty thousand horse and a considerable body of infantry and artillery, to reduce the forts of Jerreh and Chundurgooty. On the arrival of the minister at the former place, the Ray made offers of submission and tribute, which were accepted; and the army moved on, without molesting him, to Chundurgooty, the Ray of which prepared to resist. Moostufa Khan laid siege to the fort, and detached the Bergy chiefs to oppose the Rays who had come to its assistance. At the end of fourteen months the fort was carried by storm in the year A.H. 983 (A.D. 1575), and Ally Adil Shah came from Bunkapoor to visit it; where having continued three months, he returned in triumph

to Beejapoor, after an absence of rather more than three years from his capital. Moostufa Khan remained at Chundurgooty to regulate the country, and the royal seal was left in his possession; while instructions were given to the heads of departments for all orders to be expedited by them from Beejapoor for his approval.

The following year a petition came from Moostufa Khan, representing, that the ancient fortress of Chundurgooty was stiuated upon a lofty hill, and better calculated for defence than that now standing on the plain; so that he wished the King would come and view the old site, in order that, if he approved, it might be refortified. Ally Adil Shah, in compliance with his minister's request, went with a small train; and approving the plan submitted to him, ordered a fort to be constructed. It was finished in the space of one year, and the King came again from Beejapoor to view it. Shunkur Naik, having come to visit the King, invited him to make the tour of his country; and Ally Adil Shah, accepting the offer, left his army at Chundurgooty, and with Moostufa Khan and four or five thousand men, proceeded to the fortress of Karoor. This place is situated in a mountainous country, full of forests, and so difficult of access, that in most of the passes only one horseman can enter at a time. The King disliking the appearance of the country returned to Chundurgooty, leaving the Naik all his possessions; but Moostufa Khan, in order to make a merit of his master's generosity, told the Naik that it was with difficulty he had dissuaded him from reducing it; therefore, if he consulted his own safety, he would submit to pay tribute, and induce the surrounding Rays to do the same. Shunkur Naik, by his representations, prevailed on Seeva Naik of Jerreh, the Rany of Barcelore, and several other chiefs, to pay their respects to the King, to whom they presented offerings of considerable amount, and agreed to pay annual tribute. On the day on which these chiefs received their dresses from the King, women's habits were prepared for Hur Devy, Bhar Devy, the Rany of Barcelore, and another Rany, which they declined accepting, saying, that though women in sex,[58] they held their dominions by the power of masculine minds; upon which the King gave them men's dresses, and applauded their high spirit. These countries have been long governed by women, the daughters always succeeding to the raj, and the men serving under

58. The gynecocracy of the Ranies of Malabar and Canara seems to have suffered no alteration from the period alluded to till the present day.

them as officers : the husbands of the Ranies have no power in the state.

Ally Adil Shah having settled his new conquests, appointed a bramin to superintend the revenue, and left Moostufa Khan commander-in-chief of the whole, conferring the office of vakeel upon Afzul Khan Shirazy; after which he returned to Beejapoor. Moostufa Khan, who was a faithful servant, and anxious to extend the power of his sovereign, sent, not long after, one of his confidential friends to court, proposing to his majesty to march against Penkonda. Ally Adil Shah, approving the suggestion, ordered his forces to assemble, and moved to Adony; from whence, on the junction of Moostufa Khan with the troops of the Carnatic, he proceeded towards Penkonda. On his approach, Venkatadry, committing the place to the care of one of his nobles, retired with his treasures and effects to the fortress of Chundurgeery. The King surrounded the city, blocking it up closely for three months; at the end of which time the garrison were nearly submitting for want of provisions, when Venkatadry bribed Hundiatum Naik, the chief of the Bergies, with twenty-four lacks of rupees and five elephants, to desert with his followers from the King, and harass his camp; which he did so effectually, that Ally Adil Shah was compelled to raise the siege, and to retire to the neighbourhood of Bunkapoor; from whence he shortly after marched back to Beejapoor, leaving Moostufa Khan to protect the frontiers.

In the year A.H. 986 (A.D. 1578), the Bergies committing excesses in their jageers about Beejanuggur, the King sent Moortuza Khan Anjoo against them with three thousand foreign archers and a number of Deccanies and Abyssinians, with whom they carried on skirmishes for nearly a whole year, without being at all weakened. Moostufa Khan then represented to the King that it was useless sending troops against them, and he had better prevail upon them by stratagem to come to Beejapoor, when he might punish them in a manner worthy of their treachery. Ally Adil Shah, approving this advice, despatched Yeesoo Pundit, and others of their friends, to invite them to return. Hundiatum Naik in vain represented to them that it was not possible the King could forgive a treachery which had disappointed him of the conquest of Penkonda; but said they were only invited to court that their destruction might be effected. Most of the chiefs and their followers, however, returned; but Hundiatum Naik retired to Pen-

konda, where he engaged in the service of Venkatadry. For some time the King treated the Bergies with kindness, but at length put most of them to death.

In the year A.H. 987 (A.D. 1579), as the King had no son, he appointed his nephew Ibrahim, son of his brother Shah Tahmasp, his successor; and the following year he was assassinated by a eunuch, whom he had forced against his inclination to come to his court from Ahmudabad Bidur.[59]

He was buried in the city of Beejapoor, where his tomb, which is called Roza Ally, is still to be seen. During his reign he received two ambassadors from Akbur Padshah of Dehly; the last of whom was in the city when he was assassinated. The jooma musjid, the howz-i-shapoor, the city wall, and the aqueducts which convey water throughout all the streets, were constructed by his orders.[60]

IBRAHIM ADIL SHAH II.

IBRAHIM ADIL SHAH, upon his accession to the throne, being only in his ninth year, the management of public affairs devolved on Kamil Khan Deccany, and to the dowager Chand Beeby, the late king's widow, was intrusted the care of the young king's education. Every day, excepting on Wednesdays and Fridays, Ibrahim was seated on his throne in the hall of audience, when the current business was transacted in his presence. For some time Kamil Khan behaved with due moderation in his high office; but at length, intoxicated with power, he became guilty of some disrespect towards Chand Beeby, who turned her thoughts to effect his destruction. She therefore secretly sent a message to Hajy Kishwur

59. A more detailed account of this transaction is given by Ferishta in the history of the kings of Bidur. He evidently avoids the subject in this place, in order not to give offence to Ibrahim Adil Shah II., the nephew of Ally Adil Shah, under whose patronage he wrote. The cause of the King's death is most disgusting and offensive, and it is by no means attempted to be palliated by Ferishta when he mentions it. A modern author of the history of Beejapoor, however, has set forth reasons in defence of Ally Adil Shah's conduct, and endeavours to prove that Ferishta has traduced his memory.

60. These works are still in existence, and remain the splendid monuments of his reign.

Khan, an officer of high rank, observing, that as the Regent was unfit for his office, she wished to remove him, and to bestow it upon himself. Hajy Kishwur Khan, allured by these hopes of advancement, formed a plot, with several chiefs, to seize Kamil Khan; and one evening, while he was holding a durbar in the green palace, Kishwur Khan suddenly entered the citadel with four hundred armed men, shut the gates, confined the commanding officer of the garrison, and proceeded to secure the Regent. Kamil Khan, alarmed, attempted to fly towards the haram, in hopes of finding protection with Chand Beeby, when he was informed, by some of the eunuchs well disposed towards him, that the plot was formed by her. Confounded at this intelligence, he ran out of the palace, and, as his only chance of escape, flung himself over the wall of the citadel into the ditch, then full of water. He swam over, and passed undiscovered to the Imam gate of the city. This was, however, shut; but by the help of his turban, sash, and other cloths tied together, and fixed to one of the battlements of the city-wall, he descended, and hastened to his own house at no great distance, where he prepared for flight with his friends. Hajy Kishwur Khan, not finding his intended victim, supposed he was in the fort, and was employed near an hour in searching all the buildings and places of concealment; after which he despatched a force to seek him without. Kamil Khan, having provided himself with as many jewels and as much money as time would allow, fled with seven or eight attendants towards Ahmudnuggur; but he had not gone above four miles before he was overtaken, and seized by the people of Kishwur Khan, who cut off his head, and carried it to their patron; but they appropriated all the jewels and treasure found on his person to their own use.

Hajy Kishwur Khan, following the example of Kamil Khan, and supported by the patronage of Chand Beeby, grasped at the whole authority of the state, and ruled with uncontrolled sway. At this period, Behzad-ool-Moolk Toork, Meer Nobut to Moortuza Nizam Shah, advanced from Ahmudnuggur, with fifteen thousand horse, to reduce some districts belonging to Beejapoor; upon which the Regent detached Ein-ool-Moolk Geelany with an army to repel the enemy on the frontiers. Behzad-ool-Moolk suffered a total defeat near Shahdoorg, when all his tents, baggage, elephants, and artillery, fell into the hands of the victors, who returned in triumph to Beejapoor. The minister, by the advice

of Chand Beeby, ordered rejoicing for three days, and conferred rich gifts and honorary distinctions on all the officers who had signalised themselves in this expedition; but some time after, he thought proper to issue an order requiring the elephants taken on the occasion to be given up to the King. This act gave much offence to many of the nobles, who not only refused to comply, but secretly combined to remove him from the regency. Some advised that they should address Chand Beeby, and recommend her to send for Moostufa Khan from Bunkapoor, to take upon himself the administration of affairs; while others were for deferring any measure for the present, conceiving that as Syud Moortuza, governor of Berar, was on his march from Ahmudnuggur to revenge the defeat of Behzad-ool-Moolk, it would be inexpedient to attempt a change in the ministry till the enemy was driven away from the frontiers; but that object being once effected, they proposed retiring, as if in disgust, to Beejanuggur, and there taking measures, in concert with Chand Beeby, for accomplishing their ends.

Kishwur Khan, informed of these designs, took steps to prevent them. He sent an order under the royal seal to Meer Noor-ood-Deen, a jageerdar near Bunkapoor, to assassinate Moostufa Khan, promising to reward him for the deed with the estates and honours of that nobleman. Noor-ood-Deen, though he had been patronised by Moostufa Khan, and was indebted to him for his present office, undertook to perform this base action. He sent the bearer of the royal order into the fort, and at the same time private instructions by one Mahomed Ameen, addressed to the principal officers of the garrison, informing them, that Moostufa Khan meditated to put them to death, and to deliver up the fort to the Raja of the Carnatic, with whom he had entered into a design to subvert the royal authority; therefore it was required that they should fulfil the contents of the order intrusted to the hands of Mahomed Ameen, the bearer, and rid themselves of their treacherous governor, for which they would be amply rewarded by the King. Mahomed Ameen, upon his arrival at the gates of Bunkapoor, sent word to Moostufa Khan, that he had brought a letter from the King; upon which he was admitted with great respect, and orders were given for his accommodation. Pretending that it was late, he desired to be excused showing the mandate till the next morning; and Moostufa Khan, unsuspicious

of treachery, took no notice of the delay. During the night, Mahomed Ameen showed the paper to the officers of the garrison, who seeing the King's order for the death of Moostufa Khan, agreed to put it into execution. Accordingly, while he was at prayers the following morning, a number of them rushed upon him, and strangled him with a bow-string.

When intelligence of this transaction reached Beejapoor, Chand Beeby was highly incensed, and expressed in bitter terms of reproach her disapprobation of the conduct of Kishwur Khan. The minister for the present concealed his resentment against her; but in a short time accused her of having secretly instigated her brother, Moortuza Nizam Shah, to invade Beejapoor, and obtained the King's order to confine her for some time in the fortress of Satara. She was, accordingly, forced out of the haram, with many indignities, and sent prisoner to that place. After this measure Kishwur Khan became self-secure, and conducted affairs with uncontrolled authority. He sent Meean Buddoo Deccany, on whose fidelity he had reliance, to command on the frontiers, with instructions to seize, by treachery, most of the Abyssinian officers of the army, and to confine them in Shahdoorg. This design coming to the knowledge of the intended victims, they resolved to seize Meean Buddoo, and then to remove Kishwur Khan. With this view, Yekhlass Khan, the principal Abyssinian chief, pretending that he had received news from Beejapoor of the birth of a son, made a grand entertainment, to which he invited Meean Buddoo, who, not suspecting his intentions, went to his tent, attended only by a few of his friends, and was made prisoner by the very same stratagem he had designed to practise. Yekhlass Khan, with all the chiefs, and the whole army, moved on the same day towards Beejapoor; while Ein-ool-Moolk and Ankoos Khan, with such of the nobility as were friends to Kishwur Khan, deserted on the route to their several jageers.

Kishwur Khan, on hearing of this league against him, gave over all thoughts of opposition. To preserve appearances, however, as well as to prevent his being seized by the inhabitants of the city, he invited the young King to a feast at his own house; but as he attended him through the streets, the common people, and even the women, uttered loud exclamations of abuse against

him, calling him the murderer of syuds[61] and the gaoler of Chand Beeby. The Regent, finding the minds of the populace incensed against him, thought it time to prepare for his escape. When he heard the army was arrived within a day's march of the city, he prevailed on the King to go with him, on pretence of hunting, to Koolabagh, one of the royal gardens; where, on his arrival, he expressed fears lest the heat of the sun should hurt his Majesty's health, and begged he would return to the palace, promising to follow himself, as soon as he had taken a view of the gardens of Shahpoor. The King returned agreeably to his request; when Kishwur Khan, who had a train of four hundred horse, among whom he had distributed his jewels and money, leaving his women and children behind in the city, took the road of Ahmudnuggur. On his arrival he found that court did not wish to afford him protection; on which he moved towards Golconda, the capital of Kootb Shah, where he was shortly after assassinated by one of the relatives of Moostufa Khan, in revenge for his treachery towards that nobleman.

The Abyssinian chieftains entered Beejapoor without opposition, and were honoured by the young king with dresses and other marks of approbation. Yekhlass Khan assumed the regency; and Chand Beeby, being conducted from her confinement in Satara to the capital, was again intrusted with the care of the young King's person. At her request, Afzul Khan Shirazy was appointed Peshwa,[62] and Yessoo Pundit Moostowfy of the kingdom; but the new regent, not long after, put the two latter to death, on suspicion of their entertaining designs prejudicial to his interest in concert with Chand Beeby. He banished many officers of rank from Beejapoor, and, in conjunction with Humeed Khan and Dilawur Khan, ruled the state as his caprice directed. He invited Ein-ool Moolk from his jageer to court; and on his arrival near the city, the minister, with his two companions, went out to meet him, as a mark of respect. Ein-ool-Moolk, seeing the three ministers with but few attendants, treacherously seized them, put heavy fetters on them, and the next morning prepared to enter the city with his prisoners upon elephants, in order to secure the government. On

61. Moostufa Khan Ardustany, the governor of Bunkapoor, was a syud of high family.

62. This title for the prime minister was introduced on this occasion by Chand Beeby from the Nizam Shahy court at Ahmudnuggur.

his entering the city he found that the garrison had shut the gates of the citadel, and meant to oppose him; upon which, without securing his captives, he withdrew with expedition, and again retired to his jageer. Yekhlass Khan and his companions, being thus unexpectedly released, reassumed their authority; but some of the nobility at court opposing them, great dissensions prevailed in Beejapoor, which gave encouragement to enemies to invade the kingdom.

Behzad-ool-Moolk, the general of Ahmudnuggur who after his defeat had retreated, now returned with Syud Moortuza, the Ameer-ool-Omra of Berar. Mahomed Koolly Kootb Shah, also, having entered into alliance with Moortuza Nizam Shah, marched from Golconda, and joined his generals before Shahdoorg, to which place the allies laid close siege. The governor, notwithstanding the distracted state of affairs at Beejapoor, made a gallant defence, and refused splendid offers to betray his charge; observing, that he would not forfeit his honour, the loss of which nothing could restore to him, as he must give up with it the esteem of the world. The allies, finding all their attempts fruitless, resolved to raise the siege, and to march against Beejapoor, where the dissensions among the ministers would probably favour their cause; and they concluded that if they succeeded in taking the capital, the dependencies must soon fall. The allies, accordingly, broke up their camp from Shahdoorg, and appeared before Beejapoor with forty thousand horse.

As there were then at the capital not more than two or three thousand troops, the Abyssinians kept themselves close in the city till the arrival of Ein-ool-Moolk and Ankoos Khan, with eight thousand horse, who subsequently arrived and encamped near the Allapoor gate, and maintained repeated skirmishes with the enemy, notwithstanding their inferiority of numbers. At length about twenty yards of the wall of the city fell down, owing to heavy rain; and Ein-ool-Moolk and Ankoos Khan, disgusted at the conduct of the Abyssinian chiefs, went over to the enemy on the same night. The allies now resolved on making an assault; but Syud Moortuza, who was displeased at being superseded by Behzad-ool-Moolk, prevented the immediate execution of that design, and the Beejapoor troops found time to repair the breach. At length the Abyssinian chiefs, finding that the principal nobles and officers disliked their authority, and on that account declined coming to

the King's assistance, they represented to Chand Beeby, that they were willing to give up their power to whomsoever she chose to appoint, as they were loyal, and wished to see the government flourish, though they admitted they could not conduct it themselves, owing to the jealousy of the rest of the nobles.

Chand Beeby, relying on their declarations, conferred the robes of Ameer Joomlagy[63] on Shah Abool Hussun, son of Shah Tahir, who immediately sent off expresses with orders to encourage the Bergy chiefs of the Carnatic to return to their duty. He also wrote to Syud Moortuza, who had a profound veneration for the family of Shah Tahir, advising him to prevail upon the allies to quit the territories of Beejapoor; threatening, if they did not, that when the Bergies joined the King (which would shortly take place) their retreat should be cut off. Syud Moortuza, the Berar general, unwilling that the efforts of the allies, under Kootb Shah and Behzad-ool-Moolk, should succeed, adopted measures to induce them to retreat. In the first place, he sent to Ein-ool-Moolk and Ankoos Khan, the two chiefs who had deserted from Beejapoor, recommending them to return; observing, that it was unworthy of them at such a moment of danger to quit the service of their king on pretence of dislike to his ministers. They accordingly re-entered Beejapoor the same evening, where they renewed their allegiance to Ibrahim Adil Shah. Most of the nobility and the Bergies, hearing of the change in the administration, also hastened to court with their followers, and by the loyal exertions of Abool Hussun in less than a month an army of above twenty thousand men was collected at the capital, where affairs assumed a more propitious aspect. The Bergy chiefs were detached to harass and cut off the enemy's supplies; and succeeded so well, that in a short time famine pervaded their camp, and the allies repented of their expedition to Beejapoor.

As the distress of the besiegers increased, they held councils as to what measures they should adopt. It was at last determined that they should separate their forces; that Kootb Shah should proceed against Koolburga, and that Behzad-ool-Moolk and Syud Moortuza should recommence the siege of Shahdoorg. They accordingly moved suddenly from before Beejapoor; but the Nizam

63. The minister of finance was entitled Ameer Joomla at the court of Kootb of Golconda; and the last Ameer Joomla, joining Aurungzeeb, became famous under that appellation at the Mogul court.

Shahy army, on account of some events which will hereafter be mentioned, returned to Ahmudnuggur, plundering the districts of Kolhar and Mirch on their route; while Mahomed Koolly Kootb Shah, having left a detachment under his general Moostufa Khan to reduce some districts of Ibrahim Adil Shah, returned to his capital of Golconda. Moostufa Khan, at the end of three months, was totally defeated by an army sent from Beejapoor, under the command of Dilawur Khan, who, pursuing his success, followed the enemy to the gates of Golconda, and took much plunder on the road.

It will hardly be credited that the city of Beejapoor, which had been invested for twelve months by the united armies of the confederate sovereigns of Berar, Ahmudnuggur, and Golconda, and during which time a large breach was made in the city walls, and the garrison within mutinous, while the kingdom was in a state of anarchy : it will not be believed, I say, that under such circumstances, the Beejapoor monarchy should have been saved by the exertions of one man. This person was Shah Abool Hussun, who in the course of two or three months brought together an army of twenty thousand horse, and in one month afterwards not only attacked the enemy, and raised the siege, but even pursued the army of one of the confederates to the very gates of his capital, and took from him, among other spoils, no fewer than one hundred and fifty elephants. On the return of Dilawur Khan from his successful expedition against the Kootb Shahy troops, he became so elated that he aspired to the office of minister. To attain this end, he gained over Heidur Khan, the commandant of the citadel of Beejapoor, wherein the King resided, and resolved to seize the minister Yekhlass Khan. Every thing being ripe for the execution of his design, he marched expeditiously to the capital; and encamping near the Allapoor gate, sent in such flattering messages and declarations of attachment to Yekhlass Khan as threw him off his guard, and rendered him neglectful of the security of the city and palace. One day when Yekhlass Khan was reposing in his own house without the citadel, Dilawur Khan with his sons, attended by seven hundred horse and fifteen elephants, suddenly entered the city, and proceeded to the palace, into which he was admitted, according to promise, by Heidur Khan; after this, having paid his compliments to the young king, he stationed his own guards in every direction. Yekhlass Khan soon after ad-

vanced towards the gates with four thousand men, but the cannon from the walls obliged him to retire to a distance. He now blocked up the citadel for nearly four months; but being deserted by Buleel Khan, his principal chief, with the greatest part of his followers, and disdaining to fly, he was taken in his own house by Dilawur Khan, who, forgetting all his favours and kindness, ungratefully put out his eyes, and confined him. On this occasion, much injury was sustained by the inhabitants of the town from both parties, and many fine edifices were destroyed by the cannon.

Dilawur Khan, on his accession to the regency, endeavoured to attach the nobility to his interest, by courting their alliance; strengthening, also, his own party, by placing his relations in the highest offices, particularly his sons, who held situations immediately about the King's person. Buleel Khan, who had by his desertion from Yekhlass Khan contributed greatly to his exaltation, was adopted by Dilawur Khan as his son, and retaining only about one hundred foreigners and sixty Abyssinians, he banished all the rest from the King's dominions. Shah Abool Hussun, the saviour of Beejapoor, who had been sent prisoner to a hill-fort subsequent to the siege by Yekhlass Khan, was first blinded by Dilawur Khan, and then put to death, as was also Hajy Basheer, a favourite of the late king; and the power of the Regent Chand Beeby was so completely nullified, that none of the court any longer attended to her commands. The new minister by stratagem got into his power Ghalib Khan, governor of the fortress of Adony, who had rebelled, and caused him to be blinded. He established the Soony ceremonies of religion in Beejapoor. He ruled the kingdom with absolute sway and authority in every department for eight years, during which period he restored the pecuniary resources of the government to a flourishing condition.

The first act of his power, after he found himself secure, was to detach Buleel Khan with an army to collect the arrears of tribute from the Rays of Malabar. Buleel Khan, after being joined by Arsapa Naik, Ray of Jerreh, marched against the fort of Shunkur Naik, Ray of Caroor, who refused to pay the tribute. One night, during the siege, while visiting the batteries, Buleel Khan had the misfortune to be taken prisoner by a body of the enemy, and was carried into the fort, where he was confined in heavy chains. His troops, missing their chief, raised the siege and separated to various quarters. Buleel Khan, after some time, by

promises of great rewards, prevailed on his keepers, and a seller of grass, to assist in his escape; and he was carried out by the latter upon his shoulders, concealed in a bundle of forage. When he had gained a convenient spot, he contrived to strike off his chains, and hastened with all expedition towards the Beejapoor frontiers, where, arriving in safety, he procured a horse and proceeded to Bunkapoor, from whence he informed Dilawur Khan of his escape, and requested to be supplied with another army to take revenge on Shunkur Naik; but the Regent declined for the present to make any farther attempts in that quarter.

Dilawur Khan, the same year, in order to conclude a treaty of alliance with Moortuza Nizam Shah, sent ambassadors to the court of Ahmudnuggur; and in the year A.H. 992 (A.D. 1584), Moortuza Nizam Shah requested of Ibrahim Adil Shah his sister Khoodeija Sooltana in marriage for his son the Prince Hoossein; which being agreed on, Kasim Beg came with a train of four hundred horse to Beejapoor to receive the Princess, and escort her to Ahmudnuggur. She departed in great pomp at the end of four months, and was accompanied by her aunt Chand Beeby, who desired to visit her brother Moortuza Nizam Shah.

In the year A.H. 995 (A.D. 1586), the King having attained to years of discretion, it was thought advisable, in conformity with the dictates of God, pronounced by his prophet, "increase and multiply," that he should marry; and for this purpose an ambassador was sent to the capital of Bhagnuggur, since called Hydurabad, to solicit in marriage the Princess Mullika Jehan, sister to Mahomed Koolly Kootb Shah. The person deputed on this delicate occasion was Khwaja Tilla Beg Shirazy, who was entertained sumptuously at every stage by the King's order, and graciously received at Bhagnuggur. This step having been undertaken without the concurrence of Moortuza Nizam Shah of Ahmudnuggur, that monarch was so incensed, that Mahomed Koolly Kootb Shah thought it prudent to abstain from sending the Princess till he obtained his consent; a measure which he was the more induced to adopt, as the late Ibrahim Koolly Kootb Shah had, upon his death-bed, enjoined his son not to give away Mullika Jehan in marriage without the consent of Moortuza Nizam Shah. Dilawur Khan, the minister and regent of Beejapoor, supposing that the cause of the Princess's detention originated with Moortuza Nizam Shah, marched with the Beejapoor troops

to the Ahmudnuggur frontier. On his arrival at the fort of Owsa, Moortuza Nizam Shah, who had long retired from public affairs, judging that some conduct of his ministers had occasioned this invasion, confined Sulabut Khan, and gave his office to Kasim Beg, who by his entreaties prevailed on Dilawur Khan to quit the country. The Beejapoor army then moved towards the dominions of Mahomed Koolly Kootb Shah, who, in order to maintain peace, sent his sister to Ibrahim Adil Shah; and the nuptials were celebrated with great magnificence at Shahdoorg, from whence the King returned to Beejapoor.

In the year A.H. 996 (A.D. 1587), Moortuza Nizam Shah, long supposed to be deranged, now evinced symptoms of downright madness, and endeavoured to take the life of his son Meeran Hoossein; upon which the minister, Mirza Khan, thought it best to assist the Prince, in confining Moortuza Nizam Shah; to effect this object, he requested the assistance of Dilawur Khan, who marched with his sovereign from Beejapoor; but before he arrived at Ahmudnuggur, Meeran Hoossein had dethroned his father. Ibrahim Adil Shah sent congratulations to him upon his accession, and intended to have had an interview with him and the Queen, his sister, for which purpose he remained encamped some miles from Ahmudnuggur; but upon hearing that Hoossein Nizam Shah had atrociously put his father to death, after confining him, he was so struck with horror that he resolved not to see him. He sent Meer Hoossein Koord, who was remarkable for his freedom of speech, to Hoossein Nizam Shah to tell him, that he had marched from Beejapoor solely with the desire of placing him on the throne, and obliging his father to retire to some fort where he might pass his time in the exercise of religious duties; but as he understood that he, Meeran Hoossein, had wickedly put his parent to death, he would not see him; and, lest the world should suppose that he acted with any views of conquest, he should leave him to the vengeance of the Almighty, and return to his own dominions. The King, after sending this message, returned to Beejapoor; from whence Buleel Khan was again detached with twelve thousand horse to collect the arrears of tribute from the Rays of Malabar; and in case they refused payment, to reduce their forts.

A year had scarcely elapsed, when Hoossein Nizam Shah was assassinated, and one Jumal Khan became all powerful in the

government; upon which Dilawur Khan advised Ibrahim Adil Shah to move towards Ahmudnuggur, to take advantage of these dissensions; and orders were accordingly issued to Buleel Khan, directing him to return from Malabar without delay. In the year A.H. 997 (A.D. 1588), the King marched from Beejapoor, and Dilawur Khan caused the army to halt near Shahdoorg above a month, in hopes of the junction of Buleel Khan; but he not appearing, the Regent judged farther delay dangerous, and moved on towards Ahmudnuggur. Meanwhile, Jumal Khan, with Ismael Nizam Shah, attended by fifteen thousand horse, and a considerable body of foot and artillery, advanced to meet him, and both armies lay near each other for many days without engaging. At length, Jumal Khan thought proper to sue for peace; and Dilawur Khan consented to grant it, on condition that the Princess Khoodeija, sister to Ibrahim Adil Shah, and widow of the late Hoossein Nizam Shah, should be sent back to her brother; also, that the court of Ahmudnuggur should pay the expenses of the war. Jumal Khan, without delay, sent the Princess with all her private property and jewels, besides a large sum of money, upon which Dilawur Khan retreated; and on the same day Buleel Khan joined the army, where his services were not now wanted, and his departure from Malabar regretted, as he had nearly brought affairs in that quarter to a final adjustment, which was disturbed by his recall.

Dilawur Khan, displeased at Buleel Khan's delay, which he supposed to be designed, under-valued the articles he had brought as part of the tribute, and demanded the immediate payment of the balances due from the Rays who had accompanied him to pay their compliments to the King. In order to disgrace this officer still more, he accused him, in presence of the King, of disobeying the royal orders in not hastening sooner to the royal camp; but Buleel Khan, knowing the King was well inclined towards him, boldly replied, that he had been guilty of no fault, nor delayed longer than he could well avoid. He stated, that he was just on the point of receiving a large sum in part of the arrears of tribute, which would have been lost to the treasury had he immediately made public his orders of recall, and the troops would also have met with great difficulties. He observed, that the minister himself, rather than he, was to blame for having led the King precipitately against an enemy; whereas, if he had remained fifteen days longer

at Shahdoorg, the troops from Malabar would have joined, and the country of Nizam Shah might have been successfully invaded. Yet he was ready to confess his own errors, and throw himself on the King's mercy for any fault he might have committed. Dilawur Khan, though much offended at this boldness, apprehending that any notice of it at the time might occasion a disturbance, thought it best to conceal his displeasure; and assuming an air of approbation, he addressed the King, saying, that Buleel Khan was a loyal subject, and had performed great services; and that as his excuses for delay had some reasonable foundation he requested his Majesty to forgive him, and to confer upon him marks of the royal favour. The King, readily complying with this request, honoured Buleel Khan with a rich dress; and after the breaking up of the court, Dilawur Khan took him apart to his tents, where he entertained him with much hospitality; and by way of apology for his late usage said, that as it was known to the public that he had adopted him as his son, if in the affairs of government he did not behave to him with the same strictness as to others it would be said that he showed undue partiality to his own favourites. Shortly after, a robe was conferred on the son of Arsapa Naik, who had attended Buleel Khan to pay his respects to the King, as well as on many others of the Rays of Malabar, who were all honourably dismissed to their own country. The minister having by his hypocritical behaviour thrown the gallant general off his guard, a few months after the return of the army to Beejapoor, forgetting all his great services to himself in the time of Yekhlass Khan, he caused Buleel Khan to be treacherously seized and deprived of sight without the knowledge of the King, who, though much displeased, was too completely in the hands of Dilawur Khan to be able to express the indignation he felt. An opportunity, however, shortly offered of freeing himself from his intolerable thraldom.

In the year A.H. 998 (A.D. 1589), the King, at the request of his minister, marched from Beejapoor, in order to wrest the crown of Ahmudnuggur from Jumal Khan, who had set up the son of Boorhan Nizam Shah in opposition to his father. Jumal Khan, having raised a considerable army, advanced with Ismael Nizam Shah to within sixteen miles of the King's camp, but without any intention to engage. In this situation he sent ambassadors with great offers to Dilawur Khan, if he would grant him peace; but

the minister refusing to listen to any terms, and many officers at the same time deserting from Jumal Khan, the latter, in order to secure himself from any sudden attack, took up a strong post surrounded by declivities and broken ground, at some distance from his former camp, on the banks of the Beema. Dilawur Khan thinking his enemy weak, and feeling himself secure of victory, marched to attack him, contrary to the express wish of the King, with thirty thousand horse, confident of taking him prisoner. Upon his arrival at the spot where Jumal Khan was so strongly posted, he repented of his rashness, but ashamed to retire, he halted, in hopes that all the troops would soon join. At this instant an officer from Ibrahim Adil Shah arriving, represented, that as the army was not prepared for action, the King desired he would defer it for the present, and stay till the troops were properly organised. Dilawur Khan returned for answer that he would shortly bring Jumal Khan bound to the presence of the King, and instantly advanced towards the enemy. Having with great difficulty passed over much marshy ground, full of hollows, his troops, without order or proper disposition, reached the enemy's front, when Dilawur Khan detached the Bergy cavalry to fall upon the rear, to prevent any of the fugitives escaping. Jumal Khan, seeing himself surrounded, resolved to rely on his sword alone, and drew out his troops, prepared for a desperate resistance. In the very beginning of the action, Ein-ool-Moolk, Ankoos Khan, and Alum Khan, who knew that Ibrahim Adil Shah was displeased with the minister, retired with their divisions, and leaving him in the gulf of destruction, withdrew to the royal camp at Darasun. Dilawur Khan, notwithstanding this, fought so valiantly with his own troops, that he threw the enemy into disorder; upon which his soldiers separated to seize the plunder of the camp, according to the loose custom of the people of India, leaving their general with not more than two hundred horse. A party of the enemy, who had retired in good order with their Prince, Ismael Nizam Shah, perceiving this, returned to the attack; and Dilawur Khan, after a gallant struggle, preferring his safety to certain destruction, fled with seven persons, among whom was the author of this history, from the field. On his way, spies brought intelligence that Ein-ool-Moolk with the other officers who had deserted him were hastening to the King, in hopes of destroying his influence; upon which he redoubled his speed, and reached Darasun before them,

with three thousand of his defeated troops, who joined him by parties on his route. Lest the victors should pursue, he marched with the King all night towards Shahdoorg, where he arrived the next morning. Jumal Khan, after this very unexpected success, having taken above one hundred elephants, advanced to Darasun, where the author, who had received some wounds, and could not travel from weakness, fell into his hands, but made his escape by a stratagem. Jumal Khan, learning that Boorhan Nizam Shah, with his allies Raja Ally Khan and the chiefs of Berar, were advancing, moved to the northward from Darasun, followed by the Beejapoor army, which pursued him for nearly one hundred and sixty miles. The King now thought proper to halt with the main body, and to detach the Bergy cavalry in pursuit, in order to cut off the enemy's supplies, and to harass him on his route. Dilawur Khan insisted that the King ought to march on without delay to the Rohunkehra Ghat. The minister's conduct and language on this occasion gave great offence; and Ibrahim Adil Shah, now of an age to act for himself, and tired of being led in the trammels of the Regent, resolved to free himself by effecting his destruction.

As all the officers of the royal household and the body guards were attached to Dilawur Khan, the King was fearful of communicating his wishes to them, lest they should betray him. After much precaution, he fixed upon two Hindoos, common servants of no note, to be his confidents on this important occasion. These he sent privately to Ein-ool-Moolk, the Ameer-ool-Omra, to complain of the unreasonable conduct of Dilawur Khan; and he received in answer solemn assurances of his support and assistance. After much negotiation conducted through the two Hindoos, it was agreed that the King should, on a certain night when Dilawur Khan was asleep, repair suddenly to the camp of Ein-ool-Moolk, which was only a mile distant, where he was to be joined by him, by Alum Khan, and by Ankoos Khan, who would faithfully obey his commands. . Ibrahim Adil Shah, relying on these promises, on the night of the fourteenth of Rujub, A.H. 998 (May 8, A.D. 1590), came out of his private apartments, and commanded Kufshdar Khan to bring him a horse. The keeper of the stables refused obedience, saying, that he dared not comply without the orders of Dilawur Khan. Kufshdar Khan, provoked at this insolence, gave him several blows; upon which the grooms of the stables became terrified, and brought horses immediately. The King, mounting,

issued forth, attended by his servants from his tents. On the way Elias Khan, his nurse's son, who was upon guard, running up to him, asked the cause of his movement, and received for answer, that the present was not a time for explanation, but he should know if he chose to attend him; which he immediately did, with rather less than a hundred horse. When he arrived within a short distance of the camp of Ein-ool-Moolk he halted, till that nobleman, with Alum Khan, and Ankoos Khan, joined him. As soon as the King's march became known, several officers, among whom was myself, with about three thousand soldiers, hastened to join him during the night.

Dilawur Khan, though above eighty years of age, had devoted that night to a beautiful virgin of the Deccan, whom he had long sought to gain, so that, though several emissaries frequently requested admittance to inform him of the King's flight, his attendants, who had received the strictest orders not to disturb him, refused to tell him; a circumstance which gave full time for Ibrahim Adil Shah to complete his designs. Towards sunrise, the minister was roused from his dream of pleasure, and with his sons and six thousand horse, with many elephants, followed his sovereign, in hopes that, on his arrival, the King would be deserted by his friends, and be again obliged to throw himself into his hands. When he came in sight of the royal army, the King ordered Ein-ool-Moolk to prepare to oppose him; but that nobleman sent word privately to the minister, offering to stand neuter while he attempted to carry off the King. Dilawur Khan, encouraged by this assurance, stopped his followers at a little distance, and coming on with a hundred horse and four elephants close to the King, addressed him, saying, that marching at night was extremely improper, but hoped the King would now return to his encampment. Ibrahim, enraged at this insolence, exclaimed, "Will no one punish this traitor?" Upon which an inferior officer of the body guard, named Adeena Khan, spurring his horse up to Dilawur Khan, gave him a wound with his sabre, and was preparing to inflict another stroke, when the minister's horse, rearing at the flashing brightness of the weapon, threw him; and his elephant drivers rushing between him and Adeena Khan, he had time to escape to his own troops, whom he endeavoured to lead on against the King; but they hesitated to assault their sovereign, and many of them even deserted to him. Dilawur Khan, overwhelmed with

confusion, effected his escape to Ahmudnuggur; but his son Kumal Khan was overtaken at Darasun by the royalists, and put to death.

When the hand of Providence had thus destroyed the power of the Regent, and the veil of obscurity was removed from before the King's person, he gave honorary dresses to Ein-ool-Moolk, Alum Khan, and Ankoos Khan, although they had failed in strictly performing their promises; and ascending the throne on the spot, the King gave public audience. Such persons as had distinguished themselves by their loyalty during the night he rewarded with a generosity beyond their expectations, and gratified the nobility and army by liberal largesses. Upon his retiring into his private apartments to take repose, a circumstance happened worth mentioning. Dilawur Khan being one of the disciples of Hunefy had established the Soony ceremonies during his regency; but many of the nobility, among whom were some strict Soonies, hastily concluding that the King, adopting the tenets of his father and his uncle, must be a Sheea, began to proclaim evening prayer according to the custom of the latter sect. The King, who had, by education, become a disciple of Hunefy, on hearing the call to prayer, was offended at the change, and gave orders for the criers to be confined; but upon being informed of the cause of the alteration, he smiled at the sudden conversion of the Soony nobility, and would frequently rally them upon it, calling them political Sheeas. He, however, left every one to follow his own opinion as to his form of worship; and both sects were allowed to practise their religious ceremonies as in the time of his ancestor Yoosoof Adil Shah.

Soon after the expulsion of the Regent, intelligence arrived of the defeat of Jumal Khan, and of the accession of Boorhan Nizam Shah. The King sent letters of congratulation to him on the occasion; and, as there now remained no cause for continuing in the field, the King returned to Beejapoor, where he employed himself in regulating the affairs of his government; which he did with so much justice, clemency, and prudence, that his people soon forgot their late troubles, and had reason to congratulate each other on the happy deliverance of their sovereign from the thraldom of his late minister.

When Dilawur Khan fled to Ahmudnuggur he was favourably received by Boorhan Nizam Shah, enrolled among his nobles, and appointed to reduce the forts of Sholapoor and Shahdoorg; which coming to the knowledge of Ibrahim Adil Shah, he sent ambassa-

dors to request that the rebel might be sent to him, together with the elephants which had been taken from him by Jumal Khan. Boorhan Nizam Shah, instead of granting this demand, forgetting every former obligation, prepared for war; and, at the instigation of Dilawur Khan, in the month of Jumad-oos-Sany, A.H. 1000 (March, A.D. 1592), marched towards the territories of Beejapoor; and having passed the frontiers, laid waste the country as he advanced. Upon his arrival at Mungulwera, seeing that no army was sent into the field to oppose him, the King of Ahmudnuggur became suspicious of some stratagem to draw him into the heart of Beejapoor kingdom; and he would have retreated, but was prevailed upon by Dilawur Khan to continue his advance as far as the river Beema, where he halted, and there finding a ruined fortress, ordered it to be repaired. Ibrahim Adil Shah, who, during this time, had neither given orders to assemble his nobility, nor taken measures to defend his country, on hearing this, said, that Boorhan Nizam Shah would shortly act like the child who builds walls of clay, and then destroys them with his own hands. The King of Beejapoor acted as if unmindful that an enemy was in his country; and contenting himself with despatching a few horse to observe his motions, appeared to give himself totally up to amusements, which behaviour became the wonder of all; and every man formed his own conjectures regarding it, both in his own dominions and the enemy's camp, without being able to account for his conduct. Boorhan Nizam Shah consulted with his officers on the subject, as well as with Dilawur Khan. Some said that Ibrahim Adil Shah, being a youth, was immersed in pleasures, and neglected the affairs of his kingdom; while others believed that he suspected the fidelity of his officers, and was afraid of calling them together. The King's spies brought him regular information of all that passed, and gave alarming accounts of the confidence infused into the enemy by his extraordinary supineness.

Ibrahim Adil Shah, at length, finding matters ripe for the execution of his design, sent a messenger to Dilawur Khan, requesting him to return, and again take the charge of his affairs; observing, that he saw, though late, the folly of his conduct, in having listened to the representations of designing men against so worthy a servant; but said, if he would once more accept of his office, he might depend on meeting with the utmost consideration.

Dilawur Khan, overjoyed at this invitation, returned for answer, that if his Majesty would assure him he should not suffer any injury in his life or property, he would hasten to throw himself at his feet. All the securities he required being granted, the minister, in hopes of once more attaining absolute power, and confining the King as formerly, obtained his dismission from Boorhan Nizam Shah, who in vain represented to him that he was hastening to his own destruction; observing that such behaviour as his towards his sovereign could never be sincerely forgiven. The minister came to Beejapoor, where he arrived in the evening, as the King was returning in state, from the garden of the twelve Imams, towards the palace. After having paid his respects, he proceeded on foot in the train. When he had passed on a little, the King called to Elias Khan, and ordered him to show Dilawur Khan a specimen of his own favourite punishment, in putting out eyes. The minister in vain represented that he had come to court on his Majesty's assurances of pardon and safety. The King told him that he had only promised not to injure his life or property, and that depriving him of sight would affect neither. He was accordingly blinded, and sent to the fortress of Satara, where he remained a prisoner till he died.[64]

The King having successfully got rid of his dangerous enemy, sent orders to all his nobility to hasten from their jageers without delay, and to make preparations to march against Boorhan Nizam Shah II. He first sent the Bergy chiefs, with six thousand horse, to cut off all communication and supplies from the enemy's camp; and in the month of Shaban A.H. 1000 (April, A.D. 1592), having appointed Roomy Khan Deccany commander of his army, detached him at the head of ten thousand horse, and soon after Elias Khan was sent to reinforce him with three thousand of the household troops. The Bergy cavalry greatly distressed the

64. One cannot help admiring the boldness with which Ferishta narrates the whole of this transaction of the conduct of the living monarch under whose patronage he was then compiling his history. Dilawur Khan had acted the part of a traitor to his sovereign before he quitted Beejapoor, and in inducing the King of Ahmudnuggur to attack Beejapoor he was a double traitor to his king and country, and deserved death; still there is no justifying the artifice adopted by Ibrahim Adil Shah to get his enemy into his possession, nor does the historian seem disposed to say one word in favour of his sovereign's conduct; he simply relates the truth without a single comment.

enemy, defeating several detachments sent against them; till at last Boorhan Nizam Shah proceeded in person to attack them. Unable to oppose regular troops the Bergies recrossed the Beema, which was then fordable, and a lucky flood of the torrents from the mountains having swelled the river immediately after, prevented their being pursued; upon which Boorhan Nizam Shah returned to his lines. A famine and pestilence now prevailed to a great extent in the enemy's camp, carrying off great numbers of men and animals, and obliged him to retire some marches towards his own country in order to obtain relief. When he had received supplies of provisions, and the pest had somewhat abated, Boorhan Nizam Shah moved again with a design to lay siege to the fortress of Sholapoor; but was opposed on his march by Roomy Khan and Elias Khan, who defeated a principal part of his army under Noor Khan, Ameer-ool-Omra of Berar, and took a hundred elephants and four hundred horses.

After this loss the affairs of Boorhan Nizam Shah declined daily; and numbers of his troops, tired of a long and fatiguing campaign, deserted from his camp; and a conspiracy was formed against his life by several of the officers, who wished to place his son Ismael upon the throne in his stead. Discovering the plot, and growing suspicious of all around him, he began his retreat towards Ahmudnuggur; but was so harassed on his first march that he thought it imprudent to attempt moving further till he could make peace with Ibrahim Adil Shah, to whom he sent ambassadors to treat, and for which purpose he halted at Kurmulla. Ibrahim Adil Shah for nearly a whole month refused to listen to any accommodation, till he compelled Boorhan Nizam Shah to destroy the fort he had erected within his territory, on the bank of the Beema, which he reluctantly did, throwing down the first stone with his own hands; after which his troops demolished the whole fabric, which had cost much trouble and expense. He then marched expeditiously back to Ahmudnuggur, heartily repenting of his unprovoked invasion of the territories of Ibrahim Adil Shah.

In the year A.H. 1001 (A.D. 1593), the King's affairs being now restored to order, he resolved to humble the Rays of Malabar, who, since the recall of Buleel Khan, had neglected to pay their tribute. For this purpose he despatched Munjun Khan with a considerable army. This general on arriving at Bunkapoor

halted, and summoned all the Rays to meet him with their tributes, promising protection to those who obeyed, but threatening the refractory with vengeance. Most of them prepared to comply with his demands, and intended coming in a body to visit him; but as Gunga Naik, who was one of the principal Rays of Malabar, and had eight or ten thousand horse and foot in his pay, went first to pay his respects, the rest, jealous of his power, and suspecting that he had gone to form some plan against them with Munjun Khan, broke off their engagements, and withdrew to the mountains. Munjun Khan, not thinking it prudent to follow them into an unknown country, marched with Gunga Naik against Jerreh, which belonged to Arsapa Naik; who with his allies, to the number of twenty thousand men, endeavoured to interrupt the siege. For three days bloody skirmishes were maintained by the Beejapoor troops, who could not make use of their cavalry owing to the nature of the ground, so that their success was frequently doubtful; but at length the good fortune of the King prevailed; and Arsapa, seeing further resistance vain, consented to pay tribute, and made a present of two fine elephants to Munjun Khan, with many curious and valuable effects for the King. He also joined the army, and assisted at the siege of Mysore, belonging to Venkatadry Naik, which was reduced in three months, and twenty fine elephants were taken with it. Munjun Khan was proceeding rapidly in his conquests, when the rebellion of the King's brother in Belgam occasioned his recall, and left the affairs of Malabar once more in an unsettled state.

The Prince Tahmasp had two sons, Ibrahim Adil Shah and the Prince Ismael. The latter was brought up with his brother till he arrived at the age of puberty, when Dilawur Khan sent him to be kept prisoner in the fortress of Belgam, according to the usual policy of governments.[65] After the expulsion of the Regent, Ibrahim Adil Shah sent one of his confidential servants to his brother, to express his concern that reasons of state policy did not permit him to satisfy the desire he had that they should live in the same place together, and to assure him of every indulgence and mark of affection consistent with his situation. At the same time he sent orders to the governor of Belgam to give the Prince Ismael the full liberty of the fort, and to provide him with every convenience and amusement that could make his captivity less

65. It is an Asiatic Mahomedan who writes this.

irksome : he also allowed him a monthly income of one thousand hoons[66] for his private expenses. The Prince for some time seemed satisfied with his condition; but suddenly losing all sense of the generosity of his brother conspired against him, and by degrees bringing over the governor and garrison of Belgam to his interest, and secretly corrupting many of the officers of the court, on the 9th of Rumzan, A.H. 1002 (May 12, A.D. 1593), he took possession of the fort, and openly raised the standard of revolt.

Ibrahim Adil Shah, regarding this behaviour as proceeding chiefly from the treachery of some of his ungrateful nobles, and unwilling to proceed to extremities against his brother, endeavoured to try the effects of admonition upon his mind; for which purpose he sent the venerable Shah Noor-Alum to wait on him, with solemn assurances that if he laid aside his extravagant designs, he should be pardoned, and be treated with every respect and mark of affection as before. The Prince, instead of listening to the remonstrances of this holy man, put him into confinement, and expedited his preparations to take the field; at the same time he sent ambassadors soliciting the assistance of Boorhan Nizam Shah, who promised to support him with a considerable army. The Prince Ismael had also gained over to his interest Ein-ool-Moolk, Ameer-ool-Omra, and the adopted son of Ankoos Khan. The former not wishing that the disputes for the throne might soon be settled, declined for the present giving any open assistance, so that Ismael was obliged to content himself in the mean time with the fortress of Belgam and its environs, where the Khootba was read in his name. Ein-ool-Moolk, in order to deceive Ibrahim Adil Shah, redoubled his semblance of loyalty, till matters should be ripe for the execution of his designs in favour of the Prince. The King, on learning the conduct of his brother towards Shah Noor-Alum, was much incensed; and directed Elias Khan (meer nobut) to proceed with an army to quell to rebellion, and to besiege Belgam.

Elias Khan, with six thousand men, soon arrived before Belgam; and as Ismael had not yet been joined by his adherents, he shut himself up in the fort, which was closely besieged by the royalists. Ein-ool-Moolk, also, agreeably to the King's orders, joined the besiegers, in order to preserve appearances; but being

66. 400*l*.

secretly attached to the Prince, he kept up constant correspondence with the besieged, and supplied them at night from his camp with grain and other necessaries. Intelligence of this treacherous conduct reaching the King, he, in order to try the fidelity of Ein-ool-Moolk, despatched an order summoning him to court, on pretence that he wished to have his advice on some affairs of importance, which could not be communicated to any other than himself. Ein-ool-Moolk, for fear of exciting suspicion, set out, with many of his friends, to Beejapoor, where he acted with so much art, as left the King in doubt of the accusations against him; and Ibrahim Adil Shah, unwilling to destroy an old servant on bare suspicion, hoped, that should it have any foundation in reality, the favours he received at his hands would sink so deeply in his mind, as to make him lay aside any treacherous designs he might have formed. With this view, and in order to do him honour, he received him with the greatest marks of attention in a full court. Ein-ool-Moolk, according to custom, kissed the ground three times, and advanced to the throne, the feet of which he also kissed; but his conscience at this time smote him so forcibly, that he was seized with a trembling, which being observed, he was desired to sit down, and the King turned his face away, in order to give him time to recover. He afterwards permitted him to eat with him; and after evincing every mark of kindness, and having conferred upon him a dress of great value, a dagger set with jewels, some fine horses, and a bracelet of diamonds, he was permitted to return to the army without delay. The traitor departed from the capital the next day, and, forgetting his Majesty's clemency, renewed his correspondence with the Prince Ismael, and afforded him every aid as before; which conduct soon became the topic of common conversation throughout the royal camp. Not long after this, Heiat Khan, Kotwal of Beejapoor, who had been to escort ammunition and stores, passed, on his return from camp, near to the residence of Ein-ool-Moolk, who invited him to an entertainment. Heiat Khan, in hopes of obtaining a sum of money from him, upbraided him with his treachery, of which he had received full proofs in the camp; at the same time threatening to disclose all he knew to the King. Ein-ool-Moolk, concluding that his designs were now beyond the power of concealment, put Heiat Khan into fetters, and openly declared his defection; writing letters to the governors of garrisons

to join him without delay, in favour of the Prince. Most of them sent fair promises, but waited to see the turn of affairs before they dared to act openly; but the soldiers of the garrison of Mirch, having confined their governor, proclaimed Ismael King. Ein-ool-Moolk now sent expresses to Boorhan Nizam Shah, requesting him to expedite his march from Ahmudnuggur, as the affairs of Ismael were in a prosperous train, and with his aid would easily be brought to a happy issue; for which the forts of Sholapoor and Shahdoorg, with their dependent districts, were to be delivered into his hands. Boorhan Nizam Shah, allured by this offer, began his march, and Ein-ool-Moolk withdrew his division, acting in concert with Elias Khan, from Before Belgam; upon which great confusion prevailed through all the territories of Beejapoor. The Hindoos of Malabar, seizing the opportunity, invaded the districts of Bunkapoor; and Elias Khan, either through fear or treachery, raised the siege of Belgam, and returned, without orders, to the capital, where his arrival threw the whole court into great consternation. Dangerous insurrections ensued, and many courtiers formed designs of taking possession of the palace for the rebel prince, to gain his favour; but the firmness of mind evinced by Ibrahim Adil Shah on this trying occasion prevailed over all the schemes of the seditious. He disgraced Elias Khan, Hajy Mahomed, and Roomy Khan, and put them under strict confinement, in order to deter others from treachery, of which he had strong presumptions they were guilty; at the same itme he issued orders to all the nobles to repair to the capital.

Ein-ool-Moolk, seeing no army to oppose him in the field, marched with ten thousand horse and twenty thousand foot to Belgam, where he prevailed upon Ismael to quit the fort, and without waiting for the junction of Boorhan Nizam Shah, who had already begun his march from Ahmudnuggur, resolved, to move against the King at Beejapoor. Ibrahim Adil Shah, upon intelligence of this design, appointed Humeed Khan to the command of his army, and sent him against the rebels. On his arrival at Eesapoor he was met by some confidential persons from the rebel army, to induce him to join them. According to the secret orders of the King, he received the messengers favourably, assuring them that he had no designs of opposition, and meant to join the Prince Ismael; who, if he would quit the fort and take

command of the army, might gain possession of the throne without trouble, or putting himself under any obligations to Boorhan Nizam Shah. Ein-ool-Moolk was deceived, and forgetting his usual caution, imprudently moved with the Prince Ismael to an extensive plain at some distance from Belgam; where, fancying himself quite secure, he was intent only on making preparations for the reception of Humeed Khan and the other chiefs of the royal army. Ghalib Khan, the son of Ein-ool-Moolk, who had remonstrated with his father in vain on his ingratitude towards Ibrahim Adil Shah, now warned him against Humeed Khan, and begged of him at all events to be upon his guard against surprise. Humeed Khan advanced in good orders towards the camp of the rebels, where the Prince and Ein-ool-Moolk waited, with their principal adherents, in a magnificent tent to receive him; so that he was allowed to approach close to their lines without opposition. He then suddenly removed the mask, and made a vigorous charge, which threw the camp into disorder. The Prince and Ein-ool-Moolk, on being undeceived, mounted their horses, and endeavoured to collect their troops, but in vain. Ein-ool-Moolk, having received a sabre-wound, fell from his horse, and his head was immediately cut off by Soheil Khan. The Prince Ismael was taken prisoner in trying to effect his escape to Ankoos Khan, with whose assistance he intended to join Boorhan Nizam Shah. The rebel army dispersed to different quarters, and Humeed Khan sent the head of Ein-ool-Moolk, with congratulatory accounts of his victory, to Beejapoor. Ibrahim Adil Shah ordered the head of the traitor to be placed on a high pole, before the principal gate of his palace, where it remained nearly a week, and Shoojat Khan Koord was sent to the camp; where, in order to prevent fresh rebellions, he put an end to the existence of the Prince Ismael by the King's order. Humeed Khan returned to Beejapoor, and with many other nobles was highly distinguished by the King's favour. The head of Ein-ool-Moolk being put into a great gun was blown into the air, that no traces might remain of it; and seventeen persons of the garrison of Mirch, who had confined their chief and declared for the rebels, were put to death for example's sake, after being brought in chains to Beejapoor. Boorhan Nizam Shah, who had advanced as far as the fort of Purenda, to assist in the rebellion, on hearing that

it was quelled, and the authority of the government restored, retired with expedition towards Ahmudnuggur.

The great First Cause, who created the universe by his single word, in order to display the fullness of his power, at frequent periods effects revolutions surprising to human imagination, of which there could not be a greater proof than this victory, which was unexpected by all; as most of the nobility favoured Ismael, and the zamindars throughout the kingdom of Beejapoor were ripe for revolt.

Not long after these events, Boorhan Nizam Shah, entering into alliance with the Ray of Penkonda, resolved again to invade the territories of Ibrahim Adil Shah, and accordingly despatched Moortuza Khan Anjoo, at the head of ten thousand horse, with orders to reduce Shahdoorg and Sholapoor, while his ally laid siege to some of the forts on the frontiers of the Carnatic. Moortuza Khan Anjoo advanced as far Purenda, when finding that the Ray of Penkonda had not yet begun his march, he thought proper to halt; but sent out detachments to lay waste and plunder the adjacent country. These troops received a severe check from those of Ibrahim Adil Shah; and their commander, Oozbuk Khan, was killed in the action, which struck the rest of the army with terror, and stopped their operations. In the month of Rujub A.H. 1003 (March, A.D. 1595), Boorhan Nizam Shah was taken dangerously ill of dysentery. The news of this event occasioned great commotions in the army at Purenda, where dissensions arose among the chiefs; and Moortuza Khan, with many of his friends, fearing assassination from the mutinous officers, left his command and retired to Ahmudnuggur. At the same time Khuleefa Arab and Kuzilbash Khan fled for refuge to Ibrahim Adil Shah. Boorhan Nizam Shah, wasted in body by illness, and in mind by the dissensions of his officers, died. He was succeeded by his son Ibrahim, and Meean Munjoo Deccany became regent of the kingdom. The young king's mother, however, who was an Abyssinian, gave so much encouragement to the chiefs of her own nation, that the power of the minister's office was withheld from him; and the upstart Abyssinians behaved so disrespectfully to the Beejapoor ambassadors, as to make them quit Ahmudnuggur in disgust.

Ibrahim Adil Shah was so much offended at this affront, that he resolved to be revenged on Ibrahim Nizam Shah; for which purpose, on the 20th of Shaban A.H. 1003 (May 18, A.D. 1595).

having marched from his capital, he encamped at Bahmunhully, and moved from thence towards Shahdoorg. Being, however, not fond of unnecessary war, he had determined in his own mind, if ambassadors should be sent from Ahmudnuggur with apologies for the conduct of the ministers, and professing a wish for peace, to lay aside his expedition, and in this hope he made, designedly, but very slow marches to Shahdoorg, where he fixed his head-quarters.

Yekhlas Khan, and the Abyssinian chiefs of Ahmudnuggur, instead of endeavouring to make peace, marched with Ibrahim Nizam Shah at the head of thirty thousand men and a great train of artillery, to their borders, upon which Ibrahim Adil Shah, thinking delay no longer advisable, despatched Humeed Khan with other officers of distinction against them; at the same time giving instructions that if Ibrahim Nizam Shah did not attempt marching into his country, they should refrain from hostilities. The Nizam Shahy army passed the boundaries of Beejapoor, upon which Humeed Khan without delay attacked them : a severe action ensued, in which the Beejapoor troops were near being defeated. The left wing having given way fled from the field, closely pursued by the right wing of the enemy. Humeed Khan, however, resolutely continued the battle with his centre and right wing. Ibrahim Nizam Shah, who had at first remained in the rear, to be out of danger, seeing the flight of part of the enemy's line, advanced with his household troops, which being perceived by Soheil Khan, a eunuch who commanded the right wing of the Adil Shahy army, he charged. At this instant the King of Ahmudnuggur's guards begged him to retire, but he would not consent, exclaiming, that as his brother Ismael had disdained to fly from Dilawur Khan, it would be dishonourable in him to give way before a ennuch. Having said this he drew his sabre, and pushed on his elephants towards Soheil Khan; but after a short struggle he received a mortal wound from an arrow, and died immediately : his attendants took up the body, and fled towards Ahmudnuggur. The other part of the army, engaged with Humeed Khan, learning the fate of their king, was seized with a panic, and hastened from the field, although they had nearly gained the victory. The fugutives left all their baggage and artillery, with most of the royal elephants, to be plundered by the Beejapoor troops, who found themselves victors when they

least expected it. While Humeed Khan was enjoying the fruits of his success, Ibrahim Adil Shah received intelligence at Shahdoorg that his army was defeated, as many of the fugutives of the left wing, which had broken and dispersed in the beginning of the action, had fled as far as the royal camp, which was thrown into great consternation by their alarming accounts. Some said most of the nobles had been slain, and that all the elephants except one had fallen into the hands of the enemy. For three days uncertain intelligence and alarming reports were received; but, on the fourth, full accounts were brought of the unexpected victory, and the death of Ibrahim Nizam Shah, which changed the terrors of the multitude to the extravagance of joy. The King, notwithstanding this signal advantage, and the confused state of the enemy's government, would not consent to invade his territories, but recalled Humeed Khan from the borders; and in the later part of the month marched back towards Beejapoor, but did not enter that capital till A.H. 1004 (A.D. 1595-6). He halted on the banks of the Beema, from whence he despatched a force against one of the zemindars of the Carnatic, who, taking advantage of the war, had besieged the fortress of Adony, now in danger of falling from want of provisions. On the 13th of Mohurrum, A.H. 1004 (September 9, A.D. 1596), the King made a triumphant entry into Beejapoor, amid the acclamations of his people, who on this occasion had adorned the streets with gold and silver tissue, velvets, brocades, other rich cloths, and costly ornaments. Soon after this, intelligence arrived that the infidels of the Carnatic had on the approach of the royal troops raised the siege of Adony, and fled to their own country, but that many of them were cut to pieces in the pursuit. Meer Mahomed Saleh Humdany, a venerable syud, arriving near Beejapoor, and bringing with him some hairs of the Prophet, the King, eager to pay his respects to such valuable relics,[67] went out to meet him; and having conducted him into the city, entertained him with royal munificence for many days. The King endeavoured to prevail

67. These, contained in a small silver box, are still kept in a palace at Beejapoor, which is distinguished by the appellation of Asar-Shureef, "The holy Relics." When Aurangzeb took Beejapoor, nearly a century after, he plundered the shrine of ONE of the hairs of the Prophet's beard, and left the other: thus observing more delicacy towards Beejapoor than a modern conqueror did to all the cities of Italy which he subdued !

upon this holy man to fix his residence at his court, but he was too earnest to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca; and at his departure the King conferred on him many rich presents, and received from him two of the sacred hairs, which he placed with care in a golden shrine set with jewels, and constantly visited it every Friday night, and upon all holidays.

Disputes growing to a great height in the government of Ahmudnuggur, Moorad Mirza, son of the Emperor Akbur, was invited into the Deccan by one of the parties; and eager to take advantage of these dissensions in order to spread the authority of the Moguls in that country, he marched from Guzerat to Ahmudnuggur with an army of thirty thousand men, and laid siege to that city, which he was after many months obliged to raise, Ibrahim Adil Shah having despatched Soheil Khan with a great army to the relief of the beseiged Nizam Shahies,—and before his arrival the Moguls retired.[68]

68. Ferishta continued to write his history as late as 1612, sixteen years after this period, and, probably, intended to have finished that of Beejapoor last, which can alone acount for his leaving off so abruptly. Every circumstance connected with his work seems to confirm the opinion, that he must have died in the prime of life, and was, probably, cut off suddenly.

CHAPTER III
(CONTINUED)

SECTION III

HISTORY OF THE DYNASTY OF THE KINGS OF AHMUDNUGGUR, DENOMINATED NIZAM SHAHY

AHMUD NIZAM SHAH

AHMUD NIZAM SHAH was the son of Mullik Naib Nizam-ool-Moolk Bheiry, originally a bramin of Beejanuggur, whose real name was Timapa, the son of Bheiroo. In his infancy he was taken prisoner by the Mahomedan army of Ahmud Shah Bahmuny, when, being admitted among the number of the faithful, and having received the name of Hussun, he was brought up as one of the royal slaves. The King was so struck with his abilities, that he made him over to his eldest son, the Prince Mahomed, as a kind of companion, with whom he was educated, and attained eminence in Persian and Arabic literature. From his father's name Bheiroo, he was called Mullik Hussun Bheiroo; but the Prince being unable to pronounce the word correctly, he obtained the appellation of Bheiry. When the Prince ascended the throne, he raised his favourite to the rank of a noble of a thousand horse; and it is also said, on account of his surname Bheiry, which signifies a falcon, he was nominated to the office of falconer, which in Toorky is called Koosh-begy: some people have asserted that he obtained the name of Bheiry from his office alone. In course of time he rose to the first offices in the state, and was dignified by the titles of Ashruf Hoomayoon and Nizam-ool-Moolk. Being a great favourite of the minister Khwaja Mahmood Gawan, he was recommended by him to the government of Tulingana, including Rajmundry and Condapilly, which were granted to him in jageer. On the death of that minister he succeeded to his office under the title of Mullik Naib; and on the demise of Mahomed Shah Bahmuny he was appointed prime minister to that monarch's son, Mahmood Shah, who added Beer, and other districts in the vicinity of Dowlutabad, to his estates. The administration of this new jageer was made over to Mullik Naib's son, Mullik Ahmud, who took up his residence at Joonere, while

Khawaja Jehan Deccany was appointed governor of Purenda. Although Mullik Naib had procured for his son the necessary orders to occupy those districts, yet several Marratta officers, in whom Khwaja Mahmood Gawan placed great confidence, refused to give them up, until the King was of an age to act for himself. Mullik Ahmud, having determined to enforce the orders, attacked the fort of Soonere,[69] situated on the top of a hill, and of uncommon strength. After a siege of considerable duration, the garrison came forward with swords suspended from their necks, and habited in shrouds, to sue for quarter. The place being occupied, it was found to contain five years' revenue of Marhatt and Concan, which had been deposited therein; and this sum enabled Mullik Ahmud to assume a new line of conduct. Having rewarded his officers and soldiers liberally for their services, he proceeded to reduce the following places which refused to submit to his authority; viz. Chawund, Lohgur, Toong, Kooary, Tikona, Koondhana[70] Poorundhur, Bhorup, Joodhun, Kuhrdroog,[71] Murunjun,[71] Maholy, and Pally; the whole of which he occupied by force. He soon after conquered the Concan, and was besieging the sea-port of Dunda Rajpoor, when he heard of the assassination of his father Mullik Naib Nizam-ool-Moolk Bheiry. On this information he raised the siege, for the present, and returned to Joonere, where he assumed the titles of the deceased, under the appellation of Ahmud Nizam-ool-Moolk Bheiry; and although he did not immediately adopt the title of Shah (or King), yet, as he is uniformly so called by historians, the author (Mahomed Kasim Astrabady Ferishta) has thought proper to designate him, in the future pages of his work, Ahmud Nizam Shah Bheiry.

On his return to Joonere, having spent a decent time in mourning for his father, he devoted himself to promote the good administration of his country; and such was his justice, that, without his sanction, the loadstone dared not attract iron, and the kahrooba[72] lost its power over grass. The character of Mullik

69. The hill-fort of the town of Joonere.

70. This place received the name of Singhur (by which it is now known) from Sevajee, the founder of the present Marratta empire, in the end of the seventeenth century.

71. The position of these two places has not been determined.

72. This appears an extraordinary simile; but it is meant to infer that nothing dared attract towards itself that which belonged to another,

Ahmud as a general, when he had the government of Tulingana, stood so high, in repelling the Rays of Ooreea, that no officer of the Bahmuny government was willing to march against him, although it was the desire of the court to reduce his power. The King, by the advice of Kasim Bereed, his prime minister, sent repeated orders to Yoosoof Adil Khan Savaee of Beejapoor to unite with Khwaja Jehan Deccany, and Zein-ood-Deen Ally Talish, to march against Joonere. Yoosoof Adil Khan, however, not only evaded the duty, but even apprised Ahmud Nizam Shah of his danger, and directed his own troops to evacuate Indapoor, which properly belonged to his jageer.

Ahmud Nizam Shah created Zureef-ool-Moolk Afghan his Ameer-ool-Omra, and to Nusseer-ool-Moolk Guzeratty he assigned the office of Meer-Joomla.[73] He then made overtures to Zein-ood-Deen Ally Talish[74] (who had before marched to attack him) to unite his fortunes with his in the approaching struggle against the Bahmuny forces. Zein-ood-Deen listened to the proposals, and made some advances to meet his wishes; but when Sheikh Mowullid Arab, one of the Bahmuny generals, volunteered his services to reduce Ahmud Nizam Shah, and had reached Purenda on his way towards Joonere, Zein-ood-Deen Ally, dreading the consequence of uniting with Ahmud Nizam Shah, resolved to join the King's troops. Ahmud Nizam Shah left his family in the strong hill-fort of Soonere, and marched to oppose the royal army, but conceiving himself unequal to contend with so numerous a force in a fair battle, he hovered round the King's camp with his cavalry, and cut off its supplies. It was at this time that he first heard of the intended defection of Zein-ood-Deen Ally Talish; and he determined, if possible, to prevent it. He, accordingly, put in practice a manœuvre as daring as it proved successful. Making a sudden countermarch during the night from the vicinity of the royal army, he appeared before Chakun, the head quarters and jageer of Zein-ood-Deen, which he escaladed without waiting a moment. Ahmud was the first man on the walls, and actually succeeded in getting footing for seventeen

although it was its nature even to do so, unless authorised by the Prince, much less dare any subject lay violent hands on another's property.

73. Minister of finance.

74. He was governor of Chakun, situated about forty miles north of Poona.

of his comrades in armour before the garrison was alarmed; the rest of his party soon following, an indiscriminate slaughter succeeded. The garrison fought nobly, but in vain; Chakun was taken; and no less than seven hundred persons, among whom was Zein-ood-Deen Ally, fell in the assault.

Ahmud Nizam Shah had left the main body of his army under his general Nusseer-ool-Moolk to watch the motions of Sheikh Mowullid; but that officer having imprudently ventured to attack the Bahmuny forces, with very unequal numbers, was twice defeated. Upon hearing this, Ahmud Nizam Shah left Chakun, and rejoining his army, made a night-attack on Sheikh Mowullid's camp. The Bahmuny troops were completely routed, their leader, with many officers of distinction, fell in the action, and all the heavy baggage, elephants, and tents, came into the possession of Ahmud Nizam Shah, who now returned to Joonere, and devoted himself with the utmost attention to the civil administration of his government.

On the defeat of Sheikh Mowullid, Mahmood Shah Bahmuny ordered Azmut-ool-Moolk Dubeer, with another army of eighteen thousand men, against Ahmud Nizam Shah, who, adopting the same policy as before, avoided a battle, and moved with his troops to the hills of Kadurabad.[75] When Azmut-ool-Moolk reached the Moory pass, Ahmud Nizam Shah, with three thousand horse, made rapid marches to Ahmudabad Bidur. Having previously gained over the city guards, he was admitted by night into the place, and after getting possession of the females of his father's family, despatched them to Joonere. In the morning he seized the women of all those officers who had marched to attack him, and moved with them towards Purenda, taking proper precautions to treat them with becoming respect. Upon his arrival near the King's army the officers sent word to him, that they could not think of opposing him, as an enemy, who had behaved so well to their families; but that it was unbecoming him to fly like a thief from his foes, and wage war with women and children; a conduct unworthy even of Franks and Koords. Ahmud Nizam Shah, having generously sent back the families to their respective relatives, marched on to Purenda. In the mean time an order

75. These hills run along close to the city of Ahmudnuggur, but they have lost the name of Kadurabad. The Moory pass lies forty miles to the south-west of Ahmudnuggur.

from the Bahmuny king, full of resentment, was received in camp. He complained of the disgrace to which his troops had been subjected, in allowing Ahmud, the son of Nizam-ool-Moolk the falconer, to soar aloft like the falcon, while they lay trembling in their nests, and were unable to preserve their mates and young from his talons. He observed, that if they seized the person of Ahmud, well and good, but if not, they would be disgraced in the eyes of the King and of the world. The army halted at Beer; and the officers remonstrated against this reproach, declaring they were ready to attack the enemy wherever he was to be found; that their general, Azmut-ool-Moolk, had no intelligence of his motions; but that if any other general was at their head, who would afford them the opportunity of distinguishing themselves, the King's good fortune alone would ensure them success. Mahmood Shah now recalled Azmut-ool-Moolk, and deputed Jehangeer Khan, governor of Tulingana, with three thousand horse, to assume the command of the army of Beer; an officer who had before much distinguished himself, and who now moved from Beer to Purenda. Khwaja Jehan, the governor of Purenda, unwilling to oppose Ahmud Nizam Shah, sent his son Azim Khan to join him, and himself retired into his fort.

In this state of affairs Ahmud Nizam Shah applied for aid to Imad-ool-Moolk Gavully, the ruler of Berar, and fell back on Joonere. Jehangeer Khan, meanwhile, occupied Peitun; and this movement induced Ahmud Nizam Shah to approach the Jeeoor Ghat, where he was reinforced by Nusseer-ool-Moolk Guzeratty, with a body of troops from Kadurabad,[76] and a convoy of provisions; upon which, having secured the Jeeoor pass, he remained among the hills. Jehangeer Khan crossed the hills by the ghat at Teesgam,[77] and encamped at Bingar, where both armies remained within six coss of each other for nearly a month; when Jehangeer Khan,[78] fancying himself secure during the rains, gave himself up to his comforts and pleasures; an example which soon spread throughout his army.

Ahmud Nizam Shah, in the mean time, having good intelli-

76. This Kadurabad is Jalna.

77. It is called the Dewulgam G'hat, and is close to Bingar, on the site of which Ahmudnuggur was subsequently built.

78. This movement of Jehangeer Khan effectually turned the enemy's position, and cut him off from any assistance from Purenda.

gence of the state of the enemy, made a night-attack on the 3d Rujub, A.H. 895 (May 28, A.D. 1490), accompanied by Azim Khan.[79] They entered the enemy's camp just as the day broke, and falling suddenly upon it, completely routed the Bahmuny troops. Jehangeer Khan, Syud Isaac, Syud Lootf Oolla, Nizam Khan, and Futteh Khan, all officers of distinction, were slain; and those who were taken prisoners were mounted on buffaloes, and led about the camp for the diversion of his soldiers; after which, they were sent back to Ahmudabad Bidur. This victory was called the Victory of the Garden, as on that spot Ahmud Nizam Shah built a palace, and laid out an elegant garden, which was beautified by his sufficcessors, who having constructed a fortification round it denominated it Bagh Nizam.[80] After this success, Ahmud Nizam Shah returned public thanks to God; and having given away the proprietory right of a village near the spot in charity, as a residence for holy men, he returned to Joonere, without rival or enemy. By the advice of Yoosoof Adil Shah of Beejapoor, he soon discontinued the names of the Bahmuny kings in the public prayers, for which he substituted his own, and assumed the white canopy; but Khwaja Jehan and some of his own officers remonstrating with him, he commanded his name to be discontinued in the public prayers; and to save appearances declared, that he used the canopy to screen him from the sun, and not to affect royalty. The officers, observing this to be the case, considered there would be no objection to their using umbrellas also, to which he assented; and from that day to this no distinction exists in the Deccan in that respect between the King and a subject, excepting in the colour of the canopy used by the King, which has a scarlet cloth on the inside, while the others are white; a custom which prevails in the Deccan, but not in Hindoostan.[81] The officers of Ahmud Nizam Shah's government, however, shortly afterwards insisted on his re-assuming the regalia, by having his name read in the Khootba or public prayer, to which he assented, declaring it was only at their particular request.

79. He was son of Khwaja Jehan of Purenda.

80. The ruins of the palace still exist at Ahmudnuggur.

81. Ferishta must be correct when speaking of his own time; but at present, under the Hindoo governments of the Deccan, a chutr or umbrella can only be used by those chiefs who are hereditary nobles, or by a special patent from the Raja.

Ahmud Nizam Shah now resolved to take the sea-port of Dunda Rajpoor, near Choul, which after a long siege he reduced; and having thus secured the peaceable possession of the Concan, he turned his thoughts towards Dowlutabad, and commenced an intrigue with the governor, to induce him to deliver it into his hands. Mullik Wujee and Mullik Ashruf, two brothers, were originally servants of Khwaja Mahmood Gawan, after whose death they became enrolled among the corps of silehdars of Mahomed Shah Bahmuny, and were at length raised to the rank of nobles by the patronage of Mullik Hussun Nizam-ool-Moolk Bheiry, the father of Ahmud Nizam Shah. Mullik Wujee was by him appointed governor of Dowlutabad, and his brother Mullik Ashruf governor of surrounding districts dependent on it. At this time, also, one of the Marratta chiefs, who, during the late commotions in the Bahmuny court, had seized on the fort of Galna, was obliged to give it up to Mullik Ashruf, and to relinquish his predatory incursions on the neighbouring country. The brothers conducted their administration so admirably that the robbers, so long notorious about Dowlutabad, were brought under subjection, and the roads to the frontier of Sooltanpoor, Nundoorbar, Buglana, and Guzerat, for the first time, became so safe that merchants and travellers passed to and fro without guards; and the inhabitants being happy under their government, the country assumed a flourishing appearance.[82] Both the brothers, in gratitude for the patronage of Nizam-ool-Moolk, kept on terms of friendship with his son Ahmud Nizam Shah, who, to cement their alliance still stronger, after the victory of Bagh Nizam, gave his sister Beeby Zeenut in marriage to Mullik Wujee. A son being born by this marriage, the younger brother, Mullik Ashruf, who had entertained the ambitious idea of succeeding Mullik Wujee, and founding a kingdom for himself, perceiving his hopes would be cut off by this event, atrociously assassinated both father and son; after which he assumed independence at Dowlutabad, and endeavoured to form alliances with the ruling princes of Boorhanpoor, Berar, and Gujerat. Beeby Zeenut, after the murder of her husband and child, making her escape to Joonere, sought protection with her brother, who

82. The hills bounding Kandeish on three sides appear, in early times, as well as at present, to have afforded protection to robbers, for which their situation is peculiarly favourable.

marched in the year A.H. 899 (A.D. 1493) against Mullik Ashruf in Dowlutabad. His army, however, had only reached Bagh Nizam, when he was met by letters from court, sent by Kasim Bereed, soliciting his aid against Yoosoof Adil Khan, who was now besieging Bidur; after which Kasim Bereed promised to assist him in reducing Dowlutabad. Ahmud Nizam Shah, abandoning his designs against Dowlutabad foı the present, proceeded to Bidur, which he relieved in the manner related in the history of Yoosoof Adil Shah, and then marched to Dowlutabad; to which fort he laid siege for two months without success, and returned towards Joonere.

On his arrival at the town of Bingar, a village situated equidistant between Joonere and Dowlutabad, he resolved to found the capital of his dominions, from whence he determined to detach an army every year, to lay waste the country about Dowlutabad till he reduced it. With this view, in the year A.H. 900 (A.D. 1494), he laid the foundation of a city in the vicinity of the Bagh Nizam, upon the bank of the Sena river, to which he gave the name of Ahmudnuggur. So great exertions were made in erecting buildings by the King and his dependents, that in the short space of two years the new city rivalled Bagdad and Cairo in splendour; and it henceforward became a custom for the Ahmudnuggur army to take the field twice a year[83] at stated periods to devastate and plunder the country contiguous to Dowlutabad, in order, if possible, to reduce it by famine. Mullik Ashruf, in the mean time, solicited the aid of Mahmood Shah Begurra[84] of Guzerat; and in the year A.H. 905 (A.D. 1499) that monarch marched for the double purpose of humbling the power of Adil Khan Farooky, the ruler of Kandeish, and also of relieving Dowlutabad, now besieged by Ahmud Nizam Shah. On the arrival of the Guzerat army at Sooltanpoor, Adil Khan Farooky requested the aid of Imad-ool-Moolk Gavully and Ahmud Nizam Shah to oppose Mahmood Shah of Guzerat; on which Ahmud Nizam Shah raised the siege of Dowlutabad, and repaired with

83. At the period of the autumnal and vernal harvests, when the farmers are prepared to purchase forbearance.

84. The reader must bear in mind that Guzerat, Kandeish, and Malwa, had each their independent Mahomedan sovereigns, distinct from the dynasties which arose out of the weakness of the Bahmuny kings of the Deccan. A history of each of these kings is given in another part of this work.

fifteen thousand cavalry to Boorhanpoor. The united forces of Adil Khan Farooky, Imad-ool-Moolk Gavully, and Ahmud Nizam Shah Bheiry, encamped at that city, while Mahmood Shah Begurra still lay before Aseer. In this state of affairs, Nusseer-ool-Moolk Guzeratty, the general of Ahmud Nizam Shah, was deputed to the enemy's camp as ambassador. During his mission, at the instance of his master, he bribed the Guzerat elephant-keepers to be ready to let loose a *must*[85] elephant at a certain moment when required. On the night appointed, Nizam Shah, at the head of five thousand infantry, consisting of archers, rocketers, and matchlock-men, besides five thousand Coly[86] cavalry, made a night-attack on the Guzerat camp, and at the same moment the *must* elephant being set free, as had been concerted, the consternation became general throughout the enemy's lines. Mahmood Shah Guzeratty and his officers, who did not apprehend an attack from so inferior a force, were sleeping quietly in their tents, but being alarmed at the uproar, sprung from their beds in dismay. At this instant, the elephant running towards the tents of the Guzerat seraglio, the ladies uttered fearful shrieks. The King of Guzerat, concluding the enemy had penetrated his camp and was committing slaughter among his family, made his way through his pavilion, and fled with a few attendants to the distance of six miles. The Deccanies continued on the limits of the camp, firing rockets, till the Guzerat officers had turned out their troops. They then quietly retreated. The confusion having in some measure subsided, the Guzerat chiefs hastened in a body to the royal tents to congratulate the King; but not finding him, they thought proper to follow the next morning with the whole army, and Ahmud Nizam Shah and the allies took up the ground the enemy had left. A peace being shortly after concluded with Mahmood Shah Guzeratty, Ahmud Nizam Shah returned towards Dowlutabad, and ascending the ghats from Berar, encamped at Elloora, and relaxed from his cares in a variety of amusements. The Guzerat historians have omitted to mention this defeat, desirous, perhaps, to conceal this blot on the fame of Mahmood Shah Begurra; so that God only knows whether it be true or false.

85. Vide note, vol. ii. p. 120.

86. The Mahomedan historian confounds the Marratta cavalry with the Colies.

Ashruf Khan, reduced to great distress, applied once more for assistance to Mahmood Shah of Guzerat; promising, if he would relieve him from the attacks of Ahmud Nizam Shah, to read the public prayers at Dowlutabad in his name, and to pay him annual tribute. Mahmood Shah tempted by these offers, returned with a large army to the bank of the Tapty, upon which Ahmud Nizam Shah raising the siege retired to his capital. Ashruf Khan, agreeably to his promise, read the Khootba in the Kootb-ood-Deen mosque at Dowlutabad in the name of Mahmood Shah of Guzerat; and going to his camp made him valuable presents, which he agreed to renew every year as his vassal; and Mahmood Shah, after collecting tribute from Adil Khan of Boorhanpoor, returned to his own dominions. His retreat was no sooner communicated to Ahmud Nizam Shah than he again marched to Dowlutabad, where he found the garrison so indignant at the idea of becoming tributary to the King of Guzerat that they sent word to Ahmud Nizam Shah of their devotion to him, of which they would soon afford him a convincing proof. He received this intimation when he reached the Godavery; upon which, having made a forced march with three thousand men, he surrounded Dowlutabad by daylight on the following morning. Mullik Ashruf, on discovering the disaffection of his troops (who were principally Marrattas), appeared deeply affected, and being taken suddenly ill, died in five days; when the garrison delivered up the keys into the hands of the King of Ahmudnuggur. He now entered the fort, gave orders for the necessary repairs, and established therein a garrison of his own troops. On his return to Ahmudnuggur, he built a citadel round the Bagh Nizam, in which he erected a palace of red stone. During this year, also, he reduced the forts of Antoor and other places in Kandeish, and compelled the rajas of Galna and Buglana to pay him tribute.

In the year A.H. 913 (A.D. 1507), Dawood Shah Farooky of Boorhanpoor dying, disputes arose concerning the succession. Mullik Hissam-ood-Deen, one of the principal officers of his government, solicited the aid of Ahmud Nizam Shah in favour of Alum Khan, while Mahmood Shah Guzeratty had resolved to place his nephew, Meeran Adil Khan, the son of Hussun Khan Farooky, on the musnud; for which purpose the King of Guzerat marched towards Kandeish. In the mean time, Mullik Larun, a third competitor for the throne, having possession of the fort of

Aseer, refused to acknowledge the supremacy of either of the Farooky princes. Ahmud Nizam Shah and Imad-ool-Moolk Gavully had just reached Boorhanpoor, when they discovered the real state of affairs; and having heard that Mahmood Shah Guzeratty, with a considerable force, had absolutely arrived at Talnere on the Tapty, the allies consented to leave four thousand cavalry each to assist Alum Khan, and themselves fell back on Gavulgur. These troops, however, soon after deserting the cause of Alum Khan, the campaign ended by the Deccan allies retreating to their capitals; and Ahmud Nizam Shah was shortly after joined by Alum Khan, who came thither to crave his protection. On the return of Mahmood Shah to Guzerat, Ahmud Nizam Shah advanced with an army to the frontier, and demanded of Mahmood Shah of Guzerat that he should give a portion of the Kandeish dominions to Alum Khan; but Mahmood Shah treated the ambassadors with indignity, and asked them what right a slave of the Bahmuny king had to write to him as an equal, or meddle with affairs beyond his own threshold? He told them, also, that if their master did not shortly alter his conduct he should be compelled to punish him. Ahmud Nizam Shah notwithstanding this insulting behaviour, deemed it imprudent to push the matter farther, and returned quietly with Alum Khan to Ahmudnuggur.

In the year A.H. 914 (A.D. 1508), Nusseer-ool-Moolk, the Vizier, dying, his office was conferred on Mookumil Khan Deccany; and two or three months afterwards, the King himself being taken dangerously ill, he appointed his son Boorhan Nizam, an infant of seven years of age, his successor, and shortly afterwards died.

Though the virtues of this prince exceed all description, yet in compliance with the custom of historians, the author will attempt to relate a few. Among his great qualities were continence and modesty. When he rode through the streets of the city he never looked aside to the right or left, lest his eyes should fall on another's wife. When he was a young man, and marched to reduce the fort of Gawulgur, there was taken among the captives a young lady of exquisite beauty, who was presented as an acceptable gift to him by one of his officers. Ahmud Nizam Shah was charmed with her person, but being told by her that she had a husband, who, with all her family, was among

the prisoners, he restrained his desire, and restored her uncontaminated to her friends, with a present. It was his custom, when any of his officers were backward on the day of battle, to reward instead of reproaching them. One of his courtiers once taking the liberty of enquiring the cause of this unusual line of conduct, he replied, that he should have an explanation of his motives at some other time. Nor was it long before an officer of this description distinguished himself very much; and having received honorary marks of the King's favour, Ahmud Nizam Shah said to the courtier, "Princes like masters of the hunt, alone know how train for the chase."

The practice of yekung[87] (single-stick) was also introduced by this prince, who was himself well skilled in the sword, and delighted much in the exercise; accordingly, as is ever the custom, the people being eager to copy the prince, both high and low devoted themselves to it, and instead of colleges, as is usual in Mahomedan cities, schools for single-sword and wrestling were established in all quarters of the city of Ahmudnuggur. Nothing was talked of but this art in every assembly, till at length things grew to such a pitch in the strife-engendering climate of the Deccan, that people vaunted over their neighbours; and brawls arising between rash young men, they frequently begged to make good their cause before the King, who used to see them combat with swords in his presence; and he who gave the first wound was considered the victor. In consequence of this encouragement, a crowd of young men were in the habit of assembling daily at the palace for the purpose of displaying their skill, till at length a day seldom passed without one or two persons being killed. The King, thinking it time to discountenance this practice, gave orders, that no more exhibitions of this sort should take place in his presence, though the combatants were at liberty to settle their disputes on the outside of the town; and it was commanded, that if either party were killed in fair combat, no retaliation should be required. This vile custom is so congenial to the Mahomedans of the Deccan, that it has spread far and wide from Ahmudnuggur; and it is so fashionable at the present day, that even learned divines and philosophers, as well as nobles

87. Yekung bazy is when the sword or stick alone is used. Do-ung bazy is when the shield, or two swords are wielded, one in each hand. The Marrattas excel in this exercise at the present day; and scarcely a Marratta lad of fifteen will be found who is not an expert swordsman.

and princes, practise duelling; and if their children show any backwardness in this way they do not esteem them as lads of proper spirit. As an instance of which, the writer of these pages (Mahomed Kasim Ferishta) saw the following transaction occur in the streets of Beejapoor. Syud Moortuza and Syud Hussun, two brothers whose beards were grey, and who were in high-estimation at court, had a trifling dispute with three Deccanies, who were also brothers, who frequented the court, and were also respectable grey-headed men. First, the son of Syud Moortuza, a youth of twenty, engaged one of the Deccanies, but was immediately killed. The father and uncle engaged the other two Deccanies, and they were also killed; and before their bodies could be removed and buried, the three opponents died of the wounds they had received, so that, in a few minutes, six respectable persons, who had no real animosity towards each other, were lost to their relatives and to society. The Mahomedans of the Deccan are certainly very expert in the use of the sword, and particularly in single combat; but as they generally practise on foot, and do not accustom themselves to throwing the lance on horseback, they are inferior as cavalry; and their skill is of no avail when acting in masses of infantry, though in private quarrels, and street contentions, they fight like lions.

Since the extinction of the dynasty of Bahmuny this practice has rather been encouraged than discouraged by other princes ot the Deccan, excepting by Ibrahim Adil Shah II. of Beejapoor, who seems to set his face against the custom; and it is to be hoped, that this abominable habit, which is unknown in any other civilised country in the world, will, by the happy exertions of wise princes like him, be altogether abolished.

BOORHAN NIZAM SHAH I.

BOORHAN NIZAM SHAH ascended the throne of his father at Ahmudnuggur, in the seventh year of his age. Mookumil Khan Deccany, an able statesman and general, who held both the offices of Peshwa[88] and Ameer Joomla[89] in the lifetime of the late king, was appointed Vakeel or Protector; while his son, Meean Jumal-

88. Minister of the foreign department.
89. Minister of the finance department.

ood-Deen, received the title of Azeez-ool-Moolk, and had the office of Sur-Nobut[90] assigned to him. The father and son having thus placed the royal household under their control obtained the fullest power over all the affairs of government. Nearly three years elapsed, during which the pride and insolence of Azeez-ool-Moolk had grown so intolerable to the other nobles, such as Roomy Khan, Kurreem Khan, and Meer Khan, that becoming envious of his authority, they strove to subvert his influence; and having gained over to their interests Beeby Eisha, (nurse to the young King's mother, who enjoyed much of her confidence,) it was agreed that she should deliver over to them Raja-Joo,[91] the infant brother of the King, whom they determined to raise to the throne; so that by deposing Boorhan Nizam Shah they might free themselves from the despotic sway of the minister and his son. Beeby Eisha, accordingly, having one day dressed the young prince in girl's clothes, and put him in her own palky, took him with her towards the city. She was scarcely gone when the Queen-mother sending for the child found he was missing. Great consternation spread among the attendants both within and without the palace. Some, conjecturing that he might have fallen into a fountain or well, went to search for him, while others, having followed Beeby Eisha, and overtaking her before she reached the city, brought both her and the child back. This old lady having been always regarded as a grandmother to the princes, was frequently in the habit of taking them with her to town, where they sometimes remained for two or three days, so that on this occasion she pretended that she was carrying the young prince only on a visit : in a few days, however, the secret being disclosed, that she had done so in concert with the nobles, the minister took measures to watch the princes more narrowly. So much attention was paid to the education of Boorhan Nizam

90. Commander of the household troops.

91. The Oriental scholar will be at first surprised that the son of a Mahomedan king should be called Raja-Joo; but the circumstance is explained by his father being descended from a bramin, who became a convert to the faith of Islam. The family claimed the office of hereditary register of the village of Patry in Berar, which it lost on embracing the Mahomedan religion. The kings of Ahmudnuggur, however, never gave up their pretensions to this office: they subsequently went to war on that account, and their contests with the King of Berar, in disputing the point, led to the loss of the kingdom by the family of Imad Shah.

Shah, that in his tenth year he read poetry with facility and proper emphasis, and wrote exceedingly well. The author has seen a treatise on the duties of kings, in the royal library at Ahmudnuggur copied by that monarch at that tender age. The enemies of the Peshwa (Mookumil Khan) were soon after induced to quit Ahmudnuggur with their followers, to the number of eight thousand men. They entered the service of Alla-ood-Deen Imad-ool-Moolk, ruler of Berar, whom they excited to attack the dominions of Boorhan Nizam Shah. Imad-ool-Moolk, deeming the conquest an object of easy attainment, marched with a large army from Elichpoor towards the Nizam Shahy frontier: while Mookumil Khan, aided by the forces of Khwaja Jehan Deccany[92] of Purenda, and attended by the young King, opposed the enemy near the town of Ranoory, in the year A.H. 916 (A.D. 1510), when Imad-ool-Moolk sustained a total defeat; flying from the field without halting till he reached Elichpoor, and leaving in the hands of the Nizam Shahies all his baggage, horses, and elephants.

In this battle Boorhan Nizam Shah, on account of his tender years, rode on horseback with his tutor Ajdur Khan, and was seated before him on the same saddle. Imad-ool-Moolk, finding himself pursued, left Elichpoor and fled to Boorhanpoor, where he solicited the aid of the ruler of Kandeish to mediate a peace. Some learned men were accordingly sent to Mookumil Khan, who represented that it was contrary to the law of the prophet for the faithful to wage war against each other, a peace was concluded, and both parties returned to their respective dominions.

It is said that the ancestors of the Nizam Shahy kings were natives of the town of Patry; but for some cause, one of them, a Coolcurny,[93] quitting his birth-place, removed to Beejanuggur and settled. When the family attained regal power, its relations came to Ahmudnuggur, and expressed a desire to recover their ancient rights in the village of Party, situated within the territory of Berar, but close on the Nizam Shahy frontier. On which

92. It will be observed, that Khwaja Jehan Deccany still held Purenda and its neighbouring territory in subjection to Ahmudnuggur, but independent of any other sovereign.

93. Coolcurny is the hereditary village accountant. The exertions made by this Hindoo family to recover the office shows the importance the people of India attach to privileges of this nature, though the perquisities of the office might, in themselves, be of little intrinsic worth.

Mookumil Khan wrote to Imad-ool-Moolk, as from Boorhan Nizam Shah, requesting that he would, out of private regard, give up the Patry district, in which the Nizam Shahy family had so much interest, and receive in lieu of it another, yielding even a greater revenue. Imad-ool-Moolk refused to consent to the exchange; and fearing that a war might ensue in consequence of his refusal, began to build a fort at Patry. Mookumil Khan requested him to desist, but in vain; till at length the work being completed, Mookumil Khan, being some time after at Dowlutabad, went on a party of pleasure to see the caves of Elloora in its vicinity, from whence he made a sudden march against Patry, and carried it by assault. After which he left it in charge of Meean Mahomed Ghoory, who had distinguished himself on the occasion, and conferred on him the title of Kamil Khan.

The young king, in the mean time, having attained the age of manhood, became enamoured of a dancing girl called Ameena, whom he married, and placed at the head of the ladies of his seraglio. From her he learned to drink wine, which Mookumil Khan having understood, he approached the throne, and laid the seals of his office at the feet of the King, saying, "While your Majesty was a child, I (the humblest servant of your throne) carried on the affairs committed to my charge to the best of my ability; but now that you are able personally to conduct the affairs of the state, you must excuse me from interfering in public business." Boorhan Nizam Shah complied with the minister's request, but raised his sons to high rank, and conferred the office of Peshwa on Sheikh Jafur Deccany. Mookumil Khan ever after lived retired, going to court occasionally only at the earnest request of his friends; but resisted every attempt to induce him again to engage in public business, till at length he died a natural death.

In the year A.H. 930 (A.D. 1523), Boorhan Nizam Shah and Ismael Adil Shah, through the intervention of Shah Tahir Jooneidy, had a meeting in the fort of Sholapoor; and Beeby Muryum, the sister of Ismael Adil Shah, was given in marriage to Boorhan Nizam Shah, when the nuptials were celebrated with great splendour. It appears, also, on this occasion, that Assud Khan of Belgam, the envoy on the part of Ismael Adil Shah, had promised in his master's name to give Sholapoor as a dowry with his sister; but as that Prince afterwards denied having authorised such a condition, Boorhan Nizam Shah, at the inter-

cession of Shah Tahir, was induced to drop the demand, and to return to Ahmudnuggur. Ameena, the favourite queen of Boorhan Nizam Shah, assuming her usual right of superiority over the Beejapoor princess, the latter complained to her brother Ismael Adil Shah of the affront offered to her rank by putting a public actress above her in the royal apartments. The Beejapoor monarch remonstrated with the resident ambassador from Ahmudnuggur then at his court in very strong language, and out of this an enmity grew; and Boorhan Nizam Shah despatched missions to the courts of Bereed Shah of Bidur and Imad Shah of Gavulgur, to induce those princes to unite against Ismael Adil Shah. Accordingly, in the year A.H. 931 (A.D. 1524), the confederates marched against Sholapoor. Ismael Adil Shah moved to defend the place with nine thousand bowmen; and an engagement took place on the borders, so sanguinary that nature revolts at the remembrance. Imad Shah was opposed, and his ranks broken, by Assud Khan of Belgam, and fled precipitately to Gavulgur; while Boorhan Nizam Shah, overcome with the extreme heat of the day, was borne off the field in a palankeen, and conveyed by his foreign troops to Ahmudnuggur.

In the year A.H. 933 (A.D. 1527), Imad Shah, at the instance of Ismael Adil Shah and Sooltan Koolly Kootb Shah, led an army against the fort of Party, which he recovered; but which was shortly afterwards retaken by Boorhan Nizam Shah, after a close seige of two months. On this occasion he rased the works to the ground, and gave over the district dependent on it in charity to his relations the bramins, in whose hands it continued for several generations till the reign of the Emperor Akbur. After destroying Party, Boorhan Nizam Shah marched and reduced the fort of Mahoor, and afterwards moved on to Elichpoor. Imad Shah, unable singly to contend with the Nizam Shahy troops, fled to Boorhanpoor, where he induced Mahomed Khan Farooky, the ruler of Kandeish, to assist him. Thus united, the allies marched against Boorhan Nizam Shah; but experienced such a total defeat, that they lost three hundred elephants and all their baggage, besides many places in Berar which fell into Boorhan Nizam Shah's hands. Imad Shah and Mahomed Khan Farooky, seeing things in this state, sent ambassadors to Bahadur Shah of Guzerat to request his aid. Bahadur Shah readily complied with their wishes, and marched in army, in the year A.H. 935 (A.D. 1529), into the Deccan by the route of Sooltan-

poor and Nundoorbar. Boorhan Nizam Shah, alarmed at the accession of Guzerat to the confederacy, sent letters of congratulation to Babur on his elevation to the throne of Dehly; and also addressed Ismael Adil Shah, Ameer Bereed Shah, and Sooltan Koolly Kootb Shah. Of these Ameer Bereed Shah only rendered any assistance, by marching to join him with six thousand foreign horse.

Bahadur Shah Guzeratty having entered Berar, with a view to recover Mahoor and Patry, liked the country so much, that he remained some time in it; when Imad Shah, fearful lest his dominions might be laid waste, represented, that if he would move into Boorhan Nizam Shah's country, and procure some parts of it for him, he would remove his family from Gavul, and resigning that fortress to Bahadur Shah, attend constantly at the royal stirrup. Bahadur Shah, accordingly, marched towards Boorhan Nizam Shah's army, and encamped in the hilly district near Beer; where Ameer Bereed Shah, with a force of Adil Shahy horse, and three thousand of his own, made an attack on a division of the Guzerat army, which was completely cut off between the towns of Beer and Peitun. On this occasion three thousand men were killed on the field, and upwards of seventy camels, laden with treasure, fell into the hands of the assailants. On intimation of this defeat, Bahadur Shah instantly detached his vizier, Khoodawund Khan, with twenty thousand horse, to revenge the disgrace. This division, being drawn into an ambuscade, was also defeated by Ameer Bereed; but a third detachment of twenty thousand horse, under the command of Imad Shah, arriving to reinforce Khoodawund Khan, Boorhan Nizam Shah was compelled to fall back first on Purenda, and eventually to retire into Joonere.

Bahadur Shah reached Ahmudnuggur without further opposition, and took up his quarters in the palace of Boorhan Nizam Shah, where he remained for forty days. At last leaving the siege of the fort to be conducted by Imad Shah, he marched to Dowlutabad; while, in the mean time, Boorhan Nizam Shah, hovering about the Guzeratties, endeavoured to cut off their supplies.

In this state of affairs, Boorhan Nizam Shah wrote to Ismael Adil Shah, that if he did not march in person to his relief, as became a brother, he must sink under the pressure of his ene-

mies. Ismael Adil Shah replied, that the infields of Beejanuggur were encamped near Rachore, and that if he left his country they would instantly invade it; but that he sent him five hundred chosen horse under the command of his general Heidur-ool-Moolk Kuzveeny, and hoped that he would shortly repel the enemy. Boorhan Nizam Shah, disappointed in his hopes, deprived Sheikh Jafur, who had now become very unpopular among all classes of people, of the office of Peshwa, which he bestowed on one Kawur Sein a bramin; a person at once endowed with wisdom, penetration, and integrity. By his advice he marched with all the troops he could collect from Joonere to Ahmudnuggur; and shortly after, decamping with great caution, took up a position in the hills near Dowlutabad, and within eight miles of the Guzerat army. While in this post he harassed the enemy by frequent skirmishes and night-attacks for nearly three months, when a general action took place, in which Boorhan Nizam Shah being defeated, was at last induced to sue for peace through Mahomed Khan Farooky and Imad Shah, to whom he promised to return the forts and the elephants he had taken from them during the war. These two princes accordingly represented to Khoodawund Khan, that they had called in the aid of Bahadur Shah Guzeratty only to recover Mahoor and Party; for which service they had engaged to cause the Khootba to be read in his name, both in Berar and Ahmudnuggur, and also to make him annual presents, but that the King seemed now to have extended his views to the absolute possession of their country. Khoodawund Khan remarked, that this was their own fault, for if the kings of the Deccan would agree together, all would be well. They understood his meaning, and resolved to break up the league. Imad Shah, accordingly, permitted supplies of provisions to pass through his camp to Dowlutabad, and retired at the commencement of the rains to Elichpoor.

Bahadur Shah and Meeran Mahomed Khan Farooky now consulted whether to stay or retreat. The ministers of both parties observed, that when the rivers swelled in the rainy season it would be impossible to obtain supplies either from Guzerat or Kandeish; and it being possible that the kings of the Deccan might still unite, it appeared to them prudent that Bahadur Shah should leave the possession of their countries both to Imad Shah and Nizam Shah, and be content wih the acknowledgment of their homage. Bahadur Shah consented to this arrangement.

and a communication was made to that effect to Boorhan Nizam Shah, who sent the ambassadors back with presents, and caused the public prayers to be read in the name of Bahadur Shah, who returned to Guzerat. Boorhan Nizam Shah, on his arrival at Ahmudnuggur, received a requisition from Meeran Mahomed Khan for the elephants which had been taken from him, and they were restored; but Imad Shah having made a similar demand for the forts of Mahoor and Patry, an evasive answer was given, and the request was not acceded to.

Boorhan Nizam Shah, the following year, sent Shah Tahir with rich presents of cloth, elephants, and horses, to Bahadur Shah, who delayed giving him an audience, and wrote to Meeran Mahomed Khan that he understood Boorhan Nizam Shah had only read the Khootba in his name once, and then discon-continued it. Meeran Mahomed Khan, however, assured him that Boorhan Nizam Shah was his loyal vassal, and that if he had only read it once, it was merely to save appearances with the other kings of the Deccan; he trusted, therefore, he would forgive him, and receive his embassy. Bahadur Shah, acordingly, received Shah Tahir, but did not for some time treat him with any consideration; till at length his great talents and learning obtained for him the esteem of the King of Guzerat, who altered his conduct; and at the end of three months dismissed him with honour.

In the year A.H. 937 (A.D. 1530), when Bahadur Shah had subdued Malwa, Boorhan Nizam Shah sent Shah Tahir with Nursoo Pundit to congratulate him upon his conquests. These two personages were introduced to the King at Boorhanpoor by Meeran Mahomed Khan of Kandeish, who observed, that as the empire of the chief provinces of Hindoostan had devolved on the family of Teimoor, the star of whose prosperity was daily ascending, it was politic for him to make a friend of Boorhan Nizam Shah. Bahadur Shah, who was a prince of great ambition, and pretended to an equality with the sovereigns of Dehly, listened to the advice of Meeran Mahomed Khan, and conferred many favours on Shah Tahir, who was dismissed with expedition from Boorhanpoor to Ahmudnuggur, to induce his master to have an interview with Bahadur Shah at the former city.

Boorhan Nizam Shah at first declined, but was at length induced to give his consent, at the instigation both of Shah Tahir and Kawur Sein; and having left his son, the Prince Hoos-

sein Nizam Shah, in charge of the government during his absence, under the care of Kawur Sein, he marched with a body of about seven thousand horse, as an escort, to Boorhanpoor, sending on Sumbajee Chitnavees and Khwaja Ibraheem as ambassadors before him, to ensure him a suitable reception. Upon his arrival at Changdevy, on the bank of the Tapty, near Boorhanpoor, he was met by Meeran Mahomed Khan, who informed him that Bahadur Shah would receive him on his throne, on each side of which holy men were permitted to sit, but that all persons else, of whatever rank, stood with their arms crossed before them.

Boorhan Nizam Shah, understanding his reasons for this remark, said nothing in reply; but when Meeran Mahomed Khan took leave, he called hs confidential officers to him privately, and declared that he never would submit to the indignity of standing before the throne of Bahadur Shah, after having declared his independence from the house of Bahmuny; that he would rather decline the meeting, and commit his safety to the hands of the Almighty. Shah Tahir observed, God is merciful, and would, he hoped, grant every thing agreeably to his desire; but that he must not be hasty, nor repeat such declarations, since policy might demand that he should one day submit to a humiliation, in order that he might pass the rest of his life in power. Boorhan Nizam who was a person of judgment, partially acceded to the arguments used by Shah Tahir, who now siad that he had thought of a mode of averting this indignity.[94] He stated that he had in his possession a Koran in the hand-writing of Ally, which Bahadur Shah was very desirous of seeing; that he would carry this with him, so that the King of Guzerat would be compelled to descend from his throne, out of reverence, to meet it. On the following day, accordingly, when the interview was to take place, and the King of Ahmudnuggur with his attendants arrived at the royal tents, Shah Tahir placed the Koran on his head; and Bahadur Shah, seeing him at a distance, asked his vizier, Khoodawund Khan, what he was carrying. Upon being told it was a Koran in the hand-writing of Ally, he instantly descended from the throne, kissed it three times, and put it to his eyes and his forehead. He then received the compliments

94. The diplomatic tact of Shah Tahir throughout this visit is well described by the author.

of Boorhan Nizam Shah, and asked him in the Guzerat language if he was well; to which Boorhan Nizam Shah replied in persian. Bahadur Shah now re-ascended his throne, and Boorhan Nizam Shah and Shah Tahir stood before it. Observing that Shah Tahir, a holy man of the first rank, was standing, Bahadur Shah desired him to be seated, but he excused himself as his master was standing. He then requested Boorhan Nizam Shah to sit also. After which Bahadur Shah, addressing him in Persian, enquired how he had passed the days of his late vicissitudes. Boorhan Nizam Shah replied, that afflictions which lead to prosperity, and absence terminating in happy meetings, cause the remembrance of the past to be forgotten; and in conclusion he observed, that the present moment was a sufficient recompense for all the trials he had experienced in a series of years. When Bahadur Shah heard this answer, he turned to Meeran Mahomed Khan, and said, "Did you hear the answer of Boorhan Nizam-ool-Moolk?" (for he had not yet called him Shah:) he replied that he did not: upon which Bahadur Shah put the same question, and received the same reply. He then praised him in a very loud voice to be heard by all present. On which Shah Tahir, arising, said, "May such proofs of the royal favour daily increase!" Bahadur Shah now taking a sword, and a dagger set with jewels, from his own waist, girded them on Boorhan Nizam Shah, and said, "May the title of Shah prove auspicious to you!" at the same time he presented him with the chutr or royal canopy, taken from the King of Malwa, and commanded his vizier, Khoodawund Khan, and Meeran Mahomed Khan Farooky, to conduct him to the tent pitched for his reception, which had also belonged to the same Prince, Sooltan Mahomed Khiljy of Malwa. On the following day Bahadur Shah gave an entertainment, and seated Boorhan Nizam Shah and Meeran Mahomed Khan on chairs of gold in front of the throne. At the breaking up of the party he presented Boorhan Nizam Shah with five horses, two elephants, and twelve fighting deer. The two kings then played together at chowgan. Boorhan Nizam Shah in his turn made offerings to Bahadur Shah; the whole of which he highly approved, but would only accept of a Koran, and a sword, (on which was engraved the name of one of the Abassy calips,) with four elephants, and two Arab horses. He then said, "I give you back all the rest of your offerings, and all the country of the Deccan," at the same time dismissing him, with

permission to return to Ahmudnuggur. Boorhan Nizam Shah accordingly took his departure, and going by the route of Dowlutabad, paid his devotions at the shrines of the holy men buried at that place; after which he encamped at the Houz-i-Kootloo, where he was met by his son, Hoossein Nizam Shah, and his minister Kawur Sein, as well as by ambassadors from the courts of Beejapoor and Golconda, who came to congratulate him.

The disagreements between Bahadur Shah and Boorhan Nizam Shah being now at an end, the latter was at leisure to attend to the administration of his dominions, and accordingly, by the wise policy of Kawur Sein, he reduced, in a very short space of time, thirty forts belonging to Marratta rajas who had not paid allegiance since the death of Ahmud Nizam Shah; after which he enlisted them in his service, giving them back their lands in jageer, on condition that they should supply troops when required for the state. The two ambassadors, Khwaja Ibrahim and Sumbajy Chitnevees,[95] who had preceded the King to Boorhanpoor, were honoured with the titles of Luteef Khan and Purtab Ray, on their return to Ahmudnuggur, and were henceforward admitted as confidential officers of the government.

In the year A.H. 938 (A.D. 1531), Ismael Adil Shah having contemplated the conquests of the forts of Kulliany and Kand'har from Ameer Bereed Shah, that prince solicited aid from Boorhan Nizam Shah, who wrote an imperious letter to Ismael Adil Shah, requiring him immediately to desist. This again brought on the disputes about the boundaries; and Ismael Adil Shah observes in his answer; "Have you so soon forgotten your late condition at Ahmudnuggur? If you pride yourself on the tattered rags of the King of Malwa, the boast is ridiculous. Nor need you be too vain of the title of Shah, conferred on you by the King of Guzerat, since I derive my royal lineage from a race of sovereigns,[96] and am so styled by the kings of Persia, descendants of the prophet. I advise you to repent of your folly and arrogance, or I shall compel you to quit your enjoyments in the Bagh-i-Nizam, and try how you like the clashing of steel in the field of battle."

95. This title, signifying secretary, was subsequently adopted by the Marrattas.

96. Alluding to his relationship to the Emperor of Constantinople, vide p. 1.

Boorhan Nizam Shah, though really ashamed of his conduct, yet marched directly to Oomruzpoor, where he remained some days to collect his forces, and then crossed the border of Ismael Adil Shah's territory. The latter gave Boorhan Nizam Shah a total defeat, and obliged him to retreat to Ahmudnuggur, with the loss of all his baggage, and nearly four thousand men, a disaster which fully humbled his pride.

In the year A.H. 939 (A.D. 1532), through the mediation of ambassadors, a meeting was effected between Boorhan Nizam Shah and Ismael Adil Shah, when it was agreed that the former should undertake the conquest of Berar, and the latter of Tulingana, and that they should divide the Deccan in a brotherly manner between them; but this project was frustrated by the sudden death of Ismael Adil Shah, and the disputes which took place between his successor and Boorhan Nizam Shah.

In the year A.H. 944 (A.D. 1537), at the instigation of Shah Tahir, Boorhan Nizam Shah rejected the names of the Sahiba[97] from the Khootba, and substituted those of the Imams; and as the colour of their standards was green (it is believed that at the day of judgment those of the Prophet will also be of that colour), he changed the colour of his canopy and standards to the same. He also (God forgive him!) settled pensions on persons to curse and revile the three first caliphs and their followers, in the mosques and streets; thus fulfilling the wish which Yoosoof Adil Shah of Beejapoor was unable to accomplish, owing to the opposition of his nobles, and which he carried with him to the grave. Boorhan Nizam Shah, however, ran some risk from his religious zeal. He was besieged in his palace by a number of malecontents, headed by one Moolla Peer Mahomed, a furious Soony, whom he took prisoner and confined; on which the tumult subsided. The kings of Guzerat, Beejapoor, and Kandeish, enraged at the insult offered to the Soonies, entered into alliance with each other, and agreed to divide the dominions of Boorhan Nizam Shah between them; upon which the latter sent an embassy to the Emperor Hoomayoon, offering his services to assist in an invasion, of Guzerat; but the rebellion of Sheer Shah taking place at this period, prevented that measure. Boorhan Nizam Shah found means to satisfy the kings of Guzerat and

97. The three caliphs, Aboo-Bukr, Oomr, and Othman, the immediate successors of Mahomed.

Kandeish; and entertaining in his service all the Sheea foreigners who had been lately disbanded by Ibrahim Adil Shah, marched to invade Beejapoor. In this campaign he was so successful as to capture one hundred elephants and some pieces of cannon, which were brought triumphantly to Ahmudnuggur.

In the year A.H. 949 (A.D. 1542), dissensions arose at the court of Beejapoor between Assud Khan of Belgam and his master, Ibrahim Adil Shah. Boorhan Nizam Shah, taking advantage of this circumstance, invited Ameer Bereed Shah of Bidur to a coalition; at the same time he promulgated a report, that Assud Khan had, in conformity with his religious feelings, invited those two monarchs into the kingdom, and promised to give up Belgam to Boorhan Nizam Shah. Although there was not the slightest truth in this story, it was sedulously spread by the enemies of Beejapoor, and so successfully as to poison the King's mind more than ever against his master. Boorhan Nizam Shah having marched to Sholapoor, he seized on and made over to Khwaja Jehan Deccany the five and a half districts,[98] and then proceeding to Belgam, took possession of it, and plundered the towns that did not submit to his authority. Assud Khan used all his exertions to induce the King to march against the enemy, but he was apprehensive of treachery; and to such a height were their mutual jealousies carried, that Assud Khan saw no security but that of going over to Boorhan Nizam Shah. He joined him accordingly with six thousand troops attached to his person, and Boorhan Nizam Shah marched direct to Beejapoor. Ibrahim Adil Shah, deprived of his minister, and without confidence in those around him, deserted his capital, and took shelter at Koolburga, till the arrival of a reinforcement under Imad Shah. The proximity of the Berar army to that of Boorhan Nizam Shah, a short time afterwards, enabled Assud Khan to quit the side he had espoused, and to unite himself with the ally of his country. Assud Khan no sooner joined the Berar army than Boorhan Nizam Shah retreated towards Ahmudnuggur, whither he was pursued by the allied forces of Berar and Beejapoor; and being compelled, in his turn, to quit his capital, and to leave it a prey to the invaders, he took post in the strong fortress of Dowlutabad. At this place Ameer Bereed Shah of Bidur dying, Boorhan

98. The reader may refresh his memory regarding these districts by a reference to the note in page 31 of this volume.

Nizam Shah concluded a peace, and restored to Ibrahim Adil Shah the five and a half districts of Sholapoor.

On the following year, Boorhan Nizam Shah deputed Shah Tahir as ambassador to the court of Jumsheed Kootb Shah of Golconda, congratulating him on his accession to the throne. and making private overtures to induce him to form a leave with Ramraj, the Hindoo prince of Beejanuggur, against the state of Beejapoor.

In[99] the year A.H. 953 (A.D. 1546), Boorhan Nizam Shah, at the instigation of Ramraj, moved again to reduce Koolburga. and Ibrahim Adil Shah marched from Beejapoor to oppose him. Upon his arrival near the town of Hoorchean, he discovered Boorhan Nizam Shah strongly posted on the eastern bank of the Beema river; and finding it impossible to cross, he encamped on the opposite bank. Both armies lay inactive for three months, during the rains, in sight of each other, with the river between them. At length Ibrahim Adil Shah, tired of delay, found means to cross, and attacked the Nizam Shahies, who were totally defeated, with the loss of two hundred and fifty elephants, and one hundred and seventy pieces of cannon and tumbrils included. Ibrahim Adil Shah is said on this occasion to have killed three of the enemy with his own hand, and to have given great proofs of personal intrepidity; he, however, always attributed the victory to the conduct of Assud Khan, on whom he conferred several districts in addition to his other jageers.

Boorhan Nizam Shah now sent his trusty minister, Shah Tahir, to beg the assistance of Ally Bereed Shah of Bidur, who, however, declined. This induced him, on the following year. to march an army against Bidur, commencing his operations by the siege of Owsa. Ally Bereed Shah, in the mean time, promised to cede the fort of Kulliany to Ibrahim Adil Shah, in case he would march to his assistance; and the Beejapoor troops formed a junction with the Bidur forces at Kulliany. The allies now raised the siege of Owsa; and an action took place with the Nizam Shahy army within four miles of that fort, in which the allies were defeated with considerable loss, and the fall of Owsa shortly afterwards took place. From thence Boorhan Nizam Shah marched against Oodgeer, which he also reduced.

99. It will be found that this sentence is a mere repetition of the event as related in the Beejapoor history of Ibrahim Adil Shah.

and then proceeded against Kand'har. At this place the allies made another effort to raise the siege; but being a second time defeated, with the loss of their heavy baggage, Kand'har shortly after fell, and Boorhan Nizam Shah returned towards his capital, in the year A.H. 955 (A.D. 1548). On the road he was met by deputies from a political party in Beejapoor, who stated that the people were so oppressed by the cruelties and mal-administration of Ibrahim Adil Shah that the nobles were desirous of substituting in his stead the Prince Abdoolla, the King's younger brother. This prince had at that time sought an asylum with the Portuguese at Goa; but they had said nothing could be effected without the assistance of Boorhan Nizam Shah. Jumsheed Kootb Shah of Golconda was also invited to coalesce with the King of Ahmudnuggur for this purpose, and the allied sovereigns accordingly moved towards Beejapoor. Boorhan Nizam Shah first invaded the country, and failing in an attempt to seize Belgam, he was compelled to retreat; and the death of his favourite minister, Shah Tahir, which occurred about this period, induced him to fall back on his capital, and to make cver the seals to Kasim Beg Hukeem and Gopal Row a bramin

Nearly at the same time, also, Assud Khan of Belgam dying, Boorhan Nizam Shah resolved to make another attack on the Beejapoor dominions. He accordingly deputed ambassadors to Ramraj, inviting him to a confederacy, when presents and professions were interchanged between them. Upon hearing which, Ibrahim Adil Shah treated the resident ambassadors of the latter at Beejapoor with evident marks of disrespect; and they quitted his capital in great indignation, without taking leave. On arriving at Beejanuggur, they told Ramraj what had been the behaviour of Ibrahim Adil Shah, on account of the league the Beejanuggur court was about to form with Boorhan Nizam Shah; and concluded by saying, that had they not made their escape they should probably have been put to death. Ramraj, enraged at this affront, wrote to Boorhan Nizam Shah, that as Ally Bereed Shah of Bidur had preferred to his alliance that of Ibrahim Adil Shah, it would be desirable to take from him the fort of Kulliany.

Boorhan Nizam Shah, without delay, moved from Ahmudnuggur, and surrounding Kulliany effectually blocked up all communication from without. Ibrahim Adil Shah marched to relieve it; and advancing within sight of the enemy, pitched

his camp and intrenched himself. Boorhan Nizam Shah, unwilling to raise the siege, also fortified his lines. The Beejapoor Marratta horse were employed to infest the roads leading to the enemy's camp, and to cut off his supplies; and were so successful as to cause the greatest distress for provisions to the Nizam Shahies. Boorhan Nizam Shah, in this situation, called a council of his nobles, some of whom proposed to raise the siege, and, retreating on Ahmudnuggur, to make peace; while Shah Jafur and Kasim Beg recommended a sudden and vigorous attack on the enemy. The latter advice being adopted, Seif-ood-Deen Ein-ool-Moolk, with several other Toorky officers, on the morning of the fast of Rumzan, surprised the Beejapoor army at dawn of day. Ibrahim Adil Shah, who was then in a warm bath, had scarcely time to make his escape, and fly towards Beer and Purenda, while his troops were so completely surprised, that they deserted their tents, baggage, and artillery, all of which fell into the hands of the victors. At the same moment, also, an attack was made on the fort of Kulliany, which surrendered without much opposition. After this defeat, Ibrahim Abil Shah, in order to save his own territories from devastation, fled through the enemy's country, and coming suddenly before Purenda, rushed in before the gates could be shut, and taking possession, gave charge of it to one of his Deccany officers. He then laid waste the surrounding country, and levied heavy contributions on the people; but hearing of the approach of Boorhan Nizam Shah, he retreated towards Beejapoor. The Nizam Shahy troops continued to advance towards Purenda; and the dastardly governor, whom Ibrahim Adil Shah had left there, fled during the night, before the enemy had arrived within forty miles of the place. Shah Jumal-ood-Deen Anjoo, a contemporary, told me,[100] that the governor of Purenda persisted in declaring he heard the trumpets of Boorhan Nizam Shah when he was forty miles distant, and this proved to be nothing but the buzzing of a gnat in his room. The third day after his flight, the empty fortress was occupied by the Nizam Shahy troops; and Boorhan Nizam Shah having restored it to Khwaja Jehan Deccany, retreated to Ahmudnuggur.[101]

100. Ferishta was a contemporary, and thus verifies the facts of his own times.

101. The above sentence contains also a repetition of the events related in the history of Ibrahim Adil Shah.

On the following year A.H. 957 (A.D. 1549), Boorhan Nizam Shah marched his army through great part of the Beejapoor territory without opposition, and had a conference with Ramraj in the vicinity of the fort of Rachore, when it was resolved that they should both aggrandise themselves by attacking the Beejapoor territories; that Ramraj should take the forts of Rachore and Moodkul, with their dependencies on the south of the Krishna, and that Boorhan Nizam Shah should attack Sholapoor and Koolburga.

Sholapoor was accordingly besieged, and after a blockade of three months was carried by assault. Boorhan Nizam Shah was about proceeding to Koolburga, when hearing that Ramraj had already reduced Rachore and Moodkul, and had returned to Beejanuggur, he also thought it advisable to retreat to Ahmudnuggur.

In the year A.H. 961 (A.D. 1553), Boorhan Nizam Shah again formed an alliance with Ramraj, and marched towards Beejapoor, while Ibrahim Adil Shah, unable to cope with him, retired to Punala.[102] Beejapoor was besieged by the allies, when Boorhan Nizam Shah was suddenly seized with a violent disorder in his bowels, which obliged him to return to his capital, and he soon after expired. His body was embalmed, and sent to Kurbela, where he was entombed near the burial-place of Hussun, the son of Ally, and the grandson of the Prophet.

Boorhan Nizam Shah died at the age of fifty-four, after a reign of forty-seven years. He left two sons, Hoossein and Abdool Kadur, by his favourite wife Ameena, and two others, Shah Ally and Meeran Mahomed Bakur, by Beeby Muryum, the daughter of Yoosoof Adil Shah. He had also another son, Shah Heidur, married to a daughter of Khwaja Jehan Deccany.

HOOSSEIN NIZAM SHAH I.

HOOSSEIN NIZAM SHAH succeeded his father in the thirteenth year of his age. His full-brother, the Prince Abdool Kadur, with the other princes, fled from the capital on the same day, and from that moment two parties were formed in the government: the foreigners and Abyssinians embracing the cause of

102. The hill-fort of Kolapoor.

Hoossein Nizam Shah, and the Deccanies (both Mahomedans and Hindoos) that of Abdool Kadur, who was, however, at length deserted by his party, and flying to Berar, sought an asylum with Imad-ool-Moolk.

Shah Ally and Meeran Mahomed Bakur fled to their uncle, Ibrahim Adil Shah, at Beejapoor, and Shah Heidur having gone to his father-in-law, Khwaja Jehan Deccany, at Purenda, laid claim to the throne. Hoossein Nizam Shah hesitated not to march against the pretender, Shah Heidur, who with Khwaja Jehan was obliged to seek refuge at the court of Beejapoor, and Purenda fell to the Nizam Shahy forces. On the occurrence of this event, Ibrahim Adil Shah openly espoused the cause of Shah Heidur and Khwaja Jehan, and declaring war against Hoossein Nizam Shah, marched to the fort of Sholapoor, which had been taken during the last reign. In the mean time, Hoossein Nizam Shah having formed an alliance with Imad Shah of Berar, and receiving from that prince a reinforcement of seven thousand cavalry, moved to raise the siege of Sholapoor, an account of which expedition has been given in the history of Ibrahim Adil Shah.

Seif Ein-ool-Moolk, who had left the Nizam Shahy service and gone over to Beejapoor, being driven from that kingdom, asked leave to return to Ahmudnuggur, which was granted him by Hoossein Nizam Shah, by whom he was subsequently treacherously put to death. His family, however, was saved by the gallantry of his chief dependent, Kubool Khan, who conducted it in safety to Golconda, where the latter was received into the service of Ibrahim Kootb Shah. Seif Ein-ool-Moolk was celebrated throughout the Deccan for his courage, and for the efficiency of his party of horsemen, with whom he lived on the terms of a brother. At this time, Ibrahim Adil Shah dying at Beejapoor, Hoossein Nizam Shah, in concert with Ibrahim Kootb Shah of Golconda marched to invade that country; but the latter not entering with zeal into the cause, and returning to his capital, Hoossein Nizam Shah was also compelled to fall back on Ahmudnuggur. Ally Adil Shah, the successor of Ibrahim, now formed an alliance with Ramraj and Ibrahim Kootb Shah; while Hoossein Nizam Shah made fresh overtures to Imad-ool-Moolk of Berar, who having met him in the year A.H. 967 (A.D. 1559), at the town of Sonput, on the banks of the Godavery, received his daughter in marriage on that occasion.

In the same year, also, Hoossein Nizam Shah detached Mahomed Wostad Nyshapoory and Chuleby Roomy Khan[103] against the fort of Reevadunda, built by the Portuguese on the sea-coast, who having made peace, promised not to molest the subjects of the Ahmudnuggur state. He also carried his arms into Kandeish, and subdued the fortress of Galna.

In the mean time, the allied sovereigns of Beejapoor, Golconda, and Beejanuggur, invaded the Nizam Shahy territories, and the forts of Kulliany and Sholapoor were demanded as the terms of peace; which being refused, the confederates reached Ahmudnuggur with an army amounting to one hundred thousand horse and nine hundred thousand infantry.

Hoossein Nizam Shah, unable to cope with these forces, fled from Ahmudnuggur to Peitun, whence he deputed embassies to Imad-ool-Moolk in Berar, to Meeran Moobarik Shah Farooky of Kandeish, and to Ally Bereed Shah at Bidur, soliciting each of them to march to his assistance. Khan Jehan, the brother of Ally Bereed Shah, having left Bidur some time before, had entered the service of Duria Imad-ool-Moolk, whom he now not only dissuaded from rendering any assistance to the King of Ahmudnuggur, but even prevailed on him to allow him to take the command of six thousand horse, and march to the frontier to attack him. This measure was, however, anticipated, and Khan Jehan was so completely defeated by a small detachment of Nizam Shahy horse, that he was ashamed to return to Imad-ool-Moolk, and came over to the Adil Shahy army. The allies now laid siege to Ahmudnuggur; but Ibrahim Kootb Shah, unwilling that Ally Adil Shah should add this fort to his dominions, connived at supplies passing through his camp to the garrison. At the same time, also, Moolla Inayut Oolla Nevayut, then in the Kootb Shahy service, kept up a communication both with Hoossein Nizam Shah at Peitun and with the besieged. As these proceedings could not long remain secret, Ally Adil Shah and Ramraj demanded an explanation of Ibrahim Kootb Shah, who, without affording it, decamped during the night and marched to Golconda, while Moolla Inayut Oolla finding his way first into the

103. This officer cast, at Ahmudnuggur, the famous brass gun now at Beejapoor, of which mention is afterwards made, vide note p. 148. The tomb of Roomy Khan at Ahmudnuggur has been lately converted into an English officer's quarter, and the mould in which the gun was cast lies neglected in the garden.

fort, afterwards joined Hoossein Nizam Shah at Peitun. Duria Imad-ool-Moolk, after the defeat of Khan Jehan, by way of reparation to Hoossein Nizam Shah, sent a large force under Jehangeer Khan to join him. This division was employed to cut off the supplies of the besiegers, which soon produced a famine; and all circumstances combined to compel the allies to raise the siege and to encamp at Ashty, where it was determined to send one division of the army to Purenda, and another to Ousa, and that after having secured supplies, to return to the siege of Ahmudnuggur.

Hoossein Nizam Shah, however, having deputed Kasim Beg and Moolla Inayut Oolla to Ramraj to sue for peace, it was granted on the following conditions:—

First, That he should cede the fortress of Kulliany to Ally Adil Shah.

Secondly, That he should put to death Jehangeer Khan, who commanded the auxiliary troops of Duria Imad-ool-Moolk, who had been extremely active against the enemy.

Thirdly, That Hoossein Nizam Shah should submit to pay Ramraj a visit, and to receive a pan[104] from his hands.

Hoossein Nizam Shah, to save his kingdom, accepted the terms, and fulfilled the second article, by employing a band of assassins to put to death the gallant Jehangeer Khan in his tent. After having thus, at the instigation of an infidel, murdered one of the faithful, and verified the proverb, that "there is no faith in princes," he proceeded to the camp of Ramraj, who rose on his entering his tent, and took him by the hand. Hoossein Nizam Shah, who possessed great pride, called for a basin and ewer, and washed his hands, as if they had been polluted by the touch of Ramraj, who said, in his own language, "If he were not my guest I would cut off his hands and hang them round his neck;" then calling for water, he also washed; and such were the bad feelings which prevailed, that a tumult nearly occurred on the spot. Hossein Nizam Shah, on giving the keys of Kulliany to Ramraj, said, "I give them to you as a present." Ramraj immediately sent them to Ally Adil Shah, and gave Hoossein

104. When the pan or aromatic leaf is given from the hand, it implies the superiority of the donor; when it is presented in a silver or gold box or tray, it implies equality. These nice distinctions are very carefully preserved; and neglect on such points of etiquette is keenly felt and frequently severely resented.

Nizam Shah *pun.* when he returned to Ahmudnuggur without visiting Ally Adil Shah. On his arrival, he caused the fort, which was originally built of mud only, to be rebuilt with stone, and a deep ditch to be excavated around it. The treaty of peace was concluded by Kasim Beg and Moolla Inayut Oolla on the part of Hoossein Nizam Shah, and by Venkatadry and Yeltumraj on the part of Ramraj.

In the year A.H. 970 (A.D. 1562), Hoossein Nizam Shah and Ibrahim Kootb Shah met in the neighbourhood of Kulliany, where they celebrated the marriage of Beeby Jumally, the eldest daughter of the former, with the latter sovereign, and immediately after laid siege to that fortress. In this situation they were attacked by Ramraj and Ally Adil Shah, who were also joined by Ally Bereed Shah from Bidur, and Boorhan Imad Shah from Berar, who had lately succeeded his father, Duria Imad Shah, in the government. The latter prince was particularly incensed against Hoossein Nizam Shah for his shameful assassination of Jehangeer Khan. On the approach of these forces Hoossein Nizam Shah sent his family into the fort of Ousa, and accompanied by Ibrahim Kootb Shah marched with seven hundred pieces of ordnance of different calibres, and five hundred elephants, to within twelve miles of the enemy. It happened that he had scarcely encamped, when a violent storm came on, which blew down all the tents, and the rain pouring in torrents, his cattle, and his guns in particular, were rendered almost useless, the latter being immoveable in the heavy black clay in which he was encamped. On the following morning the enemy's Bergy horse cut in upon Ibrahim Kootb Shah's lines, whose army fled withoout making resistance; and Hoossein Nizam Shah, finding himself deserted, commenced his retreat also, taking with him only forty out of seven hundred pieces of ordnance, which he had brought into the field.[105]

105. It is supposed the great gun at Beejapoor, which weighs forty tons, was captured on this occasion. This splendid piece of artillery was made in the reign of Boorhan Nizam Shah, and is the largest piece of cast brass ordnance in the world. It is much to be regretted that so splendid a specimen as this gun affords of the art of cannon-founding in India, at the distant period of three centuries, should be allowed to remain neglected on the dilapidated works of Beejapoor instead of being placed in some public spot in England, where it might be exhibited as an object of interest, and would attract the admiration of the European world.

On the third day he was compelled to quit the few guns he had, and to fly to Ahmudnuggur. In his retreat, however, he carried the umbrella of royalty over his head; and though attended only by a thousand horse, he made his way good through six thousand of the enemy. Being remarkably strict in his observance of prayers at stated hours, one afternoon, when closely pursued, his friends represented the danger of dismounting to pray, but he disregarded them; and the enemy were so struck with his dauntless courage, that they stopped at some distance to admire it. After prayers, on observing that he had on a girdle of gold, he recollected that it was unlawful to pray in it, and casting it off, he repeated his devotions. The enemy deeming it unnecessary to follow him farther resolved on giving over the pursuit. The King having thrown supplies into Ahmudnuggur retired to the fortress of Joonere. The allies again laid siege to Ahmudnuggur; and the Hindoos of Ramraj committed every species of indignity and atrocity on the persons and property of the faithful, polluting the mosques, and dishonouring the women. Ally Adil Shah, scandalised at these indignities, but unable to prevent them, advised Ramraj to raise the siege, and to pursue Hoossein Nizam Shah to Joonere, who upon this retired among the high mountains in the vicinity, and employed Hoossein Roostoom Khan Deccany, Adhum Khan Hubshy, and Sabajee Coly, with their troops, to hover round the confederates, and to cut off their supplies; and so effectually did they lay waste the country as to prevent their advance. Hoossein Roostoom Khan met the enemy at the village of Canoor, and during the absence of Ally Adil Shah, who was hunting at the time, fell suddenly on the Beejapoor army. The uncle of Ally Adil Shah was killed on this occasion; but the Beejapoories were so successful in the end, as to leave Hoossein Roostoom Khan and two thousand of his men dead on the field of battle. At the approach of the rainy season, the allies returned to the siege of Ahmudnuggur. The army of Ramraj encamped south of the fort, on the bank of the Sena river, when the rain having fallen very heavily in the hills, and the river swelling suddenly during the night, three hundred horses and a vast number of carriage cattle were drowned; besides which, no fewer than twenty officers of rank, and upwards of twenty-five thousand men of all descriptions, were swept away in the torrent. Ramraj, in consequence of this disaster, raised the siege, and moved towards

the Carnatic; and Ally Adil Shah, following his example, marched to Nuldroog, to put that fort in a state of defence. When the allies reached the town of Ootgy, Ramraj, under the pretence of foraging, halted, and took that opportunity of plundering some of the Beejapoor and Golconda districts, and eventually obtained from both these princes a cession of territory before he retired to his capital.

Having placed Moortuza Khan Anjoo in the command of Nuldroog, Ally Adil Shah retreated to Beejapoor. His officers made frequent incursions into the Sholapoor district belonging to Hoossein Nizam Shah, who dreading an attack on the town sent thither one thousand bullock loads of grain, under a strong escort, to enable it to sustain a siege. Moortuza Khan of Nuldroog, obtaining intimation of this convoy, left his station with a large body of Bergy cavalry, and fell in with the Nizam Shahy detachment between Sholapoor and Purenda: an action ensued, in which the latter was defeated, with the loss of one hundred and fifty elephants. The Bergies, elated with success, began to plunder and spread over the country. Moortuza Khan sent the elephants to Beejapoor, and retired towards Nuldroog. In the mean time the Nizam Shahies, having learnt from one of their own soldiers who had been taken and released by Moortuza Khan of the dispersed condition of his army, collected about two thousand horse, and pursuing the Adil Shahy troops, came suddenly upon Moortuza Khan, took him prisoner, and sent him to Ahmudnuggur. Hoossein Nizam Shah, still bent on supplying Sholapoor with the means of resistance, marched from Ahmudnuggur in person at the head of his army, and succeeded in throwing into the place twelve thousand loads of grain.

It was in the year A.H. 972 (A.C. 1564), that the league was entered into by the four Mahomedan kings of of Ahmudnuggur, Beejapoor, Bidur and Golconda, to crush the rising power of Ramraj, the Hindoo prince of Beejanuggur. The armies united and marched to the southward: they crossed the Krishna and encamped on the Hookery river, situated twelve miles from the former. Ramraj marched to oppose them at the head of seventy thousand cavalry and ninety thousand infantry, chiefly matchlock men, besides archers and artillery-men. The kings of the Deccan made overtures to him, promising the restitution of the districts they had taken from him on the march, in order to obtain peace, conceiving themselves unequal to cope with his

formidable army. Ramraj, however, refused to listen to any accommodation; and having detached his brother Venkatadry, at the head of two hundred thousand infantry, twenty-five thousand cavalry, and five hundred elephents, to oppose Ally Adil Shah on the left, and his other brother Yeltumraj, with twenty thousand horse, two hundred thousand infantry, and five hundred elephants, to oppose Ibrahim Kootb Shah and Ally Bereed on the right, himself remained in the centre with fifteen thousand chosen auxiliaries (supplied by the neighbouring rajas), one thousand elephants, and five hundred thousand infantry, to oppose the army of Hoossein Nizam Shah. He directed his soldiers to endeavour to take Ibrahim Kootb Shah and Ally Adil Shah prisoners, in order that he might keep them in iron cages during the rest of their lives; and he directed his own column, if possible, to bring him the head of Hoossein Nizam Shah.

The Mahomedan kings, despairing of coming to any terms with the enemy, resolved to fight desperately; and they thus disposed their troops: Ally Adil Shah was on the right, Hoossein Nizam Shah in the centre, and Ibrahim Kootb Shah and Ally Bereed on the left. Each of which divisions erected twelve standards in honour of the twelve Imams before proceeding to the attack. Hoossein Nizam Shah's front was covered by six hundred pieces of ordnance of different calibres. They were placed in three lines of two hundred each: in the first line were the heavy guns, in the second were the smaller, and the third line was composed of zumbooruks, or swivels; the whole commanded by Chuleby Roomy Khan, an officer of distinction from Asia Minor, who had served in Europe. In order to mask this disposition, two thousand foreign archers were thrown out in front, who kept up a heavy discharge on the enemy as he approached: these fell back as the Hindoos advanced, till they were close to the heavy battery, which opened upon them with such effect, that they retreated in confusion with dreadful loss. Recovering, however, from the panic, they rallied, and were induced to charge the guns a second time, after having received some money, and promises of more from Ramraj. The assault had now become general along the Mahomedan line, and the two flanks had already fallen back, when the guns in the centre were thus attacked. Chuleby Roomy Khan had provided bags of copper money to load with, should the enemy close; and these proved so destructive, that upwards of five thousand

Hindoos were left dead close to the muzzles of the guns, before they retreated. The repulse of this charge seems to have decided the fate of the day: the confusion of the enemy was taken advantage of by Kishwur Khan Lary, an officer of the Beejapoor army attached to the centre, who, charging through the intervals of the guns with five thousand cavalry, pursued the enemy into the centre of Ramraj's line; where, in attempting to make his escape on foot, the Hindoo prince was overtaken by one of the Nizam Shahy elephants, which seized him in his trunk; and on being brought to Hoossein Nizam Shah, Ramarj was beheaded by that monarch's order, and his army fled to Beejanuggur. The details of the remaining events have been already related in the Adil Shahy history; suffice it to say, the country of Beejanuggur fell to the Mahomedan armies, and Hoossein Nizam Shah returned to Ahmudnuggur, where he died, shortly after, of a disorder brought on by excess. He left behind him four sons and four daughters. His death has been commemorated in the following words:—

افتاب دکن بشد پنان

"The sun of the Deccan has become obscured."

MOORTUZA NIZAM SHAH,
COMMONLY CALLED
DIWANA, OR, THE MADMAN.

As the Prince ascended the throne during his minority, his mother, Khoonza Sooltana, became for six years regent and manager of the affairs of the kingdom. She raised her three brothers, Ein-ool-Moolk, Taj Khan, and Etibar Khan, to the first rank of nobility. She appointed Moolla Inayut Oolla to the office of peshwa; and sat daily in durbar, transacting public business, behind a curtain; while her son, Moortuza Nizam Shah, was engaged in those amusements suited to his age.

Such was the state of affairs at the Nizam Shahy court when Ally Adil Shah led his army against the Hindoos, who now remained in the provinces of Beejanuggur, at Anagoondy, and whose chief, Venkatadry, the brother of the late Ramraj, resided at Penkonda. Venkatadry, in this extremity, applied for relief to Khoonza Sooltana, who having marched at the head of

an army, accompanied by her young son, against the dominions of Beejapoor, compelled Ally Adil Shah to retire from before Anagoondy to defend his own country; but peace was soon after concluded between these Mahomedan princes; and a league was subsequently entered into against Toofal Khan, the prime minister of Boorhan Imad Shah, who had usurped the authority of Berar. Both the Adil Shahy and Nizam Shahy troops having entered that country plundered it, and marched back again before the rains. On their return Ally Adil Shah treacherously endeavoured to seize the person of the young King of Ahmudnuggur; but his mother, the Regent, gaining intimation of his intention, suddenly decamped during the night, and a river which intervened having swelled rapidly, the two armies were effectually separated, and the Nizam Shahies were enabled to gain the fort of Ahmudnuggur.

In the year A.H. 975 (A.D. 1567) Ally Adil Shah invaded the Nizam Shahy dominions, and taking several places, defeated the Ahmudnuggur forces. In the mean while the conduct of the Regent, Khoonza Sooltana, in providing for her relations at the expense of the most deserving nobles in the state, gave umbrage to the whole of that class; till at length Shah Jumal-ood-Deen Hoossein Anjoo, Kasim Beg Hukeem, and others, the companions of the King, complained to him of his mother's conduct. The King replied, "The whole of my ministers are attached to the Queen, how then am I to subvert her usurped authority?" They answered, that, with his permission, they would gain over some of the principal nobles, and effect the object. Moortuza Nizam Shah having given his consent, the chiefs above mentioned, with their friends, repaired some time after to the palace, where the King happened to be sitting with the Queen-mother: his childish fears made him conclude the secret was betrayed, so that, in order to save himself, he revealed to her that certain chiefs had resolved to seize her; upon which she instantly caused the principal conspirators to be secured.

In the year A.H. 977 (A.D. 1569) the Dowager-queen marched, with her son, to oppose the encroachments of Kishwur Khan, the Beejapoor general. Upon their arrival at D'hamungam, Moortuza Nizam Shah, now able to judge for himself, and resolving to become free from his mother's trammels, gained over the principal nobles, and sent Hubbush Khan to inform the Queen that it was his pleasure she should no longer engage in public

affairs, but live retired, like the other princesses. Enraged at this message, she summoned her creatures, and throwing a veil over her face, came from the palace on horseback, armed with a bow, a sword, and dagger. She was, however, seized, after a short resistance, and her attendants fled. The King now assumed charge of the affairs of his government; and having levied forces, marched towards Dharoor, with the intention of attacking Kishwur Khan, the Beejapoor general.

On arriving within a short distance of the enemy's camp, a messenger from Kishwur Khan brought him a sealed paper, which, upon being opened, was found to contain such insolent expressions as enraged him to the highest pitch. Mounting his horse he swore that he would not alight till he entered the fort of Dharoor, towards which he rode at full gallop. His attendants represented that fortresses were not to be taken by cavalry, and with a handful of men, and that he ought not to expose his person so imprudently. The King replied, that by the Almighty God he would force the gate with his sword, and hew his passage into the place; that if victory was decreed him, no injury could happen to him; and that if his death was fixed, it was vain to avoid the danger. The officers, seeing his determination, begged, at least, that he would put on armour, which was allowed by the Prophet; to this he consented, and then proceeded to the attack. Having reached the gate, he was assailed by showers of shot, arrows, and rockets poured forth from the fort walls, which killed many men, and some elephants and horses. Moortuza Nizam Shah still preserved, and escaped unhurt. At length the fire from the fort suddenly ceasing, the King was astonished; and on sending persons to enquire the cause, the troops entered unopposed, and found the fort evacuated. An arrow, it seems, had by chance pierced the heart of Kishwur Khan, who lay dead on the ground. The victors cut off his head, and hung it over the battlements; on which the King offered up thanksgiving for his victory. The Nizam Shahy army now invaded Beejapoor, in conjunction with Ibrahim Kootb Shah of Golconda, against whom Moortuza Nizam Shah afterwards conceived enmity, produced through the artifice of Shah Abool Hoossein, to such a degree, that Ibrahim Kootb Shah found it necessary to make his escape, leaving his camp to be plundered by the Nizam Shahies. Shortly after this, a treaty was concluded between Ally Adil Shah and Moortuza Nizam Shah, when the latter returned to Ahmud-

nuggur, where he appointed Jumal-ood-Deen Hoossein his prime minister, and then marched against the fort of Reevadunda, belonging to the Portuguese, but was obliged to raise the siege, after a blockade of some months, as the enemy obtained provisions by sea, owing to the treachery of the Nizam Shahy officers, who were bribed by presents, particularly of wine. The King, upon his return from this expedition, displaced several of his ministers,and conferred the office of vakeel on Chungiz Khan, a nobleman of great abilities, who, by his attention, restored the public affairs. This minister defeated, by his address, a proposed alliance between Ally Adil Shah and Ibrahim Kootb Shah, and effected an union between his master and the former, who had an interview on the borders, when it was agreed, that Ally Adil Shah should conquer as much of the Carnatic as would produce a revenue equal to Berar and Bidur; which latter kingdoms Moortuza Nizam Shah should be at liberty to wrest from the hands of Toofal Khan and Ally Bereed Shah.

In the year A.H. 980 (A.D. 1572) Moortuza Nizam Shah marched to Berar; and by the gallantry and good conduct of his general Chungiz Khan drove Toofal Khan from Elichpoor, compelling him and his son, Shumsheer-ool-Moolk, to fly to the hills, taking from them two hundred elephants, besides all their heavy baggage. Toofal Khan was driven from jungle to jungle for six months, at the end of which time, being forced into a narrow defile blocked up by the King's troops, he would certainly have been taken, had not the King been delayed by religious superstition for some time on his march by a mad devotee, Meer Moosa Mazinderany, who, meeting him on the road, conjured him by the love he bore to the twelve Imams not to move further till he had given him the sum of 12,000 hoons.[106] The King waited on the spot till he could comply with his request, though the minister entreated him to defer giving the money till the camp was pitched. The delay which ensued enabled Toofal Khan to make his escape, and fly to Boorhanpoor, where he sought protection with the ruler of Kandeish, who was, however, afraid to grant it, for fear of the vengeance of Moortuza Nizam Shah. Thence Toofal Khan returned to Berar, and took refuge in the hill-fort of Nurnala, from which place he applied for assistance to Akbur Padshah, Emperor of Dehly. Akbur sent an envoy to

106. 4800*l.* sterling.

Moortuza Nizam Shah, requiring him immediately to desist from his invasion of Berar; but no attention was paid to the communication, so that Numala, and all the other principal forts in Berar, fell into the hands of Moortuza Nizam Shah; and Toofal Khan, with his sovereign, Boorhan Imad-ool-Moolk, and all his family, being captured, were confined in one of them; where they shortly after died suddenly, and, it is conjectured, by poison.

Moortuza Nizam Shah would now have returned to Ahmudnuggur; but Chungiz Khan representing that as Ally Adil Shah was aggrandising himself by the reduction of the country of Beejanuggur, it was desirable for him, also, to prosecute his project against Ahmudabad Bidur, to which place he accordingly marched. In the mean time, Meeran Mahomed Shah, the ruler of Kandeish, taking advantage of the absence of Moortuza Nizam Shah from Berar, sent a force of three thousand horse, and seven or eight thousand infantry, to support a person who pretended to be a son of the late Duria Imad-ool-moolk, ruler of Berar. This force succeeded in expelling several of the Nizam Shahy posts, and in retaining a great portion of the country. On hearing this, Moortuza Nizam Shah returned with the greatest expedition, accompanied by a light force only, directing Chungiz Khan to follow with the main army. Syud Moortuza, a Nizam Shahy general, who preceded the King, having come up with the Berar pretender, at the head of eight thousand horse, obliged him to fly, and his adherents to disperse. Meanwhile, Moortuza Nizam Shah entering Kandeish by the Rohunkehra Ghat, ravaged the country to the very gates of Boorhanpoor.

Chungiz Khan, desirous of seeing the fortress of Aseer, to which Meeran Mahomed Shah Farooky had retired, went with eight thousand horse in order to reconnoitre it. Meeran Mahomed Shah employed a detachment to endeavour to cut off his retreat; but it was repulsed with loss, and some officers even were taken prisoners. Moortuza Nizam Shah now marched in person to Aseer, from whence he sent out parties who left not a vestige of population in the surrounding country, so that Meeran Mahomed Shah was in the end compelled to purchase the retreat of the Nizam Shahies by the payment of a large sum of money.

Shortly after this Mirza Khan Isfahany reached the Nizam Shahy camp, as ambassador on the part of Ibrahim Kootb Shah, in order to prevent the meditated attack on Bidur. To effect

this object he offered a large sum of money to Chungiz Khan, who refused it with indignation, telling him that the treasures of the Nizam Shahy kingdom were at his disposal. He said, however, that after the reduction of Bidur, it would be prudent for Moortuza Nizam Shah, Ibrahim Kootb Shah, and Ally Adil Shah, to unite against the encroachments likely to be made on their power by the Emperor Akbur. The ambassador failing in bribing the minister, endeavoured to effect his purpose by bringing over to his design Sahib Khan, a favourite minion of the King, who had been ill treated by Chungiz Khan; insinuating that that minister intended to assume the royal titles in Berar. Sahib Khan willingly received the accusation, and informed the King, who at first did not believe it, ascribing it to the effect of malice on the part of Sahib Khan, towards the minister. Sahib Khan, however, persisting in his assertion, pretended to weep; entreating the King, if he did not believe him, to send for Mirza Khan Isfahany, who was a townsman of the minister, to hear what he knew. The intelligence being confirmed by Mirza Khan, made some impression on the King's mind, though he resolved to wait for further proof. At length, one day having sent for Chungiz Khan, he signified his wish to return to Ahmudnuggur, as he was tired of the field. The minister observed, that in a newly-conquered province it was advisable for his Majesty to remain five or six months, in order to gain the good will of the inhabitants; but in case that did not suit him, at all events to leave him with an army for that purpose. This suggestion convinced Moortuza Nizam Shah of the truth of the accusations against the minister, and the King immediately altered his behaviour towards him. Chungiz Khan perceiving this became alarmed for his safety, and staid away some days from court on the plea of indisposition. This conduct only tended the more to confirm the King's suspicions; who having resolved to put him to death, directed his physician to administer a poisoned draught to the minister as medicine. Chungiz Khan discovered the device, and at first refused to take it; but knowing it would be of no avail, he at last resolved on the sacrifice, and drank the potion. During his last moments he wrote the following address to the King:—

"The faithful servant Meeruk, the sun of whose age has passed through sixty mansions, and was hastening to the seventieth, having bowed the head of submission on the threshold of

devotion, represents, that he has quaffed the draught mixed with the water of life. In obedience to the duty and loyalty he owes to the King (by whose bounty he was cherished), he has shut his eyes from all other considerations. Had he wish, it would be that the life and reign of the King should be as permanent as the grave will be to his servant; and he solicits that the King will esteem him after life as he did during its existence, and classing him among the most loyal and devoted of his subjects, will act according to the wishes now expressed, written in his own hand. Firstly, That he will send his body for interment to Kurbela. Secondly, That he will show favour to the under-mentioned officers,[107] as worthy of his distinction, and that he will entertain his foreign servants among his own guards."

This last testament, with some instructions, he committed to the care of Syud Moortuza, and then reclined upon his bed till the next day, when his soul departed from his body—that temporary and perishable tenement which is only borrowed for a while.

Moortuza Nizam Shah became, too late, convinced of the uprightness and the sincere attachment of his minister, whose death he regretted with unfeigned sorrow; and upon the King's return to Ahmudnuggur he resolved on retiring from the world. He called before him the principal inhabitants of Ahmudnuggur, and said to them, "Be it known that I am unfit to rule; for I find I want the capacity to distinguish right from wrong, so that I frequently am guilty of oppression, under the cloak of justice, and when the truth becomes apparent I am grieved at my want of discretion. I now, therefore, call you to witness, and require you to testify on the last day, that I have appointed Meer Kazy Beg my Vakeel Mootluk,[108] who is one of the descendants of the Prophet, that he may act unto every one agreeably to the law, and by not giving a preference to the strong over the weak, he will disregard all private considerations. Should any person take even the needle of a weak old woman, and I be questioned concerning it at the day of judgment, I will answer, that I had no business in such affairs, which depended on Kazy Beg, the descendant of the Prophet." Then, addressing himself to that minister, he said, "The government is now in your hands: "if thou canst not direct it alone, let Ameer-

107. Ferishta has not given the names of the officers alluded to.
108. Representative.

ool-Moolk, Mirza Mahomed Tuky, and Kasim Beg Hukeem, be your partners in the administration; while I, who am fearful and apprehensive of the anger and punishment of the Almighty, sincerely repenting of my conduct towards Chungiz Khan, seek retirement, and employ my days in penitence and prayer." The King, after this, retired to an apartment in the palace of Ahmudnuggur, called Bagdad, where no one, male or female, was admitted to his presence but Sahib Khan.

In the year A.H. 984 (A.D. 1576), the Emperor Akbur advancing to the frontier of the Deccan to hunt, the King moved to the north, with a few troops, but in a covered litter, to observe his motions, and to be in readiness to defend his dominions, and would have marched to attack the Emperor, had he not been prevented by the entreaties of his nobility. At their request, however, Moortuza Nizam Shah remained on the border, till Akbur returned to his own dominions, when the King again retired to his privacy in Ahmudnuggur. In the rainy season the King went to Dowlutabad; and on visiting the tombs of the saints he was seized with religious enthusiasm. One day, unknown even to Sahib Khan, he withdrew from his apartment, and was going alone on foot towards the tomb of Imam Ruza, when he was recognised by a countryman, who gave information to the minister, and it was with much difficulty they prevailed on him to return. After this, on coming back to Ahmudnuggur, he took up his residence in the garden of Husht Behist.[109] At this time the excesses of his favourite Sahib Khan and his associates knew no bounds. The latter consisted of about three thousand scoundrel Deccanies, who frequently forced children from their parents for the worst of purposes: among other instances was that of the daughter of Meer Mehdy, who was killed in defending the honour of his family. Although these injuries gave great disgust, the Regent was still afraid of the favourite's influence with the King, till at length Sahib Khan became so insolent as to order a nobleman to change his name because it happened to be the same as his own, and on his refusal he resolved to destroy him, but was prevented by Sulabut Khan, who informed the King of the circumstance. Sahib Khan, enraged, quitted the court; but the King, distressed at his absence,

109. This garden and the palace within it are still to be seen at Ahmudnuggur, where it is denominated the Behishty Bagh—The Garden of Eden.

followed him in person, and overtaking him at Ahmudabad Bidur persuaded him to return, by agreeing to his own unreasonable requests; first, that of displacing Sulabut Khan from his office; and, secondly, that of taking for him the city of Ahmudabad Bidur from Ally Bereed Shah, who, upon his besieging it, required and received assistance from Ally Adil Shah.

At this time Boorhan Nizam Shah, the King's brother escaped from the fort of Joonere, and created an insurrection, which obliged Moortuza Nizam Shah to return suddenly to Ahmudnuggur, and to recall Sulabut Khan. Sahib Khan in consequence left the King a second time, and Boorhan Nizam Shah, being defeated, fled to Beejapoor. The King endeavoured again to conciliate and soothe Sahib Khan; but he was put to death by the nobles who were sent to effect the reconciliation, and who persuaded the King he fell in the act of making resistance. Upon the death of Sahib Khan, Sulabut Khan became minister, without a rival, and continued in power for some years, to the satisfaction of the people. The Marratta country was never so well governed as by Sulabut Khan since the reign of Mahmood Shah Bahmuny.

In the year A.H. 988 (A.D. 1580), Ally Adil Shah dying, was succeeded by his nephew Ibrahim, then only in his ninth year. Sulabut Khan, conceiving his minority favourable to making a conquest of the Beejapoor territories, persuaded Moortuza Nizam Shah to invade them. An army was accordingly sent under Behzad-ool-Moolk, which was defeated, with the loss of all the elephants that accompanied it. The other events of this year have been already related in the Beejapoor history.

In the year A.H. 992 (A.D. 1584), the King sent a splendid embassy to Beejapoor to solicit in marriage Khoodeija, the sister of Ibrahim Adil Shah, for his son Meeran Hoossein, and his request being acceded to, the Princess was brought to Ahmudnuggur in great pomp. Several nobles at this time formed a combination to displace the minister Sulabut Khan, who persuaded the King to take up his residence in the fort, and himself marched against the confederates, whom he dispersed. Shortly after this, a discontented faction having brought Boorhan, the King's brother, in disguise of a holy man, to Ahmudnuggur, conspired to set him on the throne; but on the very day intended for the attempt, Sulabut Khan discovered the plot, and Boorhan, making his

escape, fled to the Concan; but not thinking himself secure there, he sought an asylum with the Emperor Akbur at Dehly, from whom he some time afterwards procured a force under Mirza Azeez Koka to attack Moortuza Nizam Shah. The instant this intelligence reached Ahmudnuggur, Moortuza Nizam Shah detached an army of twenty thousand men, under Mirza Mahomed Tuky, to the frontier, who, in conjunction with Raja Ally Khan of Kandeish, marched to Hundia on the banks of the Nerbudda. Mirza Azeez Koka had already crossed the river, and finding he could not oppose the Deccanies in the field with success, suddenly moved ground, marched into Berar, and took Elichpoor and Balapoor; but finding himself pursued, and his retreat cut off by the route he came, he proceeded westward, and coming suddenly upon Sooltanpoor and Nundoorbar, plundered them, and returned to Malwa,[110] when the Nizam Shahy and Kandeish troops retired to their respective capitals.

At this time one Futteh Shah, a dancer, who had succeeded Sahib Khan in the King's favour, began to abuse his power, by obtaining large grants of land, and gifts of the royal jewels, which were lavishly bestowed upon him by his master. At length, he asked for two necklaces, which had been brought into the treasury from the plunder of Ramraj, composed of valuable rubies, emeralds, and pearls. The King commanded them to be given to him; but Sulabut Khan, unwilling that such inestimable curiosities should be lost to the royal family, substituted two strings of mock jewels in their place. After some time, Futteh Shah discovering the imposition, complained to the King, who being enraged, commanded the Regent to lay out in an apartment all his jewels for inspection. Sulabut Khan having concealed the most precious, placed the rest as he was ordered; but the King missing them, was so angry, that he threw all before him into a large fire, and withdrew in a passion to his chamber. On his departure, the Regent hastened to save them from the flames, and only the pearls had received any damage. From this period the King was considered mad.

The King now took it into his head that his son Meeran

110. There seems good reason for thinking that Mirza Azeez did not go to the westward at all, but returned to Hundia either by the same route he came, or turning the Berar hills, passed by the Sendoorjena G'hat.

Hoossein designed to dethrone him, and attempted to put him to death; but Sulabut Khan watched over the safety of the young prince. At this time, Ibrahim Adil Shah demanded that the nuptials of his sister should be celebrated with the King's son, or that the Princess should be sent back to Beejapoor; but Sulabut Khan having refused compliance with either demand, unless he delivered up the fortress of Sholapoor, Ibrahim Adil Shah declared war, and laid siege to the fort of Owsa. Moortuza Nizam Shah, offended at the conduct of his minister, upbraided him with treachery, and declared himself weary of his control; on which the Regent, to show his loyalty, begged the King to appoint any place for his confinement, and he would voluntarily put chains on his own feet, and repair to it. Moortuza Nizam Shah named the fort of Dunda-Rajpoor; and Sulabut Khan, in spite of the remonstrances of his friends and numerous dependents, immediately submitted himself to the King's guards, and was carried to his prison.

On the imprisonment of Sulabut Khan, the King conferred the regency on Kasim Bég Hukeem, and the vizarut on Mirza Mahomed Tuky, commanding them to conclude peace with Ibrahim Adil Shah; after which the nuptials of the Princess Khoodeija with the Prince Meeran Hoossein were celebrated with great splendour. Not long after this event the King becoming suspicious of his son resolved to destroy him; for this purpose he told his minister that he longed for his son's society, and they, delighted at his returning kindness, sent the young prince into the fort to him. The King, as if in the abundance of affection, gave him chamber near his own; but the next morning, while the youth was sleeping, the King set fire to his bed-clothes, and fastened the door upon him. The Prince was awakened by the smoke, and freeing himself from the clothes, hastened to the door. Finding it locked, he cried out for help, and was almost suffocated, when he was released by his father's favourite, Futteh Shah, and carried to the minister, who conveyed him secretly to Dowlutabad. The King, after some time, going to the apartment to examine the ashes for the bones of his intended victim, and not finding them, was enraged. Futteh Shah told him the Prince had been burned to ashes; but he did not believe it, and demanded the Prince from the favourite, whom he suspected of having saved him from the fire. At length, Futteh Shah revealed the truth, and the King sending

for the ministers, ordered them all to be confined, and appointed others. The new ministers also refusing to kill the Prince, the King, after nine days, displaced them, and gave the regency to Mirza Khan.

Mirza Khan, seeing the disordered state of the King's intellect, pretended acquiescence with his commands, and courted the favour of Futteh Shah and his dependents, by frequent gifts, but wrote privately to Beejapoor, that as the King was mad, and wanted to murder his son, if a detachment were sent to the borders, he would make it a pretext for raising troops, and would then openly espouse the cause of the young Prince. Dilawur Khan, Regent of Beejapoor, complied with his request, and Mirza Khan asked the King what steps he should take against the enemy. Moortuza Nizam Shah directed him to pursue what measures he thought proper; and Mirza Khan, collecting the troops, marched from Ahmudnuggur, and encamped near the town of Ranoory, where they halted by his orders. The King, surprised at their not moving onwards, sent the writer of this history to enquire the cause. After the Regent knew my attachment to the King, he concluded, that if I discovered his designs I should make them known. Mirza Khan therefore bribed Futteh Shah to obtain the King's order for my recall, and for the immediate advance of the army. I was in the camp when Futteh Khan arrived, and had discovered the real designs of the minister, who had given orders to prevent my return; but having timely notice, I made my escape in the night. On my arrival in the city, I related what I had seen and heard to Futteh Shah, who pretended not to believe me. I observed, that I had no interest or hatred to gratify, to induce me to accuse the minister falsely, and that the truth of my account would quickly appear. While we were talking, intelligence was brought that Mirza Khan had marched to Dowlutabad, in order to bring the Prince Meeran Hoossein, and seat him on the throne. The King now asked my advice how to avert the threatened storm. I replied, that there were two measures which promised success : first, that the King should leave his retirement, and march from the city at the head of his guards, when, probably, most of the nobles would desert the Regent and join him; on which he replied, he was too ill to mount a horse. I then recommended that he should send for Sulabut Khan from confinement, and put him at the head of affairs, as he was beloved and

respected by all ranks, who would flock to his standard, and that his Majesty should also proceed in a litter to meet him as far as the fort of Joonere. The King approving of this advice, instantly sent off express orders to release Sulabut Khan, and prepared to move himself; when Futteh Shah fell at his feet, and, weeping, said, that should his Majesty quit the palace, the guards would immediately seize and send him prisoner to the Prince, in order to pay their court to a new sovereign. The King, on this remark, altered his intention, and resolved to wait in the palace for the arrival of Sulabut Khan. The troops, perceiving the King's imbecility, deserted in crowds to Dowlutabad, from whence Mirza Khan hastened to the capital, accompanied by the Prince, so as to arrive before Sulabut Khan. At the time he came I had the guard of the palace, and wished to defend it; but being deserted by my people, and no one being left with the King but Futteh Shah and a very few domestic attendants, opposition was vain. The Prince and Mirza Khan rushed into the fort with forty thousand armed men, without opposition, and put to death whomsoever they found. The Prince fortunately knew me, and reflecting that we had been school-fellows, and brought up together, ordered my life to be spared. Having reached his father's presence, the Prince behaved to him, both in word and action, with every possible degree of insult. Moortuza Nizam Shah was silent, and only looked at him with contempt, till the Prince, drawing his naked sabre across his breast, said, "I will put you to death." Moortuza Nizam Shah then breathing a deep sigh, exclaimed, "O thou accursed of God ! it would be better for thee to let thy father be thy guest for his few remaining days, and treat him with respect." The Prince, relenting for a moment at this speech, withdrew from the apartment. Not having patience, however, to wait for his death, though he was then ill of a mortal disease, he caused the King to be put into a warm bathing room, and closing fast the doors and windows, so as to exclude the air, he lighted a great fire underneath, and the King was speedily suffocated.

The parricide was perpetrated in the year A.H. 996 (A.D. 1567). The deceased King was buried with due ceremony in the Roza garden; but his bones were afterwards taken up and conveyed to Kurbela, where they were deposited near those of his

father and grandfather. Moortuza Nizam Shah reigned twenty-four years and some months.

Alas ! there is no stability in fortune; for endless is the circle of her revolution. Except not thou to be free from the encroachments of time. For there is quarter to no one from his cruel sword.

MEERAN HOOSSEIN NIZAM SHAH

MEERAN HOOSSEIN NIZAM SHAH, on his accession to the throne of Ahmudnuggur, being of an impetuous and cruel disposition, began his reign by tyranny and oppression. He appointed Mirza Khan prime minister, but paid little regard to his advice; so that he was disappointed in the hopes he had entertained of making a pageant of the Prince, and keeping the real power in his own hands. The King having promoted several young persons of his own age to high rank, made them the companions of his pleasures and excesses. It was frequently his custom, in fits of intoxication, to ride through the city with his drunken associates and put persons to death, though guilty of no crime. Having learned that Mirza Khan had privately brought Shah Kasim, brother to Moortuza Nizam Shah, from the fort of Soonere, and concealed him in his house with a view to create a revolution in his favour, the King became alarmed, and confined the minister. The next day, however, finding the accusation false, he restored him to his employments, and gave him his full confidence; and Mirza Khan, in order to prevent future suspicion, advised the King to put to death the surviving males of the royal family. At his instance fifteen princes were accordingly murdered in one day. Not long after this event, the power of Mirza Khan becoming irksome to the King's companions, they again accused him of treachery, and the King believing it, would in his drunken hours exclaim at one time that he would behead him with his own hand, and at another, that he would have him trod to death by elephants. These circumstances being reported to Mirza Khan, he resolved to ensure his own safety by deposing the King, in his turn, tried every means to get the minister into his power. On the 10th of Jumad-ool-Awul, A.H. 997 (March 15, A.D. 1588), the King repaired to the house of his favourite Bungush

Khan, and sent for Mirza Khan to partake of a banquet, intending to have him assassinated; but the minister, being on his guard, excused himself, under pretence of sudden illness, sending his friend Agha Meer to make his excuse. Agha Meer reached the house of Bungush Khan just as the King had dined, but the master of the house had waited, out of complaisance, to dine with Mirza Khan. When Agha Meer had eaten some dinner, he pretended to be seized with violent pains, declaring that he was poisoned, and left the house. Mirza Khan, soon after, sent a message to the King, that the Agha was dying, and entered to see him. The King unsuspiciously repaired with a few attendants to the fort, where he was seized by the minister and confined. Mirza Khan then sent off Meer Tahir Nyshapoory to bring the two sons of the King's paternal uncle, Boorhan Nizam Shah, from the fort of Lohgur, that he might choose one of them to place on the throne, concealing the circumstance of the King's imprisonment till their arrival.

On the third day, Meer Tahir returned with the Princes, the one named Ibrahim, and the other Ismael; and the minister summoning several of the principal nobility into the fort, declared to them the deposal of Meeran Hoossein, and the accession of Ismael Nizam Shah (the younger brother), then only in his twelfth year. While the assembly was engaged in saluting the new king, a great tumult was heard at the gates of the fort, where Jumal Khan, a military leader, with several other officers and soldiers, chiefly Abyssinians and Deccanies, had assembled, demanding to see Meeran Hoossein their lawful sovereign. Mirza Khan sent them word, that Meeran Hoossein, being unworthy to govern, had been deposed, and that he had been succeeded by his cousin Ismael, who should appear and receive their homage. Jumal Khan became more clamorous, and sent persons to proclaim through the city, that the minister, aided by his foreign mercenaries, had deposed their sovereign, and seated another prince on the throne, and that if he were allowed to make kings and to act uncontrolled in this manner, the native nobles and inhabitants of the country would soon become slaves to foreign adventurers. The Deccany troops and the inhabitants, inflamed by this proclamation, flew to arms, and in a short time about five thousand horse and foot, with a numerous mob, joined Jumal Khan, who was also supported by all the Abyssinians.

Mirza Khan, thinking to appease the tumult by the death of Meeran Hoossein, commanded his head to be struck off, and placing it on a pole, planted it on one of the bastions of the citadel. At the same time, a person cried out to the multitude below, that as they must now be convinced of the death of the King, if they would retire quietly to their houses they should be rewarded by the favour of Ismael Nizam Shah, now their sovereign. Several of the leaders proposed to retire; but Jumal Khan cried out, that if Meeran Hoossein were murdered, they ought to revenge his death on the foreigners, take into their own hands the administration of the government of Ismael Nizam Shạh, and not suffer the country to be governed by strangers. On this, a resolution was formed to attack the fort; and having heaped piles of wood and straw against the gates, the mob set them in fire. About sunset, the gates were burned; but the quantity of hot ashes yet glowing prevented any one passing in or out till midnight, when Mirza Khan and his friends rushed from the citadel, and tried to make their escape. Numbers of others were slain in the attempt by the populace; but Mirza Khan having effected his retreat, fled towards the fort of Joonere. The Deccany troops, the Abyssinians, and the mob, having entered the fort, put to death every foreigner they found within, amounting to nearly three hundred, among whom were several persons of high rank and eminent character. Their bodies were dragged out on the open plain, and orders given that they should be unburied. Not content with the past slaughter, Jumal Khan commanded his adherents to murder the foreigners of every rank and occupation in the city, and to plunder and burn their dwellings. The soldiers and their followers, being once let loose, put to death indiscriminately the noble, the master, the servant, the merchant, the pilgrim, and the travelling stranger. Their houses were set on fire, and the heads of those lately exalted to the skies were brought low, and trampled in the dust; while the very females, who from modesty concealed their faces from the sun and moon, were dragged by the hair into the assemblages of the drunken. On the fourth day, Mirza Khan, who had been seized near Joonere, was brought to Jumal Khan, and being first carried through the city on an ass, his body was hewn in pieces, which were affixed on different buildings. Several of his friends taken with him were also put to death, and their bodies being rammed

into cannon, were blown into the air. In the space of seven days, nearly a thousand foreigners were murdered; some few only escaping under the protection of Deccany or Abyssinian officers. The reign of Meeran Hoossein Nizam Shah lasted only ten months and three days. Among those princess recorded in history as murderers of their fathers, we find none whose reigns extended beyond one year; and a poet observes, "Royalty befitteth not to destroyer of a parent, nor will the reign of such a wretch be long."

ISMAEL NIZAM SHAH

It has been already mentioned in the history of Moortuza Nizam Shah, that his brother, Boorhan Nizam Shah,[111] having been foiled in an attempt to dethrone him, fled for protection to the court of the Emperor Akbur. On his departure, he left behind him his two sons, Ibrahim and Ismael, who were confined in the fortress of Lohgur. The younger being raised to the throne, on the death of Meeran Hoossein Nizam Shah, assumed the title of Ismael Nizam Shah, and was acknowledged by the successful partisan, Jumal Khan.

Jumal Khan being of the sect of Mehdy persuaded the King to embrace the same tenets, and to commit the power of government into the hands of his followers. In the beginning of his administration, he obliged the few foreigners who had eccaped the massacre in the reign to quit Ahmudnuggur, after seizing, their effects. Most of these obtained service with the King of Beejapoor. Among them was the writer of this history, who subsequently obtained rank at that court. The Mehdvies are a schismatic sect of Mahomedans. They assert that in the year 960 (A.D. 1550[112]) a person of the Hunefy sect, styling himself Syud Mahomed, was in reality the promised Imam Mehdvy; and as there were some circumstances which the imposter turned to his advantage, representing them to be the signs of the coming

111. Vide vol. iii. p. 160.

112. The sect is tolerably numerous in the Deccan, but is confined to certain tribes of Afghans. The nabobs of Curnool, Elichpoor, Tooljapoor, and others living under the Nizam's government, are all of this persuasion.

of the Imam Mehdvy, many people of India believed him to be the real Imam. Among these believers was Jumal Khan, commonly called Mehdvy, and who was considered as the leader of that sect in the service of Ismael Nizam Shah. He had at different times distinguished himself by his personal courage, and particularly on the occasion of the accession of the King, who was now a mere pageant in the hands of this wily chieftain. He commenced his power by persecuting all those not of his own persuasion, and by promoting to high offices, and retaining about his person, such as were Mehdvies. Among the discontented nobles were the chiefs of Berar, who, being at some distance from the capital, released Sulabut Khan, who had long been confined in the fort of Kehrla, on the Berar frontier. They joined his standard to oppose the Mehdvies, whom the Berar chiefs determined to expel from Ahmudnuggur; for which purpose they marched towards the capital. At the same period, also, Dilawur Khan, the Regent of Beejapoor, during the minority of Ibrahim Adil Shah, marched from the southward for the same purpose.

Jumal Khan, undismayed at this double invasion, and encouraged by his adherents, marched, in the first place, against Sulabut Khan, and gave him a total defeat at the town of Peitun, on the Godavery, obliging him to retreat to Boorhanpoor. Thence he countermarched to oppose the Beejapoories, whom he encountered at the village of Ashty, where the two armies halted in the vicinity of each other for fifteen days, without making any hostile movement. At length a peace was concluded, in which it was agreed that Chand Beeby, the widow of the late Ally Adil Shah, and aunt to the present King of Ahmudnuggur, should be sent to the Beejapoor camp, and that the Nizam Shahy government should pay two hundred and seventy thousand hoons (Nalbaha[113]), for the purpose of defraying the expenses of the war.

In the year A.H. 998 (A.D. 1589), Sulabut Khan, now in his seventieth year, sent a petition from Boorhanpoor, begging permission to be allowed to return to his country, in order that he might lay his bones there. The request was granted; and he retired to the town of Tulegam,[114] founded by himself: he, how-

113. Literally, "the price of horse-shoes." This tax has been frequently exacted since by the Marrattas. The sum paid amounted to about 850,000*l*.

114. This town, situated twenty miles north-west of Poona, is cele-

ever, died during that year, and was buried in a mausoleum,[115] erected during his ministry, on a hill lying south of Ahmudnuggur. Intelligence of the commotions in the Nizam Shahy capital having reached the Emperor Akbur, he recalled Boorhan Nizam Shah from his jageer of Bungush, lying between India and Kabul, and offered him a force to recover the kingdom of his ancestors, now his right, but usurped by his own son, aided by a despotic minister. Boorhan Nizam Shah represented, that should he accept the assistance of the Moguls, the Deccanies would be alarmed, and object to his authority; but that if his Majesty would allow him to repair to the borders of the country with his own dependants, he would try to gain over his subjects by conciliation. Akbur, approving his proposal, permitted him to depart for the Deccan, and allotted the frontier, district of Hundia for his support till he should regain his authority. At the same time he wrote to Raja Ally Khan, ruler of Kandeish, to afford him support. Boorhan Nizam Shah, having received overtures from many of the nobility, marched against his son, but was defeated. In a short time after this, however, he renewed his attempt, on being joined by a vast number of Nizam Shahy troops, as well as by an army from Beejapoor, which also made several marches to his assistance.

At this period Jumal Khan collected his troops, among whom were ten thousand Mehdvies; and having ordered Syud Umjud-ool-Moolk of Berar, with the whole of his force, to oppose Raja Ally Khan and Boorhan Nizam Shah, on the northern frontier, marched himself against the Beejapoories. The two armies met at the village of Darasun : an action took place, in which the Beejapoories were defeated with the loss of three hundred elephants; but four days afterwards, information being received that the Berar troops had gone over to Boorhan Nizam Shah, Jumal Khan countermarched his victorious army towards Berar, to oppose the pretender, while Ibrahim Adil Shah despatched the whole of his Bergy cavalry to follow Jumal Khan, and to cut off his supplies. Jumal Khan relying on the Mehdvies, whose very

brated, in modern times, on account of the defeat sustained by the British arms from the Marrattas, on the 12th of January, 1779. Vide Grant Duff's Marratta History, vol. ii. p. 370.

115. The mausoleum of Sulabut Khan at Ahmudnuggur is one of the most picturesque objects of that interesting capital.

existence was identified with his welfare, proceeded to the Rohunkehra Ghat, notwithstanding he was daily deserted by his other troops. On his arrival there he found the pass occupied; and not being disposed to risk the loss that would attend forcing his way, he took another road, which was almost impassable, and which offered very little water. He had just pitched upon a spot to encamp, when he was informed that six miles farther on there was plenty of water, to which place he marched; but he found that position already occupied by the allied forces. His army, now in the greatest distress, was constrained to encamp where it was, as from the heat and difficulties it had encountered it was equally unable to proceed or to retreat. The troops, in the first instance, having obtained water, Jumal Khan ordered them under arms, and determined to decide his fate by an action, which was very near terminating in his favour, when he was killed by a chance shot. His death was the signal of defeat; for his army, having no other leader, fled in all directions, accompanied by Ismael Nizam Shah, who being taken in a village, was afterwards confined by his father, and deprived of his throne, after a reign of two years.

BOORHAN NIZAM SHAH II.

Boorhan Nizam Shah II., during the reign of his brother, Moortuza Nizam Shah, was confined in the fort of Lohgur, but had a large estate allowed him for his support, so that he passed his days not without many comforts. At the time when Sahib Khan, disgusted with Moortuza Nizam Shah, left the capital, and the King followed him to Bidur to induce him to return, a party at the court besought Boorhan Nizam Shah to put forth his claim to the throne, on the plea that his brother was mad, and unfit to reign. Allured by promises of support, Boorhan Nizam Shah gained over the governor of Lohgur, and appeared in arms at the head of hix thousand horse, with which force he moved towards Ahmudnuggur. Moortuza Nizam Shah, upon intelligence of this insurrection, hastened back from Bidur to Ahmudnuggur. On passing through the streets to the palace, he stopped his elephant at the shop of a druggist, and asked him if he had any medicine that would cure madness, saying, that he did not know

who required it most, himself, who wished to live the life of a recluse, and yet to rule a kingdom, or his brother, who with the enjoyment of ease, was plunging himself into the cares of public life. The man replied, that his brother was the madman, who could ungratefully rebel against so kind a protector, and would not prosper in his treason. The next day, Boorhan Nizam Shah was defeated, and fled to Beejapoor. Two years afterwards, he made another attempt, but with no better success, and sought protection with the Emperor Akbur, with whom he continued till the accession of his son to the throne, of which he dispossessed him as above related.

Boorhan Nizam Shah was advanced in years when he ascended the throne, notwithstanding which, he gave himself up to pleasures unbecoming both his age and his dignity. The first act of his reign was to annul the orders respecting the Mehdvy doctrines, which Jumal Khan had so strenuously enforced, and he even gave orders to put to death all who persisted in them, which had the effect of expelling the sect out of his dominions. The Sheea religion was again restored to its pristine glory. On which many of the foreigners, who had been expelled in consequence of the rebellion of Mirza Khan, returned. At the same period, also, Dilawur Khan the Abyssinian, the late regent of Beejapoor, but who had been compelled to fly from Ibrahim Adil Shah, and take protection at Bidur, came to the Nizam Shahy court, where he was honourably received. Ibrahim Adil Shah immediately wrote letters to Boorhan Nizam Shah, remonstrating against the protection afforded to Dilawur Khan; to which Boorhan Nizam Shah sent an insulting answer, which brought on the war that has been detailed in the history of Ibrahim Adil Shah II.

In the year A.H. 1001 (A.D. 1592), Boorhan Nizam Shah marched his army against the Portuguese of Reevadunda; and despatching a large force to the sea-port of Choul, ordered that a fort should be built to prevent the entrance of the Portuguese into the harbour of Reevadunda, and this fort he called Korla. The Portuguese sailing during the night effected their escape, but they returned with reinforcements[116] from many other ports which had

116. The Portuguese historian states, that three hundred men came from Bassein, and two hundred from Salsette, making in all, with the garrison, fifteen hundred Europeans and as many native soldiers; with

also fallen into their hands; after which, they made two night-attacks on the Mahomedans, and on each occasion killed between three and four thousand Deccanies. Boorhan Nizam Shah now sent a body of about four thousand men, under Furhad Khan, to reinforce Korla; and as other troops were expected from Duman and Bassein, he appointed one Bahadur Khan Geelany, at the head of all the foreign troops, governor of the fortress of Korla, to blockade Reevadunda. The Mahomedans were now so watchful, that they could not again be surprised; and in an attack which the Portuguese made on Reevadunda they lost one hundred Europeans and two hundred native Portuguese. After this, Reevadunda was so closely besieged, and the harbour so commanded by the fort of Korla, that no assistance could reach it by sea; and the enemy was on the point of capitulating, when the tyranny of the King at Ahmudnuggur induced many of the officers to quit the camp and proceed to court. At this time a fleet of sixty vessels belonging to the Portuguese, full of men and military stores, passing close to Korla, under cover of the night, anchored safely in the harbour of Reevadunda, where they landed four thousand men, and on the following morning, at daylight, proceeded to attack Korla. Many of the Mahomedans, on the approach of the Europeans, fled in confusion to the fort, whither they were so closely followed by the Portuguese that they rushed in at the gates with them, and commenced an indiscriminate slaughter of the King's troops, who, though two to one, made little resistance, and upwards of twelve thousand Mahomedans were put the sword. The Portuguese subsequently reduced the fort to ashes. This destruction of the Deccanies was considered by Boorhan Nizam Shah as a fortunate event. He elevated foreigners to principal stations in the empire, and ordered them to proceed to Choul; but his intention were for the present deferred, while he aessisted Ismael, the brother of Ibrahim Adil Shah, in deposing that monarch. Accordingly, in the year A.H. 1003 (A.D. 1594), Boorhan Nizam Shah marched from Ahmudnuggur towards Belgam; but having heard, on his arrival at Purenda, that the Prince Ismael had been taken and put to death,

which they attacked the Mahomedans and slew ten thousand men. Furhad Khan, the governor, and his family were taken prisoners. He and his daughters became Christians, and went to Portugal. Seventy-five guns were captured on this occasion. Faria-e-Souza, vol. iii part i. chap. viii.

he returned, covered with mortification, to his capital, where he was shortly afterwards taken dangerously ill. Ibrahim Adil Shah, in his turn, resolved to punish him for supporting his brother, and ordered his army to lay waste the Ahmudnuggur frontier. Boorhan Nizam Shah now sent ambassadors to court the alliance of Venkatadry of Penkonda, when it was agreed he should invade Beejapoor on the south, and take the fortress of Bunkapoor, while on the the north, Boorhan Nizam Shah should reduce Sholapoor. These operations consequently commenced on both sides, and Oozbuk Bahadur, the Ahmudnuggur general, was killed, and his force defeated under the walls of Sholapoor. This news increasing the irritation of Boorhan Nizam Shah's disorder, he became confined to his bed, when he sent for his son Ibrahim, whom he nominated his successor, passing over Ismael who was known to be an enemy to the Sheeas, and a strict Mehdvy. Before the King's death, a report prevailed that Ismael was to succeed, and all the foreigners, deserting their posts, fled to Beejapoor. Yekhlas Khan Movullid,[117] who wished for the succession of Ismael, went to such lengths as to raise a force in his favour, and to march to Ahmudnuggur. Upon which, Boorhan Nizam Shah, notwithstanding his disease, got into a palankeen, and at the head of the royal forces marched to Hoomayoonpoor, where the Prince was defeated, and fled to Purenda; but the King being much weakened by the march, died on the following day, on his return to his capital, on the 18th of Shaban, A.H. 1003 (May 15, A.D. 1594) after a reign of four months and sixteen days. Mowlana Zuhoory dedicated his Saky Nama to that prince, containing nearly four thousand verses.

IBRAHIM NIZAM SHAH

AFTER the death of his father, Ibrahim Nizam Shah succeeded to the throne, and in conformity with his dying request, he appointed his father's tutor, Meean Munjoo Deccany, to be his prime minister. Upon his accession, Yekhlas Khan (though he had during the late reign opposed his sovereign in the field) now made overtures to obtain pardon; and the King and his new

117. The term signifies a foreigner born in India. This race was usually born of Indian mothers.

minister, taking into consideration the daring and ambitious character of Yekhlas Khan, thought it politic to grant it. He no sooner arrived at Ahmudnuggur then he began to collect a number of Abyssinians and Movullids about his person: which being observed by the minister, he began also to collect adherents, so that in fact, in a few days, it was evident that two parties existed, each of whom insisted on pre-eminence. The consequence was, that the affairs of state were thrown into confusion, and civil war appeared inevitable. In every meeting it was discussed, whether it were not advisable to march against the King of Beejapoor; and both parties behaved insolently towards Meer Sufvy, the ambassador of Ibrahim Adil Shah II, who had arrived to condole and congratulate as is usual in lineal successions to the throne; a conduct the more unjustifiable, when we know he was a syud of indisputable descent. Ibrahim Adil Shah no sooner heard of these proceedings than he declared war, and marched to Shahdoorg for the purpose of supporting Ibrahim Nizam Shah, who had now entirely lost his authority. Yekhlas Khan made preparations to oppose the Beejapoories; while the minister, Meean Munjoo, making overtures to him, proposed that a peace should be concluded with Ibrahim Adil Shah, in order that the whole of the forces of the Deccan might co-operate against the intended invasion of Akbur Padshah. Yekhlas Khan, however, was not to be diverted from his purpose, and determined to risk every thing by fighting an action with Ibrahim Adil Shah. Meean Munjo said nothing, while Ibrahim Nizam Shah assented to the measure. When the Nizam Shahy troops reached the frontier they found that Ibrahim Adil Shah had yet made no attack on the Nizam Shahy territory, and Meean Munjoo again ventured to recommend that overtures for peace should first be made; but Ibrahim Nizam Shah, having engaged in a fit of debauchery, thought of nothing less than retreating; and accordingly, having passed the frontier, he levied contributions on the Beejapoor villages. Humeed Khan, the Adil Shahy general in advance, marched to oppose him; and Meean Munjoo, who saw matters approaching to a crisis, sent some confidential persons to Humeed Khan, apologising for the King's conduct; saying, that he was but a boy; that he had given himself up to drinking, and was in the hands of designing and wicked people; that the present also was the month of Zeehuj: that it was unlawful to fight in these days; and he therefore re-

quested that he would defer attacking Ibrahim Nizam Shah for a short time, before the expiration of which, he hoped to bring the King's mind to consent to peace. Meean Munjoo having pledged himself to refrain from attack, Humeed Khan avoided the Nizam Shahies, and encamped at the distance of two miles from them; but Ibrahim Nizam Shah concluding that this manœuvre proceeded from the weakness of Humeed Khan's force, resolved to attack him on the following day; and although Meean Munjoo and several officers sat up the whole night to endeavour to restrain his folly, he persisted in drinking, and on the next day attacked Humeed Khan. The two armies consisted of nearly fifty thousand cavalry besides infantry: a severe action ensued, but a most extraordinary occurrence took place. The right wing of the Nizam Shahies broke the left of the Adil Shahies, while those on the right wing compelled the enemy's left to give way, pursuing them to the distance of six miles from the field of action. Ibrahim Nizam Shah, who was with the right wing, concluded he had gained a victory, while Soheil Khan, who commanded the Adil Shahy right wing, still kept his ground during the night, which closed the action. On the morning, the opponents were mutually astonished each to find his enemy still on the ground; and Ibrahim Nizam Shah adding some strong doses of liquor to the former night's debauch, ordered his troops under arms, many of whom were absent in pursuit of the fugitives of the Adil Shahy left wing, while others were employed in plunder. Soheil Khan, the second in command in camp, now took the command of the Adil Shahies, and sustained the onset of the Nizam Shahies, headed in person by their King, who, receiving a shot in the head, was killed, and his troops fled to Ahmudnuggur with his body. Meean Munjoo also accompanied them; and upon his arrival at the capital, sent for Ahmud, a boy of twelve years of age, from Dowlutabad, where he had been confined, under the pretence that he was one of the royal family; at the same time the late King's son Bahadur, then a child in arms, was sent away to be kept in the fort of Chawund. Thus fell Ibrahim Nizam Shah, after a short reign of four months.

AHMUD, THE SON OF SHAH TAHIR

As Yekhlas Khan and his adherents, with the other chiefs, had by their folly and imprudence ruined the thoughtless young man,

Ibrahim Nizam Shah, Meean Munjoo, arriving at Ahmudnuggur, took possession of the treasury and fortress. Upon the arrival of Yekhlas Khan and the other officers, Meean Munjoo sent for them into the fort, to consider the most advisable plan for conducting the government. Most of the Abyssinians espoused the cause of Chand Beeby, aunt to the late king, and proposed that the King's only son Bahadur, an infant in arms, should be proclaimed under her regency. Meean Munjo, deprecating this plan, it was agreed that Ahmud, said to be descended from the Nizam Shahies, then at Dowlutabad, should be placed on the throne; and accordingly a formal deputation was sent there with great pomp, to bring Ahmud the son of Shah Tahir, who was crowned on the 10th of Zeehuj, A.H. 1003 (August 6, A.D. 1594), and the Khootba read in the name of the twelve Imams. The chiefs divided almost the whole of the kingdom into estates for themselves; and having removed Bahadur, the late king's orphan son, from the charge of his aunt, sent him by force to the fortress of Chawund. Shortly afterwards it was discovered that Ahmed Shah was not of the Nizam Shahy family and that his pretensions to the crown were unfounded. On which Yekhlas Khan, and the other Abyssinians, repented of their consenting to his accession. The following is the true account of this youth's pedigree.

When Boorhan Nizam Shah the First, son of Ahmud Nizam Shah, died, and was succeeded by his son (Hoossein Nizam Shah), his five brothers,

1. Mahomed Khoodabunda,
2. Shah Ally,
3. Mahomed Bakur,
4. Abdool Kadur,
5. Shah Heidur,

concluding that they should fall victims to the jealousy of their brother on the throne, fled from the kingdom. In the latter end of the reign of Moortuza Nizam Shah, a person calling himself Shah Tahir, arrived at Dowlutabad, giving out that Mahomed Khoodabunda died on a certain day in Bengal, and that he (Shah Tahir) was his own begotten son, and that being reduced to distress, he had come into the Deccan. The nobles of Moortuza Nizam Shah, desirous of ascertaining the fact, represented the circumstance to the King, and particularly to the famous Sulabut Khan. The facts were not then satisfactorily cleared up,

owing to the distance of Bengal, and with reference to the period which had elapsed; but as Shah Tahir claimed royal descent, and might one day set up pretensions to the throne, he was confined in a fortress. Some time afterwads persons of respectability, acquainted with the late Prince Khoodabunda, were sent to Agra to Boorhan Nizam Shah, afterwads King of Ahmudnuggur, but then at Akbur Padshah's court, in order to ascertain the fact. That prince refuted Shah Tahir's story by stating that his uncle, the Prince Khoodabunda, died in his (Boorhan Nizam's) house; that his family, male and female, who were still alive, were at present with him at Agra; and if any person had stated himself to be the son of the Prince Khoodabunda, the assertion was false, and the individual an impostor. The minister Sulabut Khan, however, said, that as this person had declared himself to be the son of Prince Khoodabunda, it would be difficult to persuade the people of the fraud; and it would always give him a plea on which to found pretensions to the crown; it therefore appeared advisable that he should be confined in some fort for life. Shah Tahir was accodingly imprisoned, and died some years afterwards, leaving a son whose name was Ahmud, and whose claim to affinity to the blood royal was supported by Meean Munjoo, who proposed his elevation, as we have seen. Yekhlas Khan, with the Movullids and Abyssinians, when they discovered the truth, deserted his cause; and Meean Munjoo, with the Deccanies, encamped in a large body on the plain of the Kala Chubootra, near the fort of Ahmudnuggur. Meean Munjoo despatched his son Meean Hussun, with seven hundred horse, to disperse the mob under Yekhlas Khan; and himself, accompanied by Ahmud, went upon a cavalier, from whence they could see the result. The two parties engaged, and the struggle was long doubtful, till a shot from insurgents striking the King's canopy occasioned great confusion in the fort. The people exclaimed that he was killed, which being reiterated from the walls, soon sperad through the engaging armies. Meean Hussun immediately took to flight, and threw himself into the fort; while Yekhlas Khan's party, gaining confidence, advanced, and laid siege to the place, both by a close blockade and regular approaches; at the same time he sent a message to the governor of Dowlutabad to release Nehung Khan, the Abyssinian, and Hubbush Khan Movullid, who had been in close confinement ever since the reign of Boor-

han Nizam Shah II. This order was immediately complied with; not so the order which he sent to Chawund for the delivery of the Prince Bahadur into his hands, with which the governor refused to comply, without the express command of Meean Munjoo. Yekhlas Khan, in the mean time, procuring a child of the same age in the bazar of Ahmudnuggur, proclaimed him as the descendant and lawful heir of the late Ibrahim Nizam Shah, and by this means collected between ten and twelve thousand cavalry. Meean Munjoo, alarmed at the progress which Yekhlas Khan and the Abyssinians made, wrote in a fit of desperation a letter to the Prince Moorad Mirza, the son of Akbur Padshah, then in Guzerat, to march to his assistance, promising to give up the revenues of the Ahmudnuggur state to him. Moorad Mirza, who was deputed for the eventual purpose of taking advantage of the first opportunity to invade the Deccan, availed himself of the invitation; but before the letter could even have reached him, the Abyssinian chiefs fell out about the distribution of places, and a mutiny took place in Yekhlas Khan's camp. At this period a large body of Deccanies deserted him, and joined Meean Munjoo in the fort, who now acquired such confidence from their description of Yekhlas Khan's affairs, that he marched out on the following day, being Saturday, the 25th of Mohurrum, A.H. 1004 (September 18, A.D. 1595), to the neighbourhood of the Eedgah, where he attacked and completely routed the Abyssinians. Among the prisoners was the bazar boy, who had been created king. Some time after this affair, the Prince Moorad Mirza, at the head of thirty thousand Mogul and Rajpoot horse, accompanied by Raja Ally Khan, ruler of Kandeish, and Khan Khanan, one of Akbur's generals, arrived at the fort of Ahmudnuggur. Meean Munjoo, who during the interval had gained an advantage over the Abyssinians, and was in a fair way of settling matters according to his own wishes, repented of having made overtures to the Prince Moorad. He accordingly prepared to resist any attempt on the capital, and having supplied it with provisions for a long siege, and leaving Ansar Khan, one of his adherents, to defend the place, and Chand Beeby as regent of the kingdom, he took the route of Owsa, to implore the assistance of the Adil Shahy and Kootb Shahy sovereigns, and conveyed along with him the young king, Ahmud Shah. From the moment that Meean Munjoo and Ahmud Shah left the fort, Chand Beeby directed all the opera-

tions of the siege; and in the course of a few days she procured the assassination of Ansar Khan, and proclaimed Bahadur Shah King of Ahmudnuggur, taking the whole management of affairs into her own hands, assisted by Mahomed Khan. She also induced Shumsheer Khan Abyssinian, and Afzul Khan Borishy, with many of their adherents, to join her in the fort.

On the 23d of Rubee-oos-Sany of the same year A.H. 1004 (December 14, A.D. 1595), the Prince Moorad Mirza appeared on the northern face of Ahmudnuggur; and upon his arrival at the Eedgah, a few shot passed between his line and the fort. The Mogul army encamped in the Husht-i-Behisht gardens, formed by Boorhan Nizam Shah I. The Prince Moorad immediately sent off a strong guard to protect the inhabitants of Boorhanabad, (founded by Boorhan Nizam Shah II.) with directions to treat them with lenity; and the troops were also ordered to proclaim protection to all the natives, so that they relied entirely on the good disposition of the Moguls towards them. On the second day the Prince in person went out, and with the advice of his engineers, marked out the ground for the trenches against the fort, and allotted to each division of the army its separate post round the garrison. On the 27th of the same month A.H. 1004 (December 17, A.D. 1595), Shahbaz Khan, one of the Mogul generals, (who was notorious for his tyranny over his troops, and cruelty to all classes of inhabitants,) mounted, and, under pretence of hunting, sallied forth towards Boorhanabad, and there, in spite of the Prince's orders, encouraged his men to plunder, himself setting the example : the consequence was, that in the course of an hour the towns of Ahmudnuggur and Boorhanabad were completely sacked. The Prince no sooner heard of this transaction than he ordered several of those actually taken with plunder to be hanged in front of the lines; but the inhabitants, no longer relying on the faith of the Prince's promises, deserted both towns during that night.

At this period it must be observed, that besides the government in the fort the Nizam Shahies were divided into three other parties.

First, Meean Munjoo and his minion Ahmud Shah, who were encamped on the Adil Shahy borders soliciting the assistance of Ibrahim Adil Shah.

Secondly, Yekhlas Khan, in the vicinity of Dowlutabad, who had procured another child, called Moty, in that neigh-

bourhood, declaring him to be the rightful heir to the crown.

Thirdly, Nehung Khan, the Abyssinian, who went to the Beejapoor territories, and induced Shah Ally,[118] the son of Boorhan Nizam Shah I., then upwards of seventy years of age, to emerge from his retirement at Beejapoor, and consent to assume the royal canopy.

Yekhlas Khan, with a force of twelve thousand men, was on his march to the capital when Dowlut Khan Lody, with a body of six thousand Mogul cavalry, being directed to attack him, gave him a total defeat on the banks of the Godavery; and from thence, following up his success, arrived at Peitun, at that period a flourishing town, and sacking it, he scarcely left the inhabitants sufficient to cover themselves.

Chand Beeby, although she had proclaimed Bahadur Nizam Shah, yet, as he was still in confinement at Chawund, and Meeran Munjoo with the present king also in force on the Beejapoor frontier, thought it advisable to make overtures to Nehung Khan and Shah Ally to join her in the fort. Nehung Khan, accordingly, put his troops in motion, consisting of seven thousand men, and arrived within twelve miles of Ahmudnuggur, from whence he sent a messenger to ascertain the position of the Moguls, and the possibility of throwing himself into the place. Being informed that the east face of the fort was not invested, and that it was the only road by which he could make good his entry, Nehung Khan marched during the night, taking the precaution of having flankers and scouts all round him. On his arrival within about three miles of the place, he discovered that part of the Mogul camp was on the direct road pointed out for his entry. This division had been sent during that very day from the Husht-i-Behisht, and consisted of a piquet of three thousand men under Khan Khanan, in consequence of the oversight in not investing that part of the fort having been observed on the former morning by the Prince when visiting the different posts. Nehung Khan, however, resolved to force his way; and coming upon the party unexpectedly, cut off a number of the Moguls, and upon the post being reinforced, he dashed on with a few followers into the fort. Shah Ally, unable to make his way good, attempted to retreat; but his followers, to

118. Vide genealogy.

the number of seven hundred, were cut off by the Moguls under Dowlut Khan Lody.

Ibrahim Adil Shah of Beejapoor no sooner heard of this defeat, and of the great power of the Moguls, than he despatched Soheil Khan, an eunuch, with twenty-five thousand horse to Shahdoorg, on his frontier, there to await further orders. Here he was immediately joined by Meean Munjoo and Ahmud Shah, as well as by Yekhlas Khan, who had for the present laid aside every private consideration, in the hope, by forming a union, of saving the government. This army was soon after joined by Mehdy Koolly Sooltan Toorkoman with six thousand Kootb Shahy horse, sent express from Hydurabad.

When the Prince Moorad Mirza heard of the assemblage of this force at Shahdoorg (he and his commander-in-chief having lately disagreed on some subjects), he assembled a council of war, when it was resolved that the fort should be attacked as soon as possible, before the allies could relieve it. In a few days five mines were accordingly carried under the bastions, on one face of the fort : they were all charged with gunpowder, and built up with mortar and stones, excepting where the train was to be laid, by Tuesday night the 1st of Rujub A.H. 1004 (Feb. 20, A.D. 1596), and it was resolved on the following morning to explode them.

During the night, Khwaja Mahomed Khan Shirazy, admiring the resolution of the besieged, and unwilling they should be sacrificed, made good his way to the walls, and informed them of their danger. The garrison immediately commenced countermining, at the instance of Chand Beeby, who herself showed the example; and by daylight they had destroyed two mines, and were searching for the others, when the Prince Moorad Mirza, without communicating with Khan Khanan, ordered out the line, and resolved to storm without him. The besieged were in the act of removing the powder from the third mine which was the largest, when the Prince ordered them to be sprung. Many of the counterminers were killed, and several yards of the wall fell. Immediately as the breach was made, many of the principal officers of the besieged prepared for flight. Chand Beeby, on the contrary, put on armour, and with a veil on her face, and a naked sword in her hand, flew to defend the breach. This instance of intrepidity brought back the fugitives, who now one and all joined her; and as the Prince and the Mogul storm-

ing party were waiting for the springing of the other mines, time was afforded to the besieged to throw rockets, powder, and other combustibles into the ditch, and to bring guns to bear upon the breach.

The Moguls at length advanced to storm. An obstinate defence took place at the foot of the breach, where the assailants suffered severely from the heavy fire of the besieged. The ditch was nearly filled with dead carcasses; and although several storming parties succeeded each other from four o'clock in the evening till night-fall, they were successfully repulsed. The feats of the valiant heroine, Chand Beeby, who had been seen by all defending the breach, became the subject of universal admiration and conversation in the enemy's lines. From that day the Regent, who had been always called Chand Beeby, now acquired the title of Chand Sooltana.[119] During the whole night she superintended in person the repairs of the breach, and by dawn of day it was built up to the height of seven or eight feet. On the following day she despatched letters to the allied armies, then at Beer, to hasten their approach, representing the distress of the garrison for supplies. These despatches fell into the enemy's hands, who forwarded them to their destination, with a letter from the Prince Moorad, inviting them to hasten, as he was most anxious to meet them. "The sooner," said he, "the better."

The allies, on receiving these letters, marched by the Manickdown hills to Ahmudnuggur. By this time the Mogul camp, already much distressed for provisions, became more so from the approach of the allies, who continued to circumscribe the resources of the besiegers. The Prince Moorad, therefore, thought it advisable to make overtures to the fort, and agreed to quit the country, on condition of receiving a grant for the cession of Berar, the sovereignty of which was required to be formally renounced by Ahmudnuggur. Chand Sooltana at first refused these terms; but upon reflecting that if the allies were defeated, she might not obtain even such conditions, she signed the treaty in the name of Bahadur Shah; and the Moguls retreated by the route of Dowlutabad, and the Jeipoor Kotly Ghat.

119. Chand Beeby, the Lady Chand; Chand Sooltana, the Queen Chand.

The allies arrived three days after the raising of the siege by the Moguls,—and Meean Munjoo expected allegiance to be paid to Ahmud Shah. To this, however, the nobles in the fort would by no means consent; and Nehung Khan, shutting the gate of the fort against him, sent a force to bring Bahadur Shah from his confinement in the fort of Chawund. Chand Sooltana now requested the assistance of her nephew, the King of Beejapoor, to quell the internal commotions of the Ahmudnuggur state, when Ibrahim Adil Shah deputed Moostufa Khan with a body of four thousand horse to her aid. At the same time he addressed a letter to Meean Munjoo, requiring him to desist from pressing the claims of Ahmud Shah, and to repair to Beejapoor, when all things should be taken into consideration. Meean Munjoo accordingly proceeded with Soheil Khan and Moostufa Khan to that capital. Upon his arrival at Beejapoor, Ibrahim Adil Shah having satisfactorily ascertained that Ahmud was not a lineal descendant of the Nizam Shahy family gave him a handsome estate for life, and enrolled Meean Munjoo among the nobles of his own kingdom.

BAHADUR NIZAM SHAH

THE Queen Chand having succeeded in obtaining the person of Bahadur Nizam Shah from his imprisonment in Chawund, he was publickly proclaimed King of Ahmudnuggur, when she appointed her friend and adviser, Mahomed Khan, to the office of peshwa; but he in a short time (as is the way of the world) after establishing his authority promoted his own adherents and relatives to the chief offices of the empire. It was unlikely, however, that those persons who had distinguished themselves in the war should now tamely submit to degradation; he thought it politic, therefore, to seize and confine Nehung Khan and Shumsheer Khan, Abyssinians. On which the rest of the chiefs, apprehensive of a similar fate, fled the kingdom.

The Dehly troops had occupied Berar, and were still in that quarter. Mahomed Khan's influence and power at the capital was unrestrained; and Queen Chand saw, at this period, the approaching dissolution of her authority. She accordingly wrote a letter to her nephew, Ibrahim Adil Shah, begging his interference, and requesting that a considerable force might be sent

to re-organise the government, now usurped by Mahomed Khan. Soheil Khan was despatched for this purpose with an army to Ahmudnuggur, with instructions to regulate his conduct agreeably to the wishes of Queen Chand.

In the beginning of the year A.H. 1005 (A.D. 1596), Soheil Khan arrived; and as Mahomed Khan opposed his entry, he invested the fort, the blockade of which continued for four months. Mahomed Khan, finding a strong party against him, addressed letters to Khan Khanan, the commander-in-chief of the Mogul force then in Berar, to join him, promising to hold the country of the Emperor of Delhy. The garrison, when they heard of this desperate measure, seized Mahomed Khan, and delivered him over to the Queen. This step at once restored her authority : on which she instantly released Nehung Khan Abyssinian, and appointed him peshwa; and having presented Soheil Khan with an honorary robe, and some presents, permitted him to return to Beejapoor. On the road to that city, at the village of Rajapoor, on the banks of the Beema, he heard that the Moguls had not only occupied the kingdom of Berar, but had laid violent hands on the town of Patry, &c., which was not included in the Berar cessions. He accordingly halted, and wrote to Ibrahim Adil Shah informing him of the circumstance, and Queen Chand also sent advices to the same effect from Ahmudnuggur to the Beejapoor and Hydurabad sovereigns. Soheil Khan now received orders to march against the invaders; and Mahomed Koolly Sooltan, with a force from Golconda, was directed to co-operate with Soheil Khan, who having been also joined by twenty thousand Nizam Shahy troops, sent from Ahmudnuggur, marched towards Berar with an army consisting of nearly sixty thousand horse, and encamped at the town of Sonput.

Khan Khanan, the Mogul general, who was at that period in cantonments at Jalna, called in all his detachments, and himself went to Shahpoor to receive instructions from the Prince Moorad. He was there joined by Raja Ally Khan of Kandeish, Raja Jugnat, and several other officers of distinction, and returning to Jalna, marched direct towards the Deccanies, and encamped on the banks of the Godavery, where, taking up a position close to the enemy, he intrenched his camp. During fifteen days no action beyond partial skirmishes took place bet-

ween the cavalry. The object of the Mogul in this was to know something of the Deccanies as soldiers; but on the fifteenth day he formed his line to attack them, being the 18th of Jumad-oos-Sany, A.H. 1005 (January 26, A.D. 1597). It was about nine o'clock in the morning when the battle commenced, though no close engagement took place till about three in the afternoon, at which time the action became general; and Raja Ally Khan of Kandeish and Raja Jugnat were both killed by the Beejapoor artillery. The Nizam Shahy and Kootb Shahy troops, unable to withstand the brunt of the Mogul cavalry, fell back before sunset; Soheil Khan, however, still gallantly maintained his position singly; and the Adil Shahy cavalry breaking through the Moguls, drove them before them as far as Shahpoor; where the Prince Moorad was on the eve of evacuating his camp, till he heard that Khan Khanan still maintained his ground. The Deccanies, looking upon this as a victory, imprudently began plundering during the night, notwithstanding the exertions of Soheil Khan to prevent it, and taking their spoils with them, retreated to their capitals.

Some hours of the night elapsed before Khan Khanan and Soheil Khan discovered that they were within musket-shot of each other, upon which they both made exertions to collect their scattered troops. The dawn discovered to each his enemy ready mounted for the attack. Khan Khanan proposed overtures of peace; but Soheil Khan, refusing any accommodation, immediately opened his guns on the Moguls. A severer action than that of the preceding day now ensued; when the Adil Shahies being at length defeated, Soheil Khan was compelled, with a few retainers, to make good his retreat to Shahdoorg; while the Nizam Shahies and Kootb Shahies, who had fled on the former day, continued their route, the former to Ahmudnuggur, and the latter to Hydurabad. After this victory Khan Khanan despatched the greater part of his army to reduce the forts of Nurnala and Gavul in Berar, while he himself remained encamped at Jalna.[120]

The Prince Moorad (at the instigation of his tutor Sadik Mahomed Khan, an officer of five thousand horse), recommended that the late victory should be followed up, and that the Mogul troops should march immediately for the reduction of Ahmud-

120. The ruins of Khan Khanan's encampment are still to be traced near the lake on the south side of the town of Jalna.

nuggur and the occupation of that country. Khan Khanan replied, that there were still many strong forts in Berar to be taken, and it appeared advisable to wait till the following year for the invasion of the Nizam Shahy territories. The Prince, offended at this difference of opinion, wrote complaints to his father Akbur Padshah at Dehly, which he procured to be supported by other private letters from his camp at Shahpoor, till at length his Majesty recalled Khan Khanan, and deputed Sheikh Abool Fuzl[121] to the situation of commander-in-chief of the army of the Deccan (A.H. 1006, A.D. 1597).

Meanwhile Nehung Khan, the peshwa of Ahmudnuggur, having obtained unlimited power, concerted a scheme to seize Queen Chand, and to take upon himself the management of the orphan King and the government. The Queen, gaining intimation of his intentions, shut the gates against him; and securing the person of the King, refused the former admittance, saying that he might transact the public business in the town, but not in the fort as hitherto. Nehung Khan for some days submitted quietly; but at length, throwing off the mask, attacked the fort. Several partial skirmishes between the royalists and the rebels took place; and although Ibrahim Adil Shah made overtures to effect a reconciliation, they were invariably rejected by both parties; each of whom would only be satisfied by the unqualified submission of his enemy. Nehung Khan, who had gradually acquired strength from his local position, now took advantage of the absence of Khan Khanan from the Deccan, and also of the rainy season, when the Godavery was full, and not fordable, to send a detachment, and retake the town of Beer from the Moguls. Sheer Khwaja, the governor of Beer, marched twelve miles to oppose the Nizam Shahies, but being wounded, and his party defeated, he with great difficulty reached Beer, when the Nizam Shahies invested the place. Sheer Khwaja wrote petitions to the Emperor at Dehly, complaining that no reinforcements were sent to him, and representing his situation. Akbur was on the point of sending Khan Khanan again to the Deccan, and recalling Abool Fuzl, when information was received of the death of the Prince Moorad, at Shahpoor, an event brought on by extreme dissipa-

121. Celebrated as the author of the Akbur Nama and the Ayeen Akburry, and for his letters, which are considered, in India, models of public correspondence.

tion. His Majesty accordingly deputed his youngest son, the Prince Daniel Mirza, to the government of the Deccan, attended by Khan Khanan as commander-in-chief. They had scarcely reached the frontier when his Imperial Majesty, at the earnest entreaties of Sheikh Abool Fuzl, marched in person to the south, in the beginning of the year A.H. 1008 (A.D. 1599). Upon his arrival at Boorhanpoor, having enquired into the Deccan politics, and finding that the Nizam Shahy government was still distracted by the factions of Queen Chand and Nehung Khan, Akbur laid siege to the fort of Aseer, and detached the Prince Daniel Mirza and Khan Khanan against Ahmudnuggur. Nehung Khan Abyssinian immediately raised the siege, and marched with fifteen thousand horse and foot to occupy the Jeipoor Kotly G'hat, and there to oppose the Moguls; but having intimation of this movement, the Prince marched round by the village of Manoory, and avoided the pass. Nehung Khan, finding himself out-manœuvred, and unable to withstand the Mogul forces, set fire to his heavy baggage, and retreated to Ahmudnuggur, where he wished to compromise matters with the Queen, who refusing to listen to him, he fled to Joonere. The Mogul forces reached the fort without opposition, and having laid siege to it as before, commenced mining. At this period the unfortunate, though heroic, Queen Chand, placing no reliance on the persons about her, applied to Humeed Khan an eunuch, and an officer of rank in the fort, for advice. He recommended that they should fight, and defend the place against the Moguls, while the Queen declared, that after the conduct of the several officers whom she had seen within the last few years she could place no reliance on them, and for her own part she considered it most advisable to negotiate for the evacuation of the fort, on condition of obtaining security for the lives of the garrison and private property, and then to retire to Joonere with the young King. Humeed Khan ran out into the streets, declaring that Chand Sooltana was in treaty with the Moguls for the delivery of the fort; and the short-sighted and ungrateful Deccanies, headed by Humeed Khan, rushed into her private apartments, and put her to death. In the course of a few days the mines were sprung with effect, and several breaches made. The Moguls stormed and carried the place, giving little or no quarter. Bahadur Shah with all the children of both sexes of the royal family were taken prisoners; and the

unfortunate King, with the regalia and jewels, were sent to Akbur Padshah at Boorhanpoor. The fort of Aseer falling also at the same time, his Imperial Majesty made over Kandeish and the Deccan conquests to the Prince Daniel, and returned to his capital of Akburabad Agra; notwithstanding which, the Nizam Shahy officers having declared Moortuza, the son of Shah Ally, King, for some time made Purenda the capital.

Bahadur Nizam Shah's reign lasted for three years; and that unfortunate prince is, at the present day, confined in the fortress of Gualiar.

MOORTUZA NIZAM SHAH II.

AFTER the return of Akbur Padshah, two persons of the late Nizam Shahy government distinguished themselves by their enterprise and conduct. The one, Mullik Ambur an Abyssinian, and the other, Meean Rajoo Deccany,[122] who have, in spite of the Mogul forces, down to the present period, retained almost the whole of the Nizam Shahy dominions.

The former, Mullik Ambur, possesses the country from the Kootb Shahy and Adil Shahy boundaries, as far north as within one coss of Beer, and four of Ahmudnuggur, and from eight coss west of Dowlutabad to within the same distance of the port of Choul.

The latter, Meean Rajoo, possesses Dowlutabad as far north and south as from the Guzerat frontier to within six coss of Ahmudnuggur both officers profess the semblance of allegiance to Moortuza Nizam Shah II. In the first instance they gave up the fort of Owsa for the King's residence, and the revenues of a few of the surrounding villages for his subsistence. But as these partisans were extremely envious of each other, frequent disputes arose between them; and Khan Khanan, the Mogul governor of the fort of Ahmudnuggur, having intimation of their mutual jealousy, directed a party from Berar to march and occupy a small district belonging to Mullik Ambur, on the Tulingana boundaries. Upon intimation of which that chief proceeded to

122. The author of the Marratta History, vol. i. p. 93., assumes this person was a Hindoo and not a Mahomedan; on what authority I know not.

its relief with a detachment of between six and seven thousand horse, and succeded in defeating the Moguls and recovering the district. Khan Khanan immediately despatched his son, Mirza Eeritch, with a select force of five thousand horse to attack him, and wipe off the stain from the Mogul arms. Mirza Eeritch encountered Mullik Ambur at the town of Nandere, where a severe action took place, in which many soldiers were slain on both sides, and the Deccanies were eventually defeated. Mullik Ambur, who lay wounded on the field, was only saved by the devoted gallantry of his attendants from falling a prisoner into the enemy's hands; an object they effected after losing a number of men. Mullik Ambur no sooner recovered from his wounds than he began to collect more troops; and Khan Khanan, well aware of his enterprising character and of his popularity in the country, feared the Moguls might be eventually overpowered by numbers under so active a leader, and for these reasons made overtures for peace : while Mullik Ambur, on the other hand aware of the enmity of Meean Rajoo, and not without suspicions even of his having urged the late attack, gladly accepted the offer, and a treaty was concluded which marked out their respective future boundaries. From that period to the present day Mullik Ambur and Khan Khanan continue on the most friendly terms.

At this period, Venkut Row Coly, Furhad Khan Movullid, and Mullik Sundul, an eunuch, with other officers, deserted Mullik Ambur, and joined Moortuza Nizam Shah II. at Owsa, where they collected a force. Mullik Ambur, marching against this faction, dispersed it under the very walls of the place. In this action Venkut Row was taken prisoner; but the other chiefs, flying with the King into the fort, made terms on the following day. As Mullik Ambur had long wished to obtain possession of Purenda, he took the King with him to that fortress; the governor of which, Mittun Khan, an Abyssinian, who had been nearly twenty years in the situation, intimated to the King that he was willing to receive and admit him as his liege lord; but that Mullik Ambur, having made peace with the Mogul general, had in fact become one of that party, and he therefore refused to receive him within the walls. Mullik Ambur replied, that it was true he had been compelled, on account of the late conspiracy against him, to be on friendly terms with Khan Khanan, but that he was a true and loyal servant of the Nizam Shahy family, and

was ready to support it with his last breath. The governor was not moved by these arguments and Mullik Ambur, to prevent the King uniting with Mittun Khan, kept him for the present a state-prisoner. The moment that Furhad Khan and Mullik Sundul heard of the King's confinement, they flew to Purenda, and threw themselves into the fort, which was defended for upwards of a month against Mullik Ambur; but the governor's son having committed some cruelty on the inhabitants of the place, they rebelled and slew him, and his father was himself compelled to fly, accompanied by Furhad Khan and Mullik Sundul, to Beejapoor, where they entered into the service of the Adil Shahy monarch. The garrison of Purenda held out for some time longer, till at length Mullik Ambur having removed all restraint from Moortuza Nizam Shah II., he was permitted to introduce the King into it, while himself remained encamped without.

In the year A.H. 1013 (A.D. 1604), the Prince Daniel marched from Boorhanpoor towards Ahmudnuggur, by the route of Dowlutabad and Nassuk, in order to receive the hand of the daughter of Ibrahim Adil Shah in marriage; and expected that Meean Rajoo would pay him the compliment to meet, and acknowledge his authority in the Deccan, as Mullik Ambur had done. Meean Rajoo was invited to camp for the purpose; but having no faith in the Prince's promises refused his attendance; and although he was not able to oppose him in the field he so harassed Daniel's army with eight thousand light cavalry that he was obliged to send to Khan Khanan for reinforcements from Jalna, who himself made a forced march with five thousand cavalry, and joined him, which obliged Meean Rajoo to withdraw. On the Prince's return from Ahmudnuggur, with his bride, he encamped at the town of Peitun, on the banks of the Godavery, and remained there some days, in order to celebrate his marriage; after which he proceeded to Boorhanpoor, and Khan Khanan returned to his cantonment at Jalna.

Moortuza Nizam Shah II., in the mean time, sent persons to Meean Rajoo, complaining of the treatment he experienced from Mullik Ambur. That active partisan reached Purenda without opposition, had a conference with, the King, and promised to reduce his rival, who, when he heard of his approach, marched to oppose him. The two forces encamped near the fort walls of Purenda, and during a month several skirmishes took place,

which generally terminated in favour of Meean Rajoo, while Mullik Ambur despatched letters to Khan Khanan, begging of him to send him assistance from Jalna.

The Mogul general despatched orders to Mirza Hossein Ally Beg, commander and governor of the district of Beer, to proceed immediately with three thousand cavalry to the support of Mullik Ambur; and upon the arrival of this detachment it attacked and defeated Meean Rajoo, who fled to Dowlutabad.

At this period the death of the Prince Daniel and the absence of Khan Khanan from Jalna, who proceeded to Boorhanpoor as his successor, gave Mullik Ambur an opportunity of aggrandisement. He accordingly collected his troops, and marched against Meean Rajoo to Dowlutabad, where he was again defeated, after which he sent petitions to Khan Khanan for aid; but that officer, seeing the state of affairs at Dowlutabad, marched thither, and for a period of six months prevented the rival chiefs from attacking each other. Mullik Ambur, now perceiving that Khan Khanan was rather well disposed towards his rival, deemed it politic to yield to his wishes and make peace, after which Mullik Ambur returned to Purenda, and Khan Khanan to Jalna; but as Mullik Ambur saw that Moortuza Nizam Shah II. was constantly intriguing, and raising factions against him, he thought it advisable to depose him, and find some less troublesome pageant to fill the throne.

Ibrahim Adil Shah of Beejapoor was consulted on this subject, but refused to countenance the measure, and Mullik Ambur abandoned his intention.

In the year A.H. 1016 (A.D. 1607) he made that monarch's situation easier, and began to treat him with more respect : the consequence was, that a mutual confidence grew up between them; and in the same year Moortuza Nizam Shah II., accompanied by his general, Mullik Ambur, marched at the head of ten thousand cavalary from Purenda against Joonere, which that monarch now again made the seat of the Nizam Shahy government, whence he despatched an army to Dowlutabad against Meean Rajoo. That chief after a short time, was defeated and taken prisoner, and his country again reverted to the Nizam Shahy authority. Mullik Ambur[123] continues to add daily to

123. The justice and wisdom of the government of Mullik Ambur have become proverbial in the Deccan. He appears to have been the

his influence and power; and at the present day, Moortuza Nizam Shah II., the son of Shah Ally, fills the throne of the Nizam Shahy dynasty. The affairs of the state are conducted by his minister, though it appears that this kingdom is on the very verge of destruction, as the Emperor of Dehly seems to be only waiting for a favourable opportunity to conquer and annex it to that of his own.—The ways of God are known only to himself.

most enlightened financier of whom we read in the Indian history. He was the founder of that city to which Aurungzeeb afterwards gave the name of Aurungabad.

CHAPTER III.
(CONTINUED)

SECTION IV

HISTORY OF THE KINGS OF GOLCONDA, ENTITLED KOOTB SHAHY

SOOLTAN KOOLLY KOOTB SHAH

IN the reign of Ibrahim Kootb Shah, a person named Shah Khoorsha, an inhabitant of Persia, wrote a work containing a history of the origin of the Kootb Shahy family; but as I have been unable to obtain a copy of it, I am obliged to content myself with such details of the history of that dynasty as have been procurable.

Sooltan Koolly is said to be descended from the tribe of Baharloo Toorkmans, of the Ally Shukur persuasion. Some of his courtiers have asserted that he was grandson to Meerza Jehan Shah of Persia; but I have no good authority for supporting this opinion. It is related that he was born at Humadan, and that in the end of the reign of Mahomed Shah Bahmuny he arrived in the Deccan, in the prime of youth. As that monarch retained a large train of Toorks in his bodyguard, he was admitted as one of the number. Having received an excellent education, he was subsequently appointed to the situation of secretary in one of the public offices. Shortly after, complaints arriving at court that the inhabitants and petty land-holders of Tulingana refused to pay the revenues, and had rebelled, the King resolved to send an officer with a force into that country; but Sooltan Koolly volunteered to go without troops, and to bring matters to a favourable conclusion. He was accordingly appointed to the duty, and succeeded so completely, that in a short time he recovered many small districts which had been usurped by the Hindoos.

In the reign of Mahomed Shah Bahmuny, Sooltan Koolly was ennobled, and received the title of Kootb-ool-Moolk; and when Yosoof Adil Shah, Ahmud Nizam Shah, and Futteh Oolla Imad Shah, threw off their allegiance from the house of Bah-

muny, and the former ordered public prayers to be read in the name of the twelve Imams. Sooltan Koolly also, as general and commander-in-chief of the reigning family, caused the names of those saints to be introduced into the public worship; but he did not declare his independence till the year A.H. 918 (A.D. 1512), when the imbecility of Mahmood Shah Bahmuny's government was apparent to the whole world, and the ascendency of his ambitious minister completely established.

Contrary to the practice of India, he introduced the customs of Persia at his court; among which was that of beating the nobut, or imperial band, five times daily. He filled all the offices of his government with his own countrymen. After assuming the regal state, he used to send annually magnificent presents to Mahmood Shah Bahmuny of Bidur.

Sooltan Koolly Kootb Shah remained at peace and friendship with all the other kings of the Deccan, excepting on the occasion when Bahadur Shah of Guzerat invaded that country, at the instance of Futteh Oolla Imad Shah, and laid waste great part of the Nizam Shahy territories. At that time Sooltan Koolly Kootb Shah sent an envoy, and made friendly overtures to the foreign invader. But when Bahadur Shah returned to Guzerat, Ismael Adil Shah, instigated by Boorhan Nizam Shah, laid siege to the fort of Kulliany, in the year A.H. 940 (A.D. 1533). The King of Golconda, unable to cope with the Adil Shahy forces, only sent a detachment of cavalry to cut off their supplies. Fortunately, Ismael Adil Shah, being taken suddenly ill, died about this time; upon which Sooltan Koolly Kootb Shah sent an envoy to Boorhan Nizam Shah to mediate a peace, which was concluded.

Some years afterwards Jumsheed, the King's eldest son, who had long been wishing for his father's death, induced one of his slaves to undertake to assassinate him; and accordingly, when the King was one day examining some jewels, this slave drew his dagger and stabbed him to the heart. This event took place in the year A.H. 950 (A.D. 1543). The slave flew to relate the news to Jumsheed, who, fearing lest the cirumstance of his connivance might become known, struck the assassin dead on the spot.

Sooltan Koolly Kootb Shah reigned for a period of nearly thirty-three years, and left three sons, Jumsheed, Heidur, and Ibrahim.

JUMSHEED KOOTB SHAH

On the death of his father, Jumsheed Kootb Shah ascended the throne, and was congratulated on the occasion by the arrival of the holy Shah Tahir, prime minister and spiritual guide ot Boorhan Nizam Shah. Sometime after a war breaking out between the Adil Shahy and Nizam Shahy sovereigns, Jumsheed Kootb Shah collected his forces in support of the latter, and marched to Kakny, where he built a strong fort. Adil Shah, being fully engaged at that moment in opposing the united forces of Ramraj and Boorhan Nizam Shah, could not spare troops to oppose Kootb Shah, so that the latter monarch marched from Kakny to the fort of Etgeer, which he invested; but in the mean time, Ibrahim Adil Shah having concluded a peace with his other enemies, Assud Khan Lary was detached with a considerabl force to raise the siege of Etgeer. Jumsheed Kootb Shah now wrote to Boorhan Nizam Shah, stating, that he had only acted in concert with him and Ramraj, and upbraided him for making peace without consulting him or advising him of the transaction. Boorhan Nizam Shah said, that he had only done so as a temporary measure of policy; and recommended Jumsheed Kootb Shah to keep a good garrison in Kakny, promising that after the rains he would act in concert in attacking the Adil Shahy territory, and would occupy all the country east of the Beema. He proposed that Etgeer, Sagur, and Koolburga, should belong to Kootb Shah, and Nuldoorg and Sholapoor to Nizam Shah, Jumsheed Kootb Shah, aware of the intriguing character ot his ally, not only retained Kakny, but laid closer siege to Etgeer. The Beejapoor general, in the first instance, attacked and carried by storm the fort of Kakny, after a siege of three months, putting the whole garrison to the sword, and from thence proceeded by forced marches to Etgeer. On his approach, Jumsheed Kootb Shah raised the siege and retreated to his own territories, pursued by Assud Khan the Beejapoor general, who in several actions which took place was always victorious. In the last of these actions Assud Khan encountered the King of Golconda, and cut him down with a sabre, which struck off the tip of his nose, his cheek, and part of his upper lip. This wound not only disfigured him for the rest of his life, but rendered it difficult for

him either to eat or drink. Upon his return to his capital he sent ambassadors, who concluded a peace with the Beejapoor monarch, and afterwards employed himself in reducing much of the country of the Hindoos. During these wars he fell sick, and for two years was in a lingernig state of health. As his distemper increased, his disposition became morose, and he put many persons to death on the most trivial occasion. His cruelty now excited the terror of his subjects; and his two brothers fled to Bidur, where Heidur Khan, the eldest, shortly afterwarrds died, and his younger brother Ibrahim fled to Beejanuggur. In the mean time, Jumsheed Kootb Shah died, in the beginning of the year A.H. 957 (A.D. 1550), after a reign of nearly seven years.

IBRAHIM KOOTB SHAH

THE following account may serve to show to what lengths the practice of duelling was at this period carried in the Deccan. While Ibrahim Kootb Shah, during his brother's lifetime, was at Beejanuggur, Ramraj showed him every attention, and assigned for his support an estate which was at that time possessed by Ambur Khan the Abyssinian, an officer in Ramraj's pay. Ambur Khan, enraged at the alienation of his estate, and meeting Ibrahim Kootb Shah in the streets of Beejanuggur, accused him of depriving him of it. The latter replied that monarchs were at liberty to dispose of their own property, and that the King of Beejanuggur had chosen to give him the estate. Ibrahim Kootb Shah proceeded on his way; but the Abyssinian called him coward, in refusing to dispute his title with the sword. Ibrahim warned him of his imprudence; but the Prince's mildness only added fury to the Abyssinian's anger, who proceeded to abuse him in grosser language. On this the Prince dismounted and drew : the Abyssinian rushed upon him; but the Prince's temper giving him the advantage, he killed his antagonist, whose brother, standing by, insisted on taking up the cause, and he also fell a victim to his temerity. On the death of Jumsheed Kootb Shah, the ministers at court placed his son, an infant of two years old, on the throne. The Deccan nobles crowded into the palace, and were clamorous for situations, and became so riotous, that Moostufa Khan, the prime

minister, immediately wrote off to Ibrahim Kootb Shah to Beejanuggur, inviting him to court. On his arrival on the frontier he was met by Moostufa Khan, whom he honoured with the office of Meer Joomla and a dress of honour, and was shortly after joined by Sulabut Khan with three thousand foreign cavalry, besides many other officers who now deserted the Deccanies and the infant King. Before the arrival of Ibrahim Kootb Shah at the capital of Golconda upwards of six thousand horse had joined him, which ensured his accession to the throne; an event that took place on the following day, without opposition, in consequence of the extreme popularity of his minister, Moostufa Khan, to whom he shortly afterwards gave his sister in marriage.

In the year A.H. 965 (A.D. 1558), Ibrahim Kootb Shah, in concert with Hoossein Nizam Shah, marched against the Beejapoor territories, when it was agreed the latter should take Koolburga, and the former Etgeer. The allies accordingly proceeded, in the first place, to Koolburga; but when Ibrahim Kootb Shah contemplated the great power of Hoossein Nizam Shah he was unwilling to assist in aggrandising it; after a few days, therefore, he suddenly decamped to Golconda, and his ally, unable to cope singly with the Adil Shahy forces, retreated to Ahmudnuggur. At the period when the united forces of Ally Adil Shah and Ramraj moved against Hoossein Nizam Shah, those princes invited Ibrahim Kootb Shah to join them, to which he was induced from political motives. He was present at the siege of Ahmudnuggur by those monarchs; but after the fall of the place, according to custom, he suddenly broke up his army, without communicating with the allies, and leaving part of his camp standing, retreated to Golconda. After the war, Ibrahim Kootb Shah sent an envoy to Hoossein Nizam Shah, and begged an alliance with his daughter Beeby Jumally. The latter consented, on condition of Ibrahim Kootb Shah uniting his forces to dispossess Ally Adil Shah of the fort of Kulliany; and, consequently, in the year A.H. 971 (A.D. 1564), the two monarchs marched from their respective capitals to reduce that fortress. On his arrival near Kulliany the nuptials between Beeby Jumally and the King of Golconda were celebrated, after which they both laid siege to that place. Ally Adil Shah had in the mean time formed a strong confederacy with Ramraj, Toofal Khan, and Ameer Bereed, against the kings of Ahmud-

nuggur and Golconda : they thought it prudent to raise the siege, and retreat to their own capital. Ramraj and Ally Adil Shah pursued Hoossein Nizam Shah to Ahmudnuggur, devastating his country on the route; and on their return they encamped at the town of Orgy, on the Tulingana frontier, for nearly six months, during which they plundered part of Tulingana, and alarmed the whole kingdom, when Ibrahim Kootb Shah sent an envoy, and sued for peace. In the following year A.H. 972 (A.D. 1565), Ibrahim Kootb Shah, in conjunction with the other Mahomedan monarchs of the Deccan, marched against Ramraj when that King was killed, and his territory occupied. On his return from that glorious campaign, the King's minister and brother-in-law, Moostufa Khan Ardustany, having left him at the town of Rachore, under pretence of going on a pilgrimage to Meeca, joined the camp of Ally Adil Shah. In the reign of Moortuza Nizam Shah some account is given of the conduct of his mother, Khonza Sooltana, who caused discontent, and created factions throughout the empire. Ally Adil Shah at this time deputed his famous general, Kishwur Khan Lary, to build a strong fort on the Beejapoor eastern frontier, which he called Dharoor, having conquered at the same time several towns of the Nizam Shahy government.

Moortuza Nizam Shah, now coming of age, was induced, from motives of self-preservation, to confine his mother in a fort; and he deputed Khan Khanan with a force to reduce Dharoor, at the same time inviting Ibrahim Kootb Shah to assist him; but before that monarch reached the place, it had fallen to the Nizam Shahy forces, and the allies marched on together into the Beejapoor territory. Ibrahim Kootb Shah, at this period, wrote a letter full of friendship to Ally Adil Shah, proposing terms of peace for himself alone. The latter sent his communication direct to Moortuza Nizam Shah, who, on discovering his treachery, sent a party of horse to attack his camp. Ibrahim Kootb Shah fled without opposition to Golconda, and lost one hundred and fifty elephants in his retreat, besides a number of his best officers and men. His son, Abdool Kadur, when he arrived on the frontier, begged of his father to permit him and some of his officers to lie in wait, and attack the rear of the enemy in their pursuit. The King, naturally jealous, supposing that the Prince intended to compass his death, and to

effect his own elevation, confined him in a fort, and shortly afterwards ordered him to be poisoned.

Ibrahim Kootb Shah died suddenly, in the year A.H. 989 (A.D. 1581), after a reign of thirty-two years.

MAHOMED KOOLLY KOOTB SHAH

IBRAHIM KOOLLY KOOTB SHAH left three sons, the eldest of whom, Mahomed Koolly, succeeded to the throne at the age of twelve. He immediately married the daughter of Shah Nizam Isfahany, a syud of the Tubatibba tribe, who had long held the office of Ameer Joomla under the late King. At the Syud's instigation the King marched to co-operate with Syud Moortuza Subzwary, the general of Ahmudnuggur: the first object of their attack was Nuldoorg; but as the governor resisted a long siege, they resolved to march to Beejapoor; being equally unfortunate and unsuccessful there, the courtiers of Mahomed Koolly Kootb Shah represented that it was customary among the kings of the Deccan, if they went in person to war, to beg the aid of their allies, who themselves proceeded in person to their assistance, as had always been usual between the two kings of Ahmudnuggur and Golconda; but that it could not be considered respectable for his Majesty in person to attend one of the generals of Ahmudnuggur. The King, struck with the justice of the remark, which was in fact levelled at the minister who advised the measure, accordingly refused to accompany the army. Upon this the Ahmudnuggur general recommended to his master that the allies should return towards their respective countries, advising that the Nizam Shahies should occupy part of the Adil Shahy territory contiguous to Ahmudnuggur, while the Kootb Shahy monarch should be at liberty to take Koolburga and other places on his frontier. On this resolution the camps separated, each army returning to its own border. Upon his arrival at Koolburga, Mahomed Koolly Kootb Shah left Mirza Zein, entitled Moostufa Khan, with a force of seven thousand cavalry, and many elephants, to reduce that district, whence he proceeded to his capital, and confined his minister and father-in-law, Shah Mirza, for the advice he had given. Soon after he ordered him to be sent to his native city of Isfahan; but he died on the voyage.

Moostufa Khan, in the mean time, reduced many of the towns contiguous to Koolburga, when being attacked by Dilawur Khan from Beejapoor, with a strong force, an action ensued, in which the latter was victorious; and following up his successes, took from Moostufa Khan, before he reached Golconda, one hundred and twenty elephants, besides other valuables.

After this event a peace was concluded, which has ever since existed; and in the year A.H. 995 (A.D. 1586) an ambassador was deputed from Beejapoor to Golconda, to ask in marriage the King's sister for Ibrahim Adil Shah, and the Princess was accordingly conveyed to Beejapoor.

In the beginning of the reign of Mahomed Koolly Kootb Shah, that young Prince became enamoured of a public singer of the name of Bhagmutty, to whom he assigned one thousand cavalry as an escort for her attendance; and as the air of Golconda had become impure and unhealthy, he built a magnificent city at the distance of eight miles, which he called Bhagnuggur, after his favourite mistress; but this city has since received the name of Hydurabad, although one part of it still retains the former name of Bhagnuggur. It is ten miles in circumference; and its principal streets, contrary to the other towns in India, are wide and clean : its air is healthy, and running streams are conveyed through some of the principal markets; on each side of which are rows of trees planted, affording a pleasing shade and sight, and the shops are all of solid masonry. The King's palace is described as the most beautiful and extensive in India.

APPENDIX

TO THE

HISTORY OF THE KINGS OF GOLCONDA

PREFATORY NOTICE

THE Translator, desirous of filling up the chasm alluded to by Ferishta, was enabled some years ago to procure a work, entitled "The History of Mahomed Koolly Kootb Shah," written about the time Ferishta lived; and although the Author has not mentioned his name, it seems probable that it may be the identical work adverted to. At all events, having been translated, it is now included, in order to complete that portion of the history of the Deccan.—All endeavours to obtain some detailed accounts of the Kings of Bidur and Elichpoor have failed, although the Translator visited those capitals more than once for the express purpose of making search for them.

SOOLTAN KOOLLY KOOTB SHAH

THE Prince Sooltan Koolly is the son of Ooveis Koolly, the son of Peer Koolly, the son of Ameer Alwund, the son of Ameer Iskundur, the son of Ameer Kurra Yoosoof, the son of Ameer Kurra Mahomed, the son of Ameer Toorsin, the son of Kurra Munsoor, the son of Kurra Beirum, the son of Kurra Toormish, the son of Ameer Tora Beg, who carries his pedigree up to Oghz Khan, lineally descended from Japheth, the son of Noah.

During the reign of Ameer Hussun Beg,[124] the chief of the tribe of Ak Koovinloo, that monarch, satisfied of the peaceable disposition of Ameer Peer Koolly, the head of the rival tribe of Kurra Koovinloo, which had been lately expelled from the throne, refrained from molesting him or his family. After the death of

124. He is sometimes styled Oozun Hussun, or Hussun the Red.

Ameer Hussun Beg, his eldest son, Ameer Khuleel Sooltan, succeeded him, and adopted the same line of conduct towards Ooveis Koolly, the son of Ameer Peer Koolly. Kurra Koovinloo; but upon the accession of Ameer Yakoob Ak Koovinloo, his courtiers pointed out to him the rising genius of Ooveis Koolly's son, Sooltan Koolly, the subject of our history. He was upheld as the darling of his father, and the hope of his tribe, which looked up to him for the re-establishment of its power. Historians have even gone so far as to state, that Ameer Yakoob Beg consulted the astrologers concerning the fate of Sooltan Koolly, who foretold that he would be a king, though not in Persia, but that he was destined to spread the banners of the true faith on the plains of Hindoostan. This report reached the ears of his father, Ooveis Koolly; and it was said, that on this account Ameer Yakoob Beg Ak Koovinloo sought the young prince's life, which was the cause of his being sent with his uncle, Ameer Alla Koolly, to India.

The following account from the Murghoob-ool-Koolloob, written by Sudr-i-Jehan, is stated to be taken down from the mouth of Sooltan Koolly himself, who is lineally descended from Ameer Kurra Yoosoof Toorkman, and nearly related to Ameer Jehan Shah, King of Persia, as mentioned in several histories. The birth-place of Sooltan Koolly is Saadabad, a small village in the province of Humadan. His own words are as follow :— "After the subjugation of my tribe of Kurra Koovinloo by that of Ak Koovinloo, I was compelled to fly my country when a child, and I came with my uncle Ameer Alla Koolly to the Deccan in India, where after remaining some time I returned to my father at Humadan; but the splendour of the Bahmuny court, and the attentions which we received, so filled my youthful imagination, that the Deccan and India were always present to my thoughts. As my uncle would not leave so young a boy as I then was, he compelled me to return with him to Persia. On the accession of the enemies[125] of our tribe, and when it was ascer-

125. The tribes of Kurra Koovinloo and Ak Koovinloo, so called from the former having a black ram and the latter a white ram on their standards, came to the south with the Choghtay hordes of Chungiz. Kurra Yoosoof was the first of the race known in Asia Minor, where he established his horde in Natolia, in the neighbourhood of Trebizond or Colchis, while the horde of the white ram occupied Armenia. The

tained beyond a doubt that Ameer Yakoob Ak Koovinloo sought my life, I consented to proceed again to the Deccan, with a number of fine horses and other presents for the Bahmuny king; but I previously went to take leave of my grand-uncle, Shah Noor-ood-Deen, at Yezd. Shah Noor-ood-Deen was my spiritual pastor, as well as my near relation, having married my grandfather Ameer Peer Koolly Beg's own sister; and as he was skilled in astrology, and by the divine favour had an insight into futurity, he told me, on my departure, that I should one day be a king over a portion of Hindoostan. On which, taking from his pocket a quantity of gold coin, he gave it to me, and conferred on me his blessing, saying, 'Consider this as a symbol of your future success.' It is unnecessary to say that this circumstance made a deep impression on my mind, and I already fancied myself a king, when my uncle and I proceeded together towards India. Having got over the voyage, we went direct to the city of Ahmudabad Bidur, then the capital of the Deccan. After two or three days we had an audience of Mahmood Shah Bahmuny, and presented the horses and other rarities we had brought with us, after which a place was allotted by the King for our residence. Shortly afterwards, my uncle requested his audience of leave to return to his native country; and although the King did all he could to induce him to remain, he could not be prevailed on, particularly as he had just heard of the death of the inveterate enemy of the family, Ameer Yakoob Beg,[126] from whose tyranny I was compelled to fly. Mahmood Shah Bahmuny, unable to persuade my uncle to stay, insisted on his leaving me at the court, declaring he would treat me as his own child. I readily embraced the opportunity, and my uncle left India alone."

Mahmood Shah Bahmuny, as he had promised, always treated Sooltan Koolly with the greatest affection; and as he was informed of the illustrious descent of his young friend, his atten-

dynasty of Kurra Koovinloo, according to the author of the Nigaristan, was subverted by Ameer Hussun Beg, of the tribe of Ak Koovinloo, in the year 1458. He was succeeded in 1479 by his son Ameer Khuleel, who was succeeded by his son Ameer Yakoob, who died in 1490. Sooltan Koolly Kurra Koovinloo must have been descended from a younger son of Ameer Iskundur, whose eldest son, called Jehan Shah, reigned after him; and whose grandson, Hussun Ally, was the last of the dynasty. D'Herbelot, Bib. Ori. art. Ac-coin and Cara. Coin.

126. Ameer Yakoob Beg was poisoned, and died A.D. 1490.

tions towards him increased daily. This degree of favour excited envy in the minds of the King's sons and the nobles of the court, who omitted no opportunity of defaming his character to the King.

In the Towareekh-i-Hind we find it related, that Mahmood Shah Bahmuny one night having collected his courtiers about him was enjoying the pleasures of the festive board, amid the voices of damsels and the sound of music, when he was attacked by a body of Abyssinians and Deccanies.[127] Fortunately Sooltan Koolly, with ten foreigners, was on the spot on guard over the King's person. When they heard the noise they rushed out with the rest of his guard, and having repulsed the assailants, accompanied the King, who retired to the fort. Five of Sooltan Koolly's party were killed on this occasion, while he with the other five, and the King in person, defended the palace with their bows and arrows. In the mean time a message was despatched to Hussun Khwaja Jehan to occupy the bastions of the fort with all the Khorassanies he could collect. In the execution of this order many men were lost in forcing their way to the ramparts. The assailants were in the end defeated in all quarters; and the King's guards took possession of the gates of the city, to prevent the traitors from making their escape. In consequence of the extreme darkness torches were used by the King's troops, who with lights in one hand and swords in the other fought desperately during the early part of the night. The moon rose about midnight, when the King, who had been joined during the confusion by a few more adherents, made his way good to Hussun Khwaja Jehan. He was accompanied by Sooltan Koolly, who, proceeding in advance, cut his way through the opposing foes. In the morning, the royalists appeared every where victorious, while the rebels, being dispersed, fled through the streets, or sought safety from the sword by throwing themselves over the battlements. Others, who had secreted themselves in houses, were dragged forth and put to death.

Mahmood Shah Bahmuny, who certainly owed his life to the personal exertions of Sooltan Koolly, honoured him with the title of Mullik Kootb-ool-Moolk, and conferred on him the appoint-

127. A very particular account of the rise and progress of this conspiracy is given by Ferishta, in his history of Mahmood Shah Bahmuny, vol. ii. p. 328.

ment of second minister; he also granted titles and rewards to the five remaining Persians who had so gallantly defended his person.

In the history of the Deccan it is related, that when the imbecility of the Bahmuny dynasty became apparent, several of the military nobles, separating themselves from the crown, declared their independence. Among these was Mullik Deenar the Abyssinian, and Mullik Khoosh Kuddum Toork, who refused to acknowledge the authority of the King in their districts. Mahmood Shah Bahmuny marched against them, and took their leader, Mullik Deenar, prisoner; but at the instance of some of his advisers he was pardoned, and all the elephants taken in the action were restored to him. In consequence of the gallantry displayed by Sooltan Koolly on this occasion he was honoured with the government of the province of Tulingana, and received the title of Ameer-ool-Omra, besides having the towns of Kòtgeer and Ootgy added to his personal estates.

In the history of Mahmood Shah Bahmuny it is related, that after the death of Kishwur Khan, Bahadur Geelany, an officer of the Bahmuny court, distinguished for his bravery in action, succeeded him in the government of the Concan, including Dabul and Goa, and other sea-ports, and declared his independence from the court of Bidur. Shortly after which, he laid violent hands on all the trading vessels proceeding along the coast, and captured several ships laden with merchandise, belonging to the subjects of Mahmood Shah of Guzerat, which had been driven on shore.

When Mahmood Shah of Guzerat heard of the fate of his vessels, he addressed letters to Bahadur Geelany, requiring him to restore the property. Bahadur not only refused to yield up his prizes, but wrote insolent replies to the King's of Guzerat's letters.

Mahmood Shah of Guzerat, in consequence, sent an ambassador to Mahmood Shah Bahmuny, requesting his interference, as Bahadur Geelany was one of his subjects. The Bahmuny monarch wrote peremptory orders, directing the Guzerat ships to be sent to Cambay, and the property to be forwarded to the capital of Bidur, in order that it might be made over to the Guzerat ambassador then at court. Bahadur Geelany, having intimation of the approach of the messengers conveying these orders, caused

them to be detained on the road, and declared his independence from the court of Bidur.

Mahmood Shah Bahmuny immediately marched to reduce the rebel chief, and arrived without opposition at the fort of Mirch, where he was met by Pota Naig, the zemindar of that district, at the head of five thousand cavalry, and an army of one hundred thousand infantry; but the Hindoo chief was compelled to take shelter within the walls of Mirch, wherein he was besieged by the royal army. During the operations, Dew Naig, the son of Pota Naig, with a large force, attacked a division of the King's army commanded by Sooltan Koolly Kootb-ool-Moolk. The Hindoos fought bravely hand to hand with the Mahomedans, from daylight till sunset, and Dew Naig was every where successful. At this moment he came in contact with Sooltan Koolly in person, and was slain. The Hindoos withdrew on the following day; and Pota Naig, despairing of maintaining the place after the death of his son, sent a number of fine elephants and horses as presents to the King, besides consenting to pay an annual tribute. It was, moreover, agreed that the fort of Mirch, with all the public property it contained, should be delivered to the King, on condition that the lives of the inhabitants and their property might be spared. Pota Naig, on the day after the treaty, had an audience, and received the fort back at his Majesty's hands. The public property was delivered over in charge to Sooltan Koolly. After reducing the power of Bahadur Geelany, the King returned to his capital, and Sooltan Koolly Kootb-ool-Moolk repaired to his government of Tulingana. Shortly after which, Mullik Kasim Bereed, an ambitious noble of the Bahmuny court, seeing the King without his best advisers about him, took this opportunity of insinuating himself into his favour, and not long after, he was honoured with the situation of prime minister a second time. The first effects of his influence were the removal of the old officers from the King's person; and he at length assumed such power as to take upon himself the entire government of the kingdom. Kasim Bereed, well aware that his conduct would not be supported by Yoosoof Adil Khan, Kootb-ool-Moolk, and the other governors of provinces, endeavoured to remove the King altogether; but his plans were discovered and frustrated by the union of most of the respectable officers of the state, who resolved not to permit Mullik Kasim Bereed to continue to treat the King as

a mere pageant. It was resolved, therefore, by several of the officers commanding provinces, to march to the capital, and to compel Mullik Kasim Bereed to restore to the King his authority. Yoosoof Adil Khan of Beejapoor and Mullik Deenar the Abyssinian of Koolburga, were the two who first moved with their respective forces to the capital of Bidur, where they were joined by Kootb-ool-Moolk.

Mullik Kasim Bereed, on the near approach of the confederates, clothed himself in a shroud, slung a sword round his neck, and threw himself at the King's feet, imploring his forgiveness, and craving protection against the nobles. Mahmood Shah Bahmuny, whose greatest fault was his indolent disposition, deputed all the holy men of Bidur to go out and entreat the chiefs to desist from any measures against Kasim Bereed. It was required, however, that he should withdraw to his jageers of Owsa and Kand'har, leaving the King in full possession of the capital of Bidur; and the different chiefs demanded that they might be allowed to come to court once annually to pay their respects, and proceed to the attack of the Hindoos of Beejanuggur. After these arrangements, the chiefs returned to their respective governments.

In the middle of the year A.H. 908 (A.D. 1502), Mahmood Shah Bahmuny marched from the capital, with the nobles who were in his train, to attack the infidel Hindoos. On his arrival at the town of Ootgy, Sooltan Koolly Kootb-ool-Moolk, receiving intimation of his approach, joined the royal army with three thousand cavalry, ten thousand infantry, and thirty elephants. At this time the King of Bidur was also joined by Yoosoof Adil Khan of Beejapoor, Futteh Oolla Imad-ool-Moolk of Berar, Mullik Ahmud Nizam-ool-Moolk of Joonere, and Mullik Deenar, the Abyssinian of Koolburga, agreeably to the compact of the former year. The first movement from Ootgy was made by the detachment of Mullik Ein-ool-Moolk, who proceeded by the route of Koolburga towards Beejanuggur; while the King with the grand army marched by easy stages to Rachore, one of the strongest forts in that part of India, which was now besieged on all sides by the Mahomedan forces; and the Hindoos were at last reduced to purchase forbearance, by stipulating for the payment of tribute. On this occasion the forts of Rachore and Moodkul were delivered over to the charge of Yoosoof Adil Khan of

Beejapoor. After which, without prosecuting the war farther, Mahmood Shah Bahmuny returned to the capital, and the great chiefs received permission to proceed to their respective estates. The King being left with only a small force, Mullik Kasim Bereed marched against him, and besieged the capital, where he arrived on the 9th of Zeehuj, A.H. 909 (May 23, A.D. 1504); and having bribed the officers of the footguards, he was admitted through the gates, and proceeded direct to the palace of the minister, Khan Jehan, whom he put to death, and re-assumed the functions of minister to the unwilling monarch, whom he deprived of all authority. On the imprisonment of the King becoming known to the governors, they collected their troops as before, and marched for his relief to the capital. On their arrival they found Mullik Kasim Bereed and the King, whom he had brought out by force, encamped outside the city. The King's presence sanctioned the elevation of the royal standard, and made it appear as if Mahmood Shah Bahmuny enjoyed his full power. An action took place, which was maintained with much spirit on both sides. Mullik Kasim Bereed, in the first instance, compelled the allies to give way; but a vigorous charge made by Mullik Kootb-ool-Moolk, on the centre of his line, turned the fate of the day, and obliged Kasim Bereed to fly, and seek protection in the fort of Owsa.

The victorious confederates now proceeded to the royal pavilion, where they paid their respects to the King, and replacing him on the throne of Bidur, returned to their different provinces. In the year A.H. 910 (A.D. 1504), the King, having reason to be displeased with the conduct of Yoosoof Adil Khan of Beejapoor, marched, accompanied by Mullik Kootb-ool-Moolk, against that chief; but he was again taken into favour, and the King returned to his capital. Shortly after this, Mullik Futteh Oolla Imad-ool-Moolk, governor of Berar, died in Elichpoor, and his son Mullik Alla-ood-Deen was nominated by the King his successor. Yoosoof Adil Khan also died at Kovilconda, and was succeeded by his son Ismael, while Khwaja Jehan,[128] governor of Sholapoor, was

128. The first Khwaja Jehan had also the title of Fukhr-ool-Moolk. He left two sons, Zein Khan the elder, and Noor Khan the younger; and the latter, assuming his father's titles, usurped the estate of the eleven districts of Purenda, in which he was supported by Ahmud Nizam Shah: while the King of Beejapoor, interfering in favour of the elder

succeeded by Noor Khan, his youngest son, who was honoured with the title of Khwaja Jehan, and assumed the government of Purenda and its dependencies.

On the following year, A.H. 911 (A.D. 1506), according to the compact of Bidur, the King ordered his nobles with their troops to repair to the capital, all of whom having joined him, he again proceeded towards Beejanuggur. On his arrival at Dewly, the King's army was opposed by the Hindoo forces, when a sanguinary action took place. Mullik Kootb-ool-Moolk broke the left wing of the enemy, but Mahmood Shah, in the centre, gave way, and being thrown from his horse, was nearly trodden to death. He was, however, fortunately discovered by some of his troops, and being placed in a palankeen was conveyed to the tent of Meer Lootf Oolla, the son of Shah Mohib Oolla. Thence the army retreated to the capital, when the nobles retired to their respective governments. After this period, the King was weak enough to readmit Mullik Kasim Bereed into his councils, and again became the dupe of that insinuating minister. Not long after, being taken dangerously ill, Mahmood Shah Bahmuny died on the 24th of Zeehuj, A.H. 912 (May 12, A.D. 1507), in the forty-seventh year of his age, and in the thirty-seventh of his reign. On the death of Mahmood Shah Bahmuny, the governors in their respective provinces threw off the small portion of allegiance which they latterly paid to the late king, and proclaimed their independence.

First, Mullik Ahmud Nizam-ool-Moolk, in the province of Joonere and Dowlutabad. It was at this time he began to construct the fort and town of Ahmudnuggur for his future capital.

Secondly, Ismael Adil Khan usurped the districts of Beejapoor, Mirch, and the Concan, making Beejapoor his capital.

Thirdly, Alla-ood-Deen Imad-ool-Moolk, the governor of Berar, proclaimed himself King, making Elichpoor his capital.

Fourthly, Mullik Kasim Bereed, having seized the whole of the late king's treasures, became absolute in Bidur.

brother, compelled Khwaja Jehan junior to cede Sholapoor and five and a half districts to him. Vide note, p. 31. Ferishta does not state that Khwaja Jehan junior was Zein Khan's younger brother; but this fact at once accounts for the interference of the King of Beejapoor in his favour, and for the pertinacity with which that court always persevered in keeping Sholapoor out of the hands of the King of Ahmudnuggur.

Fifthly, Sooltan Koolly Kootb-ool-Moolk, who still continued his allegiance to the shadow of royalty which remained, retained possession of the province of Tulingana, making Golconda his seat of government.

From the best authorities it appears that Sooltan Koolly Kootb-ool-Moolk during the first years of his rule was engaged in the reduction of the neighbouring zemindars of Tulingana. It was his usual practice, after advancing into a hostile country, and making his observations, to retreat, in order to draw his enemy into an ambuscade, from which he seldom escaped. Sudr-i-Jehan, the author of the Murghoob-ool-Koolloob, says, he himself heard Sooltan Koolly Kootb-ool-Moolk state, that although invited by Kasim Bereed and Futteh Oolla Imad-ool-Moolk to seize by violence the Bahmuny districts in the vicinity of his government, he always refused to do so, contenting himself with the estates conferred on him, and aggrandising his power by the reduction of the Hindoo zemindars alone, who were the enemies of the true faith. "It is now (said that King one day to Sudr-i-Jehan) nearly sixty years since I was first engaged in spreading the banners of the faithful, and reducing the infidels of Tulingana from the borders of Wurungole to Masulipatam and Rajmundry, having taken between sixty and seventy forts by force of arms, such as Rajconda, Kovilconda, Dewurconda, Pangul, Gunpoora, Jirconda, Yelgundel, Mulungoor, Etgeer, Meduk, Bhowungeer, Belumconda, Wurungole, Cumamett, Indraconda, Ramgeer, Condapilly, Ellore, and Chitcole.[129] I also swore by the Prophet and his descendant Ally, that if I ever succeeded in establishing my independence, I would promote the faith of the followers of the twelve Imams,[130] in parts where the banners of the faithful had never before waved; but let it not be supposed that I took up the idea from Shah Ismael of Persia; for be it known I before professed the religion of the twelve (on whom be the peace of God!) from the period of the reign of Sooltan Yakoob, as being the faith of my ancestors. Here am I nearly arrived at the age of a hundred years, most of which time has been spent in disseminating the principles of the true faith; and I now wish to retire from

129. This place, called Sicacolum in the map, lies twenty miles nearly due west of Masulipatam, and must not be confounded with Chicacole near Gangam.

130. Meaning the Sheea persuasion.

the world, and to spend the last few days which remain in prayer." Thus far is extracted from the work of Sudr Jehan, taken down from the mouth of Sooltan Koolly himself.

It appears from all the Deccan histories, that when Sooltan Koolly Kootb-ool-Moolk had laid the foundation of the city of Mahomednuggur,[131] and that all the different chiefs, such as Adil Khan of Beejapoor, Nizam-ool-Moolk of Ahmudnuggur, &c. had declared their titles as kings, the officers of his government recommended him to ascend the throne and proclaim himself King of Tulingana, saying they had no one else whom they acknowledged as such. As these representations came in support of several letters to the same purport, sent by Yoosoof Adil Shah and Ahmud Nizam Shah, Sooltan Koolly consented to ascend the throne in due form, and issued his mandate that the public worship should be read in the name of the twelve Imams throughout his territory. He was accordingly proclaimed king under the title of Sooltan Koolly Kootb Shah.

Sooltan Koolly every year made a campaign against the infidels of Beejanuggur, and returned to his seat of government; but he now determined to select a more centrical position for his capital, and accordingly he built the city above alluded to at the village of Golconda, to which place he removed his court.

After having repaired the fort of Golconda, Sooltan Koolly Kootb Shah turned his thoughts towards the reduction of the fortress of Rajconda, the Ray of which place had lately made an attack on the Kootb Shahy dominions. He accordingly marched his army to that place, and on his arrival he closely invested it. In a few days his heavy artillery made practicable breaches in the fortwalls. The enemy during these operations made several desperate sallies which did not deter the besiegers, and the place was eventually carried by storm, though not without considerable loss. The Raja, Venkutty Naig, being made prisoner, was carried to Golconda.

After his return the King proceeded to reduce the fortress of Dewurconda, strongly situated on the top of a hill, which after a long siege was taken, and the Hindoo palaces and temples, by the King's orders, were consumed to ashes, and mosques built in their stead.

131. The name given to Golconda; so called after Mahomed Shah Bahmuny, the patron of Sooltan Koolly.

When Krishn Ray, the Raja of Beejanuggur, heard of the fall of Dewurconda, he marched with a force of thirty thousand horse and three hundred thousand foot to attack the Kootb Shahy dominions, which he invaded, overrunning and laying waste much of the country on the frontier. As soon as Sooltan Koolly Kootb Shah heard of this outrage, he collected his army, consisting of five thousand horse and thirty thousand foot, and marched with this comparatively small force to the town of Pangul, where the enemy was encamped. The Mahomedan army came so suddenly on the advanced guard of the Hindoos that it fell back on the main body without making even a show of resistance. Krishn Ray, relying on his numbers, ordered the line out, and attacked the Moslems who had encamped near the town of Pangul, where a sanguinary engagement took place, which lasted from morning till sunset. The King appeared every where, cheering up the drooping spirits of his troops, who were at one time giving way before the superior numbers of the enemy. Sooltan Koolly, however, always kept a body of cavalry in reserve, which was directed only to move when it received orders. This party consisted of fifteen hundred of his horse; and at the very time when his centre was falling back, he charged in person at the head of the reserve full on the enemy's flank. The Hindoos, unprepared to resist the shock of these fresh troops, broke, and fled in confusion. This manœuvre turned the fate of the day; and the enemy, seeing their line broken, gave way on all sides at once; and although the darkness of the night favoured their retreat, Sooltan Koolly Kootb Shah was left in possession of all the heavy baggage and elephants. On the following day he laid siege to Pangul. This fort, situated on a hill, was surrounded by a thick wood : it was immediately invested by the Mahomedans, who had nearly reduced it, when Krishn Ray, hearing of the distress of the garrison, sent three hundred cavalry and one thousand infantry as a reinforcement. This party was directed to penetrate the woods, and to come suddenly upon the besiegers during the night; while at the same time the besieged were recommended to make a simultaneous sally from the fort. The garrison continued thus to make several successful sallies, which prevented the place from falling so soon as was at first expected. At length, after a period of two months, the commandant, a relation of Krishn Ray, opened a negotiation to

capitulate. On the following day the fort surrendered to the Mahomedan arms, and the garrison were permitted to proceed whithersoever they chose.

The army proceeded from Pangul to Gunpoora, situated between that fort and Kovilconda. On the King's arrival he summoned the commandant to surrender, but the latter answered this message by the discharge of his artillery, followed by a sally from the hill which descended into the plain, and penetrated into the Mahomedan lines. This attack was repulsed, and the assailants sought safety within the walls of the fort. The siege of Gunpoora continued for two months; during which time the Mahomedans lost many valuable officers and soldiers, and the King nearly despaired of taking it. Gunpoora is situated on a hill, and the only road to the gate leads along a narrow pathway with a deep precipice on each side. This passage was blocked up with stones and stockades, and at the entrance were two bastions which protected it. The King, in the first instance, ordered the bastions to be knocked down, which, after some time, was effected, and then leading the storming party himself, he attacked and carried the fort, but not without a heavy loss. From Gunpoora the King proceeded to Kovilconda, which was bravely defended for a considerable time, the garrison making several desperate sallies, in which many soldiers were killed on both sides. At length, the breaches being rendered practicable, the Mahomedans stormed at midnight; and although they did not then succeed in taking the place, the besieged, on the following morning, surrendered at discretion, and the commandant delivered the keys into the King's hands. The garrison was permitted to march out with all their private property; while the public treasury, which is represented to have been very rich, fell into the King's possession, who distributed it on the spot among his troops. After leaving a Mahomedan officer in the place, the King returned to his capital, when he was met by all the principal inhabitants of the city.

During the absence of Sooltan Koolly Kootb Shah in his late campaign, his northern districts had been attacked and laid waste by Kowam-ool-Moolk Toork, an officer of the Bahmuny government, who, during the late convulsions, had rendered himself master of the forts of Elgundel, Mulungoor, and some other

districts, and collecting a force of six thousand horse and about ten thousand infantry, invaded the countries of his neighbours.

On the return of Sooltan Koolly, he received accounts of Kowam-ool-Moolk's incursions. He accordingly addressed letters of advice to him, and demanded restitution of the property he had plundered in the Kootb Shahy territories. The ambassadors who waited on Kowam-ool-Moolk were directed to inform him, that their master was sorry to hear what had happened; and that it was his wish to be on terms of friendship with all his Mahomedan neighbours, since it is written in the Koran, that "all the faithful are brethren." Kowam-ool-Moolk, elated with his success in declaring his independence, and despising the power of Sooltan Koolly, shortly afterwards sent his troops again into his territories to plunder. Sooltan Koolly Kootb Shah could no longer restrain his rage, and immediately ordered his army into the field, and marched towards Elgundel. He was met by Kowam-ool-Moolk at the distance of one day's march from that place at the head of his army. On the following day an action ensued, which lasted from dawn till noon, when the King charged in person, at the head of two thousand cavalry, and defeated Kowam-ool-Moolk, who fled in confusion, and threw himself into the fort of Elgundel. To this place the King proceeded, and invested it; but Kowam-ool-Moolk, finding himself unable to contend with his enemy, fled to Berar, and solicited assistance from Alla-ood-Deen Imad Shah. Elgundel, shortly after, fell into the hands of the King, and many of the Mahomedan troops of Kowam-ool-Moolk entered his service. Having now occupied the forts of Elgundel and Mulungoor with his own soldiers, the King returned to his capital.

Kowam-ool-Moolk, who had fled to Berar, persuaded Alla-ood-Deen Imad Shah to espouse his cause, and to march to recover his country. When Kootb Shah heard of this movement, he sent an ambassador to that monarch, relating the obstinacy of Kowam-ool-Moolk, and reminding him, also, that the Imad Shahy troops had lately usurped the country of the seven tuppas,[132] which the late Mahmood Shah Bahmuny had bestowed upon Sooltan Koolly; he therefore demanded the restitution of

132. Tuppa is a Tulingy (or more properly Teloogoo) term for a small division of a district.

the seven tuppas, and required, also, that Imad Shah should not give protection to Kowam-ool-Moolk within his territories.

Alla-ood-Deen Imad Shah, however, so far from yielding to any of the above demands, sent back an answer full of indignation, which induced Sooltan Koolly to march with his army towards his dominions; and Imad Shah moved from Elichpoor, and opposed the Kootb Shahy troops near the fortress of Ramgeer. On the day following an action ensued, which lasted till the afternoon. The Imad Shahy army outflanked Sooltan Koolly's which was in the act of giving way on all sides, when he, as usual, charged through the centre of his own army with the reserve of two thousand cavalry in armour, broke the enemy's line, and completely defeated them. Alla-ood-Deen Imad Shah fled to Berar, and Sooltan Koolly directed his army to occupy the district of the seven tuppas; after which he returned to Golconda. Here he heard that Seetaputty, the Raja of Cumamett, had presumed to lay hands on some of the Kootb Shahy districts which lay contiguous to his country. This raja possessed the strong forts of Cumamett, Belumconda, Wurungole, and others, and had in his service twelve thousand infantry, noted as good marksmen. The King, in the first place, marched against Belumconda, which he closely invested. The siege lasted a considerable time, till at length the King determined to make an attempt to take it by escalade, which he effected by a general assault on all sides at once, in which effort, after losing many men, he at length succeeded.

When Seetaputty heard of the capture of Belumconda, which he considered as impregnable, he immediately marched with an army to oppose the King in the field, who also prepared to receive him. The two armies met, and a battle was fought, wherein the Mahomedans lost many brave officers and soldiers from the well-directed fire of the enemy's infantry, which withstood several charges of the Mahomedan cavalry; but they were at length broken, and fled, leaving Sooltan Koolly in possession of all the Raja's treasures and heavy baggage : after which the King returned to Golconda.

Seetaputty, subsequently to his defeat, fled to Cumamett, and despatched messages to the neighbouring rajas, such as those of Condapilly, Indraconda, Warapully, and Etgeer, inviting them to form a confederacy against Sooltan Koolly Kootb Shah, who

had already reduced the greatest part of Tulingana, and was every day gaining such ground that in a short time no Hindu chiefs would remain to oppose his ambitious views. The rajas all united accordingly, and formed a rendezvous at Cumamett. When Sooltan Koolly heard of this league, he marched to oppose them; and a sanguinary action ensued in the neighbourhood of that place, when the Mahomedans, as usual, gained the victory; and the Raja Seetaputty fled, and took protection with Ramchundur Dew. The Mahomedan forces took possession of Condapilly, Indraconda, and Etgeer, while the King proceeded to reduce Cumamett, then one of the strongest forts in Tulingana; but as he was unwilling to spill human blood wantonly, he sent a message to the commandant of the place, informing him of the defeat of his master, and requiring him to surrender the fort to the Mahomedans, which he refused to do. Several unsuccessful attacks were made in consequence, in which the Mahomedans lost many men; till at length the King resolved, at the last resource, to make a general assault on all sides at once. Sooltan Koolly led the principal attack in person: the Mahomedans, covering their heads with their shields, and being well supplied with scaling ladders, rushed on simultaneously, and, although their loss was severe, they succeeded in gaining the ramparts, and drove the garrison before them. On this occasion they gave no quarter, killing every man, woman, and child in the place, excepting the females of the family of Seetaputty, who were reserved for the King's seraglio.

When Seetaputty was defeated he fled, as before related, to Raja Ramchundur, the son of Gujputty, who held his court at Condapilly, and who was king of the land and the sea-coast of Tulingana and Orissa, as far as the confines of Bengal. Seetaputty had represented to him that Sooltan Koolly Kootb Shah had, by his persecution, at length succeeded in expelling him from his country; that he had now subdued almost the whole of Tulingana, and that his next step would be to invade the country of Ramchundur, which lay contiguous to his own. Guja Ramchundur, convinced of the truth of these observations, and relying on the numerous forces he could bring into the field, wrote orders to his adherents to repair with their respective armies to Condapilly, where he collected a host of three hundred thousand foot, and thirty thousand horse, all bearing lances, accompanied by

Seetaputty, Vidiadry, and Hurry Chundur, as well as other rajas of note. These, having sworn to stand by each other, marched to attack Sooltan Koolly. He prepared to oppose them with only five thousand horse, and met them at the river near Palunchinoor.

The Hindoos drew up their forces on the next day into the following order :—

Guja Ramchundur, with ten thousand horse, one hundred thousand foot, and three hundred elephants, in the centre.

On the right his nephew Vidiadry, with ten thousand horse, one hundred thousand foot, and two hundred elephants.

On the left Hurry Chundur, with Seetaputty, in the command of ten thousand horse, one hundred thousand foot, and two hundred elephants :—the whole of the elephants bearing several men with bows and arrows.

Sooltan Koolly Kootb Shah, in spite of the disparity of numbers, determined to give the Hindoos battle. He placed his son, Heidur Khan,[133] with fifteen hundred horse, on the right, and Futtehy Khan, with an equal number, on the left, himself taking post in the centre with two thousand horse. Accordingly to custom he dismounted in front of the army, and going down on his knees, supplicated the great Disposer of events to give up the host of the infidels into the hands of the faithful; after which he mounted, and charged the enemy driving the affrighted Hindoos before him like sheep. The Raja Ramchundur was taken prisoner, and his nephew Vidiadry killed by the Prince Heidur Khan's own hand; the capture, also, of all the enemy's elephants and treasures, as well as of Raja Ramchundur, ensured to the King the whole of the country as far as the sea-coast. From thence he proceeded to Condapilly, which he reduced; and afterwards went to Ellore and Rajmundry, in the former of which places many Hindoos were slain. Upon the arrival of the Mahomedan forces at Rajmundry, they encamped on the banks of the Godavery, where the King received intimation that the enemy had assembled in great numbers in the woods and hills with the intention of attacking him by night. The King accordingly detached his generals, Futtehy Khan and Roostoom Khan, to watch their motions, and to endeavour to cut them off. The

133. It is from this Prince, Heidurabad, or, as it is usually written, Hydurabad, derives its name.

two parties engaged, and the Hindoos, after they had lost two thousand men, fled to the forests, leaving the Mahomedans in possession of the field of action.

Vusnad (properly Veija Nat) Dew, commonly called Gujputty, who possessed the countries of Bengal along the sea-coast as far as the confines of Tulingana, hearing of the discomfiture of Raja Ramchundur, sent ambassadors to Sooltan Koolly. A treaty was forthwith concluded, by which it was agreed that the river Godavery should be the boundary between the Mahomedan kingdom of Tulingana and the Hindoo territory of Orissa; after which the seals of the King and Vusnad Dew were affixed, and the district of Ellore was made over to the Mahomedans.

Upon the return of the army to Golconda, the King heard that during his absence of Krishn Ray of Beejanuggur had invaded some of his frontier districts. Sooltan Kooly, therefore, immediately prepared for war, and in the first instance marched against Condbeer. On his arrival there the fort was invested; but the enemy's troops from the two hill-forts of Belumconda and Inaconda (each situated about two gows[134] distant from Condbeer) came to the assistance of the garrison, and made several sucessful night-attacks on the besiegers. This mode of warfare so much annoyed the King that he quitted Condbeer, and proceeded to reduce the other two forts. In the first instance he surrounded Belumconda; but the garrison defended itself with great obstinacy, while the army of the Hindoos in the field did not cease to make night-attacks. In these assaults the Mahomedans lost several of their best officers and many soldiers. The King at length resolved to try his ultimate and favourite expedient of a general assault. At the concerted signal the walls were escaladed on all sides, and the place wsa carried not without heavy loss. Having distributed the property obtained in the fort among his troops, he left Soheil Khan, an eunuch, in the command, and proceeded towards Condapilly. During these operations many of the Hindoo officers of the King's army, left with the Prince Heidur Khan before Condbeer, went into open mutiny and the King was obliged to return, in order to support his son's authority. Meanwhile Krishn Ray of Beejanuggur, on finding the Mahomedan army had marched towards Condbeer,

134. A gow is four coss, each coss being two miles (sixteen miles).

collected a force also, and deputed his nephew with five thousand horse, and fifty thousand foot, to engage the Mahomedans in the field. This army had now reached its destination, and proceeded to attack Soheil Khan in Belumconda. This wily chieftain required three days to give it up; acknowledging that it was now not in a condition to stand a siege against so large a force. In the mean time he sent a messenger to the King, informing him of his situation. Sooltan Koolly Kootb Shah no sooner obtained this information than he suddenly countermarched, with all his cavalry, and coming unexpectedly upon the enemy, who anxiously awaited the surrender of the fort, dispersed his troops, taking their baggage, and sixty elephants laden with treasure, which was sent to pay the troops for the defence of Belumconda and Condapilly. Having thus raised the siege of Belumconda, the King returned to Condbeer. The walls of this fort were shortly after battered down by the artillery in several places, and the lower fort taken, the garrison evacuating it, and retiring to the hill-fort; this also capitulated on the next day, and was given over to be plundered by the victorious army by the permission of the King; but the lives of the inhabitants were spared.

When news of the reduction of Condbeer reached Krishn Ray of Beejanuggur, he immediately detached his general and son-in-law, Seeva Ray, with a force of one hundred thousand foot, and eight thousand horse, to march against the Mahomedans. The King resolved not to weaken his army by leaving any troops in Condbeer : he therefore distributed the provisions among them, burned the gates of the fort, and partially destroyed the works, and retreating towards Condapilly, encamped on the banks of the Krishna. The Hindoos, surprised at this sudden retreat of the Mahomedans, repaired the walls of Condbeer, and left a garrison therein, making it a depot for their treasure and heavy baggage. They then proceeded in pursuit of the Kootb Shahy army. Sooltan Koolly permitted them to approach within a few miles of his encampment, when, like the hawk pouncing on his prey, he moved out with five thousand cavalry, and fell on the Hindoos at daylight. The action lasted till noon, with equal ardour on both sides, when the enemy's troops retreated to the fort of Condbeer, to which place the King, on the following day, followed them, and closely invested the fort a second time. Finding the place untenable, the Hin-

doos agreed to become tributary, and to pay annually three lacks of hoons.[135] At the same time they paid down two lacks, and gave three or four young rajas as hostages for the remainder. During these actions between the Hindoos and Mahomedans near Condbeer, the garrison of Condapilly, chiefly composed of a tribe of Hindoos called Naigwaries, refused to obey the orders of the King's son, Heidur Khan, and had been in a state of open mutiny for four months, when they heard of the defeat of Seeva Ray, and the recapture of Condbeer. Seeing there was now little chance of holding out with success, they begged their lives, and offered to deliver up the place to the King's troops. The Naigwaries were pardoned by Sooltan Koolly, who directed that the mutinous troops of Condapilly should be sent to garrison Gunpoora, and those of Gunpoora be marched to Condapilly.

After this long campaign Sooltan Koolly marched towards his capital; but heard on the road that his neighbour Ismael Adil Shah, the King of Beejapoor, at the instance of the Raja of Beejanuggur, was at that period besieging the fort of Kovilconda. For this service Ismael had already received two hundred thousand hoons;[136] and the Hindoo envoys were then in his camp, negotiating for the payment of fifty thousand hoons for each march the Beejapoor troops should advance into the Kootb Shahy dominions.

At this period Jafur Beg, a cousin-german of the King, held the government of the fort and district of Kovilconda; and having been upwards of a month closely besieged by the Adil Shahy troops, consisting of twenty thousand men, he wrote to the King that his resources were much reduced, and he feared, without assistance, the place must shortly fall into the hands of the enemy. Sooltan Koolly Kootb Shah immediately made arrangements for moving to the relief of the garrison; but his ministers remonstrated against the measure, representing that he had now only three thousand cavalry fit for duty; that all his troops were harassed, and that his elephants were weak and reduced after a campaign of upwards of two years in Tulingana. Sooltan Koolly replied, that he had not been accustomed to be alarmed at the numbers of his enemies, as was apparent in the battle with

135. 120,000*l*.
136. 40,000*l*.

Ramchundur Raja. His officers recommended him at all events to wait till he could receive aid from Boorhan Nizam Shah of Ahmudnuggur, to whom it was proposed he should make overtures; but he insisted on marching immediately against his Mahomedan neighbour, who had attacked him without provocation. Information was accordingly given to the garrison of Kovilconda, that the King was marching to its relief. On reaching Gunpoora he sent an envoy to wait on Ismael Adil Shah, reprobating the system of the faithful attacking each other at the instigation of infidels on which, Ismael Adil Shah, leaving a force to prosecute the siege of Kovilconda, advanced with the rest of his army to attack Sooltan Koolly.

Sooltan Koolly now called a meeting of all the holy and learned men in his camp, and asked them if it were not lawful, by the tenets of the faith, to oppose any Mahomedan prince, who, unmindful of the principles of his religion, submitted to be bribed by an infidel to attack a Mahomedan neighbour for his sake? The council was of opinion that such an enemy ought himself to be treated as an infidel. Accordingly, having harangued his small body of troops, he marched to oppose the invader. On the right he placed Ein-ool-Moolk, on the left his general Futtehy Khan, and in the centre the Prince Heidur Khan, while himself remained in the reserve with a body of select cavalry at his own disposal.

Ismael Adil Shah, also, having drawn out his army, the two forces engaged. The action lasted during the whole day, and night closed the scene without either having gained an advantage. Three days passed in continual skirmishes, till on the third night Ismael Adil Shah detached three thousand cavalry to make forced marches and plunder Golconda. The fourth day passed in skirmishing, and the two armies, as before, retired to their respective camps. At length his spies informed Sooltan Koolly of the detachment of three thousand Adil Shahy troops which had marched to Golconda, on which he caused all his heavy baggage to be thrown into the fort of Gunpoora, and resolved to attack the enemy's detachment. After making two forced marches, he overtook the enemy, and cut them off to a man. When Ismael Adil Shah heard of this event, he fell back on Kovilconda, which he continued to besiege with renewed vigour. Sooltan Koolly Kootb Shah, finding that Ismael Adil Shah had only retreated for the purpose of resuming his attacks,

returned with three thousand cavalry, and encamping in the suburbs, made night-attacks, and dispersed light troops to cut off the enemy's supplies. In an action which afterwards took place near the town of Gunpoora, Sooltan Koollly Kootb Shah received a sabre wound on the face, which disfigured him for life, the weapon having taken off a part of his nose and cheek.[137] During eleven months a succession of skirmishes took place between the two armies in the suburbs of Kovilconda; the garrison of which fort also made frequent sallies on the besiegers. The attacks had not been carried on with much success, when Ismael Adil Shah was taken dangerously ill of a fever and flux, of which he shortly afterwards died on the 16th Suffur, A.H. 941 (Aug. 27, A.D. 1534), and his eldest son, Mulloo Adil Khan, ascended the throne of Beejapoor with the title of Mulloo Adil Shah. Peace was immediately after concluded. Among the brave garrison of Kovilconda were a number of Hindoo Naigs, who distinguished themselves in its defence, and who received handsome presents from the King for their conduct. As the army had now endured a continued campaign of three years, the King permitted his officers and soldiers to proceed to their respective homes, while he marched to his capital.

In the month of Shuval, A.H. 936 (June, A.D. 1530), the King had a son born, who was called Ibrahim Koolly.—At the time that Sooltan Koolly was engaged in war with Ismael Adil Shah, Kasim Bereed Shah of Bidur took advantage of that circumstance to devastate many of the northern towns and districts of Tulingana. After having remained some time at his capital, Sooltan Koolly was again in the field with the determination of taking revenge for the late incursions into Tulingana. He accordingly marched to Bidur, where an action was fought, which terminated in a drawn battle on the first day; but on the second it ended in the total overthrow of the Bereed Shahy troops, with the loss of one hundred and fifty elephants; after which Sooltan Koolly gave orders for his cavalry to disperse in all directions, and to lay waste the whole of the Bereed Shahy territory. On this occasion the zemindars of Gujweel, Ellore, and Tipran, came forward and paid tribute, delivered over their country to

137. Ferishta asserts that this wound was received by Jumsheed Kootb Shah, his successor, from the hand of Assud Khan Lary of Beejapoor; but in this instance I should rely on the testimony of the Golconda historian, in preference to that of Ferishta.

the King's troops, of which they immediately took possession. Sooltan Koolly Kootb Shah now proceeded to reduce the strong fortress of Koheer.[138] When Kasim Bereed Shah heard of this movement, he marched to oppose the Kootb Shahy army. On his arrival, he was opposed by Sooltan Koolly with half of his army, the other half being left to continue the siege : an action took place, which terminated in a drawn battle. The Bereed Shahy troops, however, hovered about the Kootb Shahies, and endeavoured to cut off their supplies for the space of three months, during which time several partial skirmishes ensued. At length it was agreed by both parties, that, on account of the approaching rains, Kasim Bereed Shah should cede the fort of Koheer, and that the King of Golconda should retreat to his capital.

Having remained for sometime at Golconda, the King gave orders for a campaign against the infidels; and after collecting his army, marched to Nulgonda, the raja of which province had, during the late campaign, made some incursions into his country. On reaching the place it was required to surrender; but the demand was rejected, and the King immediately commenced the siege. Shortly after the brother of the Raja made a sally from the fort, in which he was taken, and his troops defeated. This event did not deter Raja Hurry Chundur, the commandant of the place, from making several other attacks by day and by night on the trenches, in which many brave men were killed on both sides.

The King in vain made several attempts to storm this strong hill-fort, but was as often repulsed: at length he sent a flag of truce to the walls, and proclaimed, that if Hurry Chundur would consent to become tributary to Golconda, and promise never again to invade the Kootb Shahy dominions, he would withdraw the Mahomedan forces to the capital; but, on the contrary, if the Raja refused these terms, he called on God to witness that he would send for more troops, destroy the towns, devastate the country, and thus reduce the place by cutting off its supplies; in which case he would give no quarter either to man, woman, or child, in the garrison. Hurry Chundur agreed to the terms, and sent magnificent presents to the King; at the same time he promised to pay an annual tribute. When the

138. This district is famous for its tobacco.

Raja's messengers arrived, the King said, that as Nulgonda was the only hill-fort which he had not reduced, he wished to see it, and proposed, which his body-guard remained in the town below, that he with one or two attendants might be allowed to go up and look at it.

The Raja consented, as he thought by this means to seize and put the King to death; while Sooltan Koolly, also bent or treachery, told his body-guard, that the moment h eentered thı fort with three or four attendants, he would draw his swor and occupy the gateway till they arrived. He accordingly too with him only four tried soldiers in complete armour, and ascenc ed the hill. The moment he entered he drew his sword, an cut down the centinel at the gate with his own hands; while h companions attacking the rest of the guard retained possessic of the gateway till the King's body-guard arrived, and subs quently, the rest of his army. Neither man, woman, nor chil was spared on this occasion. The Raja, on being made priso er, was confined in an iron cage, and eventually put to deat From Nulgonda the King marched to Condbeer, to demand tı bute which the Raja had hitherto neglected to pay. Condbe was, as before, vigorously besieged, and as bravely defend for a considerable time; till at length the Raja bribed some the Mahomedan officers to recommend the King to acce terms; but he declared he would not quit the place till it w taken. It fell in a few days after. The garrison having su rendered at discretion, the King built a tower in the middl of the fort, in commemoration of its reduction, and then retur ed to his capital.

Subsequent to the death of Ismael Adil Shah, his elder so Mulloo was proclaimed King; but shortly afterwards the minis ter, Assud Khan Lary, conspired against him, and in conjunc tion with his younger brother, the Prince Ibrahim, dethrone Mulloo, put out his eyes, and raised Ibrahim to the thron under the title of Ibrahim Adil Shah. While Sooltan Koolly was engaged in the siege of Koheer, Ibrahim Adil Shah, in conjunction with Kasim Bereed, had attacked part of the Tulingana territories; and Sooltan Koolly, having now returned to his capital, resolved to revenge himself for the insult and injury done to him. He accordingly led an army against the fort of Etgeer, belonging to the King of Beejapoor, and also sent different detachments to recover the districts of Kakny, Gorowly,

and Nargy, which had been usurped by Ismael Adil Shah during the time Sooltan Koolly Kootb Shah was engaged in war with Ramchundur and Seetaputty. The several detachments in a short time succeeded in reducing those districts, and occupied them in the name of Sooltan Koolly; after which the King invested the fortress of Etgeer, and at the same time sent an ambassador to Kasim Bereed Shah, demanding the cession of the towns of Meduk and Kowlas. Kasim Bereed Shah, aware that he could not resist the forces of Sooltan Koolly, deputed an ambassador to Boorhan Nizam Shah of Ahmudnuggur, begging him to ward off the impending blow. Boorhan Nizam Shah, who was engaged in a war with Ibrahim Adil Shah concerning the district of Sholapoor, was glad of the opportunity of opening a negotiation with Sooltan Koolly Kootb Shah, whose favour he wished to conciliate. He accordingly deputed his minister, Shah Tahir, to the Kootb Shahy camp; and it was stipulated that Kasim Bereed Shah should deliver up the fort of Meduk to Sooltan Koolly Kootb Shah, who, on his part, was to forgive past injuries. When Shah Tahir reached Golconda, he learned that Sooltan Koolly, in consequence of the rains, had raised the siege of Etgeer, and was on his return to his capital. Shah Tahir was received with all due respect, and he easily procurred the signature of the treaty with Kasim Bereed Shah. He also induced Sooltan Koolly to send a force of five thousand horse to assist Boorhan Nizam Shah in the reduction of the fort of Sholapoor. The ambassador having been presented with twenty thousand hoons received his audience of leave.

After a series of victorious campaigns, Sooltan Koolly Kootb Shah having nearly attained the age of ninety resolved to spend the few remaining years of his life in arrangements for the improvement of that country in peace, which had been acquired by his personal valour in war. Though his frame was infirm, his mind still remained active; and he now thought of beautifying his capital with mosques, palaces, and gardens. It is related that he came one Thursday, in the latter end of the month of Jumad-ool-Awul, A.H. 950 (August, A.D. 1543), to superintend some improvements and alterations making in the principal mosque at Golconda, which were to enable him to enter it by a private door, and so escape the observation of the congregation. His wish for making this arrangement was, because he always fancied the eyes of the people were attracted

towards him, owing to the sabre wounded he had received on the face, which he thought rendered his appearance frightful. On the day above alluded to he was giving directions to the builders, when his handkerchief, which was imprinted with the names of the twelve Imams, fell from his hands. This incident induced him to put off the alterations till the next day, and he returned from the mosque.

On Sunday, the 2d Jumad-oos-Sany, A.H. 950 (Sept. 4, A.D. 1543), he proceeded again to the mosque; and was in the act of kneeling down at prayers, when Meer Mahmood Humadany, governor and comandant of Golconda, at the instigation of the Prince Jumsheed, put the King to death with one blow of his sabre, and he was buried in the vault which he had himself caused to be built some years before. Sooltan Koolly ruled for a period of sixty years; sixteen of which he governed Tulingana in the name of Mahmood Shah Bahmuny, and reigned as king forty-four years. He was killed in his ninetieth year.

He had six sons and four daughters.

First Heidur Khan, who died during his father's lifetime.

Secondly, Kootb-ood-Deen, whom the King had nominated as his successor: but he was blinded by order of his brother Jumsheed, who murdered his father, and who subsequently usurped the throne. Kootb-ood-Deen died a natural death some years after.

Thirdly, Yar Koolly Jumsheed Khan, who succeeded his father.

Fourthly, Abdool Kureem, who rebelled, and fled his country, and was subsequently put to death.

Fifthly, Dowlut Khan, who was called the Mad Prince, and who died in the reign of Ibrahim Kootb Shah.

Sixthly, Ibrahim, who succeeded his brother Jumsheed on the throne.

When Yar Koolly Jumsheed Khan, the third son, found that his elder brother, Kootb-ood-Deen, was chosen by his father as his successor, he determined to assassinate him and to usurp the crown. This determination coming to the King's ears, he ordered Jumsheed into confinement, and kept him in a dungeon in the fort of Golconda. Jumsheed never forgave this treatment; and even in his prison planned the death of his parent, and instigated his keeper, the commandant of Golconda, to murder him as has been related.

JUMSHEED KOOTB SHAH

IMMEDIATELY upon the death of Sooltan Koolly, his murderer, Meer Mahmood, returned to Golconda; and having released the Prince Jumsheed, proceeded with a party direct to the palace of the Prince Kootb-ood-Deen, the declared heir-apparent, and caused him to be blinded. Thence going to the King's palace, Jumsheed was formally crowned under the title of Jumsheed Kootb Shah : his name was read in the public prayers throughout the kingdom of Tulingana, and he received congratulatory letters on his accession, from all the other monarchs of the Deccan.

When Jumsheed had put out the eyes of his elder brother, he immediately sent orders to Devurconda, in order that his younger brother Ibrahim, who commanded the fortress, might be seized and sent to court. The Prince, informed of this order, proceeded to Bidur, and claimed the protection and assistance of Kasim Bereed Shah, by whom he was graciously received. Kasim Bereed, having collected his army, marched, accompanied by the Prince, to attack Golconda, where he arrived without opposition. The sudden march of Kasim Bereed against Tulingana at once alarmed the other kings of the Deccan, especially Boorhan Nizam Shah, who, aware of his ambitious views, was fearful of his aggrandisement, and immediately marched an army to the relief of Jumsheed Kootb Shah. On his arrival at Koheer, then in possession of Kasim Bereed, he attacked and carried it by storm; and from thence advanced to Golconda. Kasim Bereed Shah, unable to cope with the united efforts of the Nizam Shahy and Kootb Shahy forces, retreated in the direction of Beejapoor; but on the road, taking advantage of the situation of the Prince Ibrahim, he so far forgot the rights of hospitality as to attempt to seize the elephants and private property belonging to him. The Prince discovering his intention immediately left him, and retreating to Beejanuggur claimed the friendship of Ramraj, formerly a dependent of Sooltan Koolly Kootb Shah, and who had now ascended the throne of Beejanuggur.

The origin of Ramraj's elevation in life is thus related :— When the late king marched towards the Beejanuggur territories, and reduced some districts on the confines, he was unwilling to

leave a Mahomedan detachment there, he therefore deputed Ramraj, a Hindoo of noble family, to the charge of the districts, and himself returned to Golconda. Three years afterwards Ramraj was expelled by some Adil Shahy troops who had been sent out on a plundering expedition, and who invaded and laid waste the estates in question, from whence Ramraj fled to the late Sooltan Koolly Kootb Shah, who considering his flight a proof of his cowardice ordered him instantly to quit the court. Ramraj, thus disgraced, took the route of Beejanuggur, and entered the service of Krishn Raj, who, shortly afterwards, forming a high opinion of him, gave him his daughter in marriage. At length his father-in-law died. The heir to the throne was a child in arms; and being, therefore, unfit to manage his own affairs, Ramraj first assumed the office of protector, and subsequently usurped the throne, taking pains to strengthen his power by the reduction of many troublesome neighbours, and the elevation of his own adherents and relatives. Such was the condition of the Beejanuggur state when the Prince Ibrahim, accompanied by Syud Hye, Reihan an Abyssinian, entitled Humeed Khan, and Kanajee a brahmin, besides a few personal attendants, left Kasim Bereed Shah's camp and proceeded to Beejanuggur. On the Prince's arrival he was received according to his rank, and treated with the utmost respect and attention. Some time after, during his residence in that city, a circumstance occured which is worthy of notice. It happened that at some former period Mullik Ein-ool-Moolk Geelany having offended Ibrahim Adil Shah left his service and entered that of Ramraj, with a force consisting of four thousand cavalry. Ein-ool-Moolk had on many occasions so distinguished himself by his bravery that the Raja used to call him brother. One day, returning from visiting the Raja with his troops, he met the Prince Ibrahim, accompanied by his attendants, among whom were Syud Hye and Humeed Khan. As the road was narrow, each insisted upon the other's making room, till at length the Prince's party, being on horseback, charged that of Ein-ool-Moolk with drawn swords, and made good their way; after which, the Prince prosecuted his visit to Ramraj.

After the departure of Kasim Bereed Shah from Golconda, and on the near approach of Boorhan Nizam Shah of Ahmudnuggur, Jumsheed Kootb Shah, relieved from all apprehensions for his capital, marched to meet his ally. Boorhan Nizam Shah

offered to confer the royal insignia on Jumsheed, and to crown him in due form; but the latter declined the ceremony, by saying, that if he could not maintain his right to the crown in the field he was unworthy of wearing it. After this, Boorhan Nizam Shah having induced Jumsheed Kootb Shah to unite with him and Alla-ood-Deen Imad Shah against the King of Beejapoor, the allied armies marched to reduce the fortress of Sholapoor. When Ibrahim Adil Shah heard of this attack, he moved, accompanied by Kasim Bereed Shah, towards Purenda, on the Nizam Shahy frontier, in order to create a diversion, as he was unable to cope with the three confederate armies. On his arrival, he laid siege to that fortress. This measure had the desired effect of withdrawing the allies from Sholapoor, and causing them to march to Purenda. Ibrahim Adil Shah, hearing of this movement attacked them unexpectedly at the village of Khaspoor, where a bloody action ensued, in which Jumsheed Kootb Shah distinguished himself greatly. The King of Beejapoor was defeated, and abandoned to the confederates all his heavy baggage and camp equipage. Jumsheed Kootb Shah availed himself of this opportunity to take revenge on Kasim Bereed, whom he pursued to the very gates of Bidur, and enriched himself and his troops by the plunder of his enemy, after which he returned direct to Golconda.[139]

Kasim Bereed Shah, on finding that Jumsheed Kootb Shah had abandoned the confederacy, and gone to his capital, marched with a force of eight thousand cavalry, besides a large body of infantry, to attack him. It was not before Kasim Bereed arrived at Chilkoor, a village situated at four coss[140] distant from Golconda, that Jumsheed received any intimation of his approach. Panic-struck with this news, he evacuated his capital, leaving a garrison for its defence, while he endeavoured to collect his nobles, who were residing on their different estates. In order to distract the attention of the enemy also, he made a movement towards Bidur, and having reached Kumtana, plundered the surrounding district. The moment Bereed Shah heard of this circumstance he abandoned the siege of Golconda, and retreated to protect his own capital. Jumsheed Kootb Shah met him on his return towards Bidur, with three hundred cavalry, and attacked his camp in the

139. Ferishta frequently reproaches the Kootb Shahy monarchs with deserting their allies, in prosecution of their own exclusive advantage.
140. Eight miles.

neighbourhood of Puttuncheroo, which ended in the two kings mutually agreeing to retire to their respective capitals. On Jumsheed Kootb Shah's arrival at Golconda, he spent some time in raising money, and in collecting troops from all quarters, when he again marched towards Bidur. On reaching Kowlas, he dispersed his army to plunder and to lay waste the country. Kasim Bereed Shah moved out from Bidur with eight thousand cavalry, besides infantry, to oppose him. Jumsheed Kootb Shah consulted his officers as to his future operations. Jugdew Row Naigwary[141] proposed to take possession of the heights above Kowlas, and fortify them as a depot, from whence it might be easy to prosecute the predatoy warfare. Jumsheed Kootb Shah, adopting this advice, left a strong party with Jugdew Row to build the depot, and marched to oppose Kasim Bereed Shah at Narainkehra, where an action took place, which terminated in a drawn battle; and the two armies encamped for some time within sight of each other, till a messenger from Jugdew Row arrived, announcing the completion of the fort, to which place the King proceeded with a small escort. In the mean time, Kasim Bereed Shah falling on the Golconda camp, completely sacked it, and the fugitives joined the King at Kowlas. Kasim Bereed Shah, neglecting to follow up his success, retreated to Bidur, while Jumsheed Kootb Shah took quiet possession of the districts of Kowlas, Narainkehra, and Ahsunabad, which were made over in charge to Jugdew Row.

During the late war, Jumsheed Kootb Shah had always kept his ally Boorhan Nizam Shah acquainted with the events as they occurred; and after the defeat of his troops, during his absence at Kowlas, he wrote to that monarch informing him of the circumstance, and inviting him to join in the war. Boorhan Nizam Shah, ever ready to avail himself of such an opportunity, immediately marched towards Owsa and Oodgeer, informing Jumsheed Kootb Shah that his own troops and those of Berar were on the road to join, and recommended him, in the mean time, to attack such places belonging to the enemy as lay contiguous to his kingdom. Jumsheed Kootb Shah, accordingly, marching by the route of Kowlas, joined the allies while in the act of besieging Owsa. It was now agreed that the siege of Owsa should be

141. This appellation, which is now confined to the Hindoo infantry garrisons, used formerly to belong to Marratta chiefs of high rank. Vide Duff's Marratta Hist. vol. i. p. 86.

continued by the allies, while Jumsheed Kootb Shah should recover the fort of Meduk, of which Kasim Bereed Shah had lately obtained possession. Upon his arrival at Meduk, Jumsheed Kootb Shah closely invested the lower fort, which, after a long siege, he carried by storm, and the governor of the hill-fort surrendered at discretion. Meanwhile the allies were successful in reducing both Owsa and Oodgeer. These events induced Kasim Bereed Shah to apply for assistance to the court of Beejapoor; and Ibrahim Adil Shah despatched Yekhlas Khan with five thousand cavalry to his support. With this reinforcement, Kasim Bereed Shah moved from Bidur to Kowlas. Jumsheed Kootb Shah intercepted him at Narainkehra, and thus disposed his troops. He himself took post in the centre, and gave command of the right wing to Seif Khan Ein-ool-Moolk, and the left to Jugdew Row. Kasim Bereed also remained in the centre of his army, placing the Adil Shahy auxiliaries on the right wing, and confiding the left wing to his own brother Khan Jehan. After a long and sanguinary contest, the victory was gained by the gallantry of Seif Khan Ein-ool-Moolk, who turned the enemy's left. On this occasion Kasim Bereed Shah lost many of his bravest officers and soldiers, who were either made prisoners or killed. After the action Jumsheed Kootb Shah returned in triumph to Golconda.[142]

Kasim Bereed Shah, who was frequently engaged in wars with Boorhan Nizam Shah, thought it politic to secure the alliance of Ibrahim Adil Shah, for which purpose he constantly sent presents, and feigned a sort of allegiance towards him. In order to dissolve this connection, Jumsheed Kootb Shah, on his return to Golconda, wrote to Boorhan Nizam Shah, stating that as Kasim Bereed Shah was in the habit of committing depredations on the territories of his neghbours, it appeared advisable for the other kings of the Deccan to unite and reduce him altogether; for which purpose he recommended that overtures should be made to Ibrahim Adil Shah of Beejapoor, to induce him to become a party to a confederacy, in order to reduce and to make a division of Kasim Bereed's country. Boorhan Nizam Shah, accordingly, wrote to Ibrahim Adil Shah, who entered heartily into the scheme, when it was agreed that the former should attack the country of Bereed Shah, leaving the latter unmolested in any attack he might

142. This is another instance of Jumsheed Kootb Shah deserting his allies, whom he had involved in the war on his own account.

choose to make on the Raja of Beejanuggur. Accordingly Boorhan Nizam Shah, proceeding eastward, attacked and carried by storm the fort of Kand'har. Kasim Bereed Shah, alarmed at this proceeding, and unaware of the secret treaty which had been formed, left a strong garrison to defend Bidur, and fled to his old ally Ibrahim Adil Shah, by whom he was seized and confined. Ibrahim Adil Shah then marched to the southward, where he succeeded in adding greatly to his territories by conquests from the Hindoo state of Beejanuggur.

Boorhan Nizam Shah, hearing of the vast acquisition of territory gained by Ibrahim Adil Shah, was afraid that his strength would completely overthrow that balance of power which it had always been his policy to preserve in the Deccan; and, therefore, without farther warning, he took advantage of the unprotected state of the northern part of the Beejapoor territory, and attacked the fort of Sholapoor, which had so frequently been a point of contention between those two monarchies. This step induced Ibrahim Adil Shah to countermarch, and direct his arms towards his new enemy on the north. Both kings sent ambassadors to Golconda, courting the alliance of Jumsheed Kootb Shah; who, seeing that it would be advantageous for him to join one or other party, marched and took up a position on the plain of Sholapoor, immediately between the two contending armies, from each of which he continued to receive overtures, without openly declaring for either. At the same time he received secret messages from Kasim Bereed Shah, who promised to cede any portion of his country he might choose to take, if he would procure his release. Jumsheed Kootb Shah sent for the ambassador of Ibrahim Adil Shah, and told him, that he could hold no further communication with him if his master did not release Kasim Bereed Shah, and send him over to his camp as a proof that he was at liberty. He also required that the King should send his charger, named Subah-ool-Kheir, and two particular elephants, the one called Nanreza and the other Chunchul, when he agreed to join him against Boorhan Nizam Shah. Ibrahim Adil Shah immediately complied with the terms, by sending the horse and elephants, and by releasing Kasim Bereed Shah, to all of which Jumsheed Kootb Shah merely sent a complimentary acknowledgment. He now called together his council, and resolved to abide by their advice in this critical juncture of affairs. He stated that Boorhan Nizam

Shah, who was also suing for his alliance, had been always his friend, and that it did not appear politic to join Ibrahim Adil Shah against him; nor would it be honourable in him now to join Boorhan Nizam Shah against Ibrahim Adil Shah after his late conduct. He, therefore, at the recommendation of his ministers, broke up his camp, and directed his march to Bidur, where he replaced Kasim Bereed Shah on his throne. Kasim Bereed on this occasion sent a number of beautiful singers and dancers to proceed with Jumsheed Kootb Shah to Golconda, to whom he gave large quantities of the jewels of the Bahmuny family, which had fallen into his hands.

Upon his arrival at Golconda the King gave himself up entirely to the luxuries of the table. He continued within the seraglio, and nothing was seen of him for months together. At length he was seized with a severe illness, which increasing, ended in his death in the year A.H. 957 (A.D. 1550),—and he was buried alongside of his illustrious father, after a reign of nearly seven years.

SOOBHAN KOOLLY KOOTB SHAH

On the death of Jumsheed, the nobles of the court elevated his son, Soobhan Koolly, a child of seven years of age, to the throne; but as he was unable to wield the sceptre, his mother, the Dowager-queen, in concert with the chiefs, resolved to recall Seif Khan Ein-ool-Moolk from his exile at Ahmudnuggur, whither he had been sent by the late king.

Jugdew Row, who was the first officer in the state, thought it would be best to elevate Dowlut Khan, the younger brother of the late king, to the throne, and he accordingly made overtures to Bheiry Khan and Juggut Row to that effect. These officers, disapproving of this step, and being envious of his high rank and reputation, proclaimed Jugdew Row a rebel. He immediately left the capital, and collecting troops, marched towards Bhowungeer, wherein the Prince Dowlut Khan was confined. After prouring his release, and gaining over all the Naigwaries in the neghbourhood, many of the districts contiguous to Bhowungeer acknowledged the Prince's authority.

Meanwhile Seif Khan, arriving from Ahmudnuggur, assumed the office of regent and protector, and collecting the army, march-

ed against Jugdew Row. The latter, unable to cope with the force under the Protector, sent messengers and presents to Toofal Khan, the Regent of Berar, imploring his assistance in favour of Dowlut Khan. To this Toofal Khan readily consented, and joined Jugdew Row; when a severe action took place between Seif Khan and the rebels at the village of Singram, which terminated in the total discomfiture of Dowlut Khan's party, and the loss to Toofal Khan of all his elephants and heavy baggage. Jugdew Row and Dowlut Khan fled to the fort of Bhowungeer, whither they were pursued and besieged. The mode of attack continued for a whole month, during which Jugdew Row headed several sallies that penetrated into the trenches, and the besiegers lost many valuable officers and men. At length Seif Khan proposed terms, to which the garrison would by no means listen, till they were eventually compelled by starvation to surrender themselves and the fort into the Regent's hands. The Prince Dowlut Khan was replaced, as before, in confinement in Bhowungeer, and Jugdew Row was conveyed to the capital.

Seif Khan, who was now in effect King of Tulingana, soon began to give real offence to most of the officers, many of whom he removed from their stations; and there were but few he did not in some way or other contrive to insult by his haughty conduct. The nobles, thus driven to desperation, wrote secretly to the Prince Ibrahim, the late king's younger brother, who, we have before seen, resided at Beejanuggur, under the protection of Ramraj. On receipt of the letters, his two friends in adversity, Syud Hye and Humeed Khan, advised him to proceed instantly to the capital, and proclaim himself king. He consulted his friend Ramraj, but he would by no means consent to his quitting his service to set up vague pretensions (as he termed them) to the throne of Golconda. At last, however, Ramraj not only acceded to Ibrahim's wishes, but even offered to send his brother Venkatadry, with ten thousand cavalry and twenty thousand infantry, to support him. Syud Hye and Humeed Khan advised the Prince to decline taking this large force, which might in his name effect any thing to favour the views of their master, and even usurp the government if it chose for Ramraj. The Prince Ibrahim, therefore, having left Beejanuggur without any Hindoo auxiliaries, proceeded as far as the town of Pangul, where he was met by many of the Kootb Shahy officers, and in a short time was joined

by about three thousand horse and five thousand infantry. He also received promises from the Naigwaries who formed the garrison of Kovilconda, to deliver up the fort into his hands, and to take the oaths of allegiance to him. The Prince Ibrahim immediately proceeded to that place, and was met by the chief officers of the garrison with presents. Having halted some time, he was joined by most of the principal nobles from Golconda, who now daily flocked to his standard, and he had collected in two months four thousand of the regular cavalry. By this time Seif Khan, the Protector, marched to oppose him, and reached the town of Gunpoora without opposition. The Prince, hearing of his advance, sent one of the Naigwaries of Kovilconda to carry on an intrigue at the capital, and to enter into a league with the Naigwary garrison of Golconda to release Jugdew Row from confinement, and bring him to Kovilconda. The Naigwaries were easily gained over: they released Jugdew Row, and proceeded to the palace of Juggut Row (the governor during the Protector's absence), whom they seized and put in irons, in the fort of Golconda. Thence proceeding to the houses of the chief nobles of the young king, Soobhan Koolly's party, they put them to death, and confined him. After these measures they wrote to the Prince Ibrahim of their success, and invited him to the capital. The moment the Protector heard of the failure of his plans for the safety of the capital, he wrote a submissive address to the Prince Ibrahim, begging to receive, under his own signature, a letter of forgiveness. The Prince replied, that he would make no promises until he ascended the throne of his father at Golconda. Seif Khan,[143] concluding that this was a prelude to his seizure and execution, enriched himself with great part of the treasury of the late king, and proceeded by the route of Kowlas with five thousand cavalry and some of his dependents, towards the frontier. The Prince did not pursue him, but moved to his capital, and was met at the distance of one stage from it by all the principal inhabitants. Among others, were Jugdew Row and the Naigwaries, who came and laid at his feet the keys of the citadel and fort. On the following day, being Monday, the 12th of Rujub, A.H. 957 (July 27, A.D. 1550) he was duly crowned at Mahomednuggur with the title of Ibrahim Kootb Shah.

143. The life of Seif Khan Ein-ool-Moolk is most interesting. He was at once the bravest, but the most unfortunate, man of his times.

AFTER his coronation, the King employed his time daily in rendering himself acquainted with the nature of his government, in distributing justice to the oppressed, and in enacting salutary laws for its furtherance and establishment. When the other kings of the Deccan heard of his accession, they sent letters of congratulation. Hoossein Nizam Shah deputed an officer of rank as ambassador, with magnificent presents, and Ibrahim Kootb Shah sent Moostufa Khan as envoy on his part. On the arrival of Moostufa Khan at Ahmudnuggur it was proposed that the two kings should meet, when they should proceed two reduce the forts of Bidur and Koolburga. These propositions were brought to Golconda by the Nizam Shahy minister, Kasim Beg Shirazy; but all operations were deferred till the kings should have an interview at Koolburga, where they shortly afterwards arrived, with their respective armies. Koolburga was accordingly besieged; but it resisted every effort of the allies for a whole month, till having at last effected two indifferent breaches, an assault was made, in which, after the loss of many of the best officers in the Nizam Shahy army, the allies were repulsed. The King of Beejapoor, to whom Koolburga belonged, unable singly to cope with their united forces, sent an ambassador with magnificent presents to Beejanuggur, to beg the aid of Ramraj, who immediately marched in person at the head of his army to the assistance of the King of Beejapoor, and on the road addressed the following letter to Ibrahim Kootb Shah:—

"Be it known to your Majesty, that it is now many years since the two courts of Beejapoor and Ahmudnuggur have been in a constant state of warfare, and that the balance of power between them was so equal, that although every year each of these sovereigns had been in the habit of making a campaign on the other's frontiers, yet no advantage accrued to either. It now appears that your Majesty (whose ancestors never interfered in these disputes) has marched an army to turn the scale in favour of Hoossein Nizam Shah, without having any cause of enmity against Ibrahim Adil Shah of Beejapoor, who has accordingly sought our alliance. As a friendship has long subsisted between

our court and your Majesty, we have thought fit to lay these arguments before you, to induce you to relinquish the offensive alliance which your Majesty has formed, and by returning peaceably to your capital, show a friendly disposition towards both parties, who will afterwards conclude a peace, and put an end to this long protracted war." At this period letters were also received to the same purport from Ibrahim Adil Shah. Ibrahim Kootb Shah consented to meet Ramraj, and to mediate terms between the kings of Beejapoor and Ahmudnuggur; for the fulfilment of which the intermediate powers were respectively to be the guarantees. About this time information was brought that Yeltumraj, the brother of Ramraj, with a body of cavalry, accompanied by some of the Beejapoor officers, were acting in concert, and that they had laid waste a considerable part of the country in the neighbourhood of Pangul. Having communicated on this subject with Hoossein Nizam Shah, the allies marched to the southward, and the four kings met at the junction of the Beema and Krishna rivers. A peace was now effected, to the mutual satisfaction of all parties, and each returned to his respective capital. During the absence of Ramraj from his capital, his two brothers, Timraj and Govindraj, who were placed in the government of Adony, taking advantage of his absence, usurped the control not only of Adony, but collecting a force, compelled several other districts to submit to their authority. Ramraj, on his return to Beejanuggur, wrote, in the first place, letters to his rebel brothers, which they treated with contempt, relying upon their own force; and he, unable to subdue them, was induced to send ambassadors to the court of Golconda to solicit assistance. Ibrahim Kootb Shah immediately despatched Kubool Khan, at the head of six thousand cavalry and ten thousand infantry, to join Ramraj. On reaching Beejanuggur, Ramraj ordered his own troops into the field; and having directed Sidraj Timapa, Noor Khan, and Bijly Khan, with their different corps, to join the subsidiary force, he ordered them to march against the rebels. The insurgents, finding themselves unable to oppose the royalists, took shelter in the strong fortress of Adony, which was besieged for a period of six months, when being distressed for provisions, the garrison sent petitions to the throne at Beejanuggur. Ramraj pardoned his brothers, and recalled the forces to the capital; whence, after being handsomely

rewarded, Kubool Khan received permission to return to Golconda, where the King honoured him with the title of Ein-ool-Moolk.

It has been previously related, that Jugdew Row, supported by the Naigwaries who released him from prison, put to death the principal supporters of the young Prince Soobhan Koolly, and placed him in confinement. Jugdew Row also retained in his own hands the command of the fort and city, till the arrival of Ibrahim Kootb Shah at the capital. The King, feeling himself under great obligations to this chief, raised him to several high stations, till at length he became prime minister. Having attained this elevation, Jugdew Row evinced his ambitious disposition; and entertaining a secret design to dethrone the King, he proposed to place his brother, the Prince Dowlut Khan, who, it was well known, was an idiot, on the throne, in order to have the entire management of affairs in his own hands. In furtherance of this project, the minister's deputy, Ray Row, was guilty of many insolent acts degrading to the principal Mahomedan nobles of the state, who went in a body and complained to the King of the power of these two Hindoos, warning him, at the same time, of confiding too much in them, the more especially as all the garrisons in the kingdom were composed of the Naigwaries,[144] who looked up to Jugdew Row as their chief. The King heard these complaints, but took no measures of precaution, till at length the cruelties and oppression of the minister's deputy, Ray Row, came to his ears. About this time, Venkut Row, the brother of Jugdew Row, quitted the capital without taking leave, and proceeded to his estate; a sure indication of his intended revolt. The King ordered a party to seize Ray Row, who being overtaken was executed. Jugdew Row, upon learning the fate of his deputy, fled from Golconda, accompanied by two or three thousand cavalry, towards Elgundel, and having laid waste the surrounding country, he proceeded to the court of Berar. Here, on account of

144. It seems that under the Mahomedan governments the infantry of their army was chiefly composed of Hindoos. In their early conquests they employed no other soldiers than Mahomedan cavalry; but the instant they settled in the country they enlisted the Hindoo infantry. Those men born in the military class, and who looked to that profession alone as a livelihood, had little repugnance, after the conquest of their country, to embrace the service of its new masters. Thus situated, they had no kind feeling towards the rest of their countrymen; and while their officers were conciliated, the privates became the ready instruments of despotism in the hands of him who held the government.

his well-known character for bravery, he was graciously received by Boorhan Imad Shah, who appointed him to the command of ten thousand cavalry, and deputed him to conduct the war in which he was then engaged with Meeran Mahomed Khan, the ruler of Kandeish. Jugdew Row defeated the Kandeish troops in several engagements, obtaining large quantities of booty on each occasion. In addition to this, he was also successful in reducing to his authority many of the petty rajas of Berar, whom he compelled to pay him homage, till at length having collected in his own jageer a force consisting of three thousand cavalry, besides a body of infantry, composed of Arabs, Persians, and Abyssinians, he set at defiance the power of the rulers both of Kandeish and Berar. Boorhan Imad Shah remonstrated with Jugdew Row, saying, "When you came here without friends, I received you with attention, allotted estates for your support, and gave you the command of my army. You have now aggrandised yourself in such a manner as to render it a matter of state policy that you should quit my territory; which I command you to do with the least possible delay." Jugdew Row, although in the command of a large force, had not yet proceeded so far as to take possession of any of the strong forts in Berar, so that he had no place of strength in which to retreat in case of defeat. Making a virtue of necessity, therefore, he said, that he would not be ungrateful for the kindness he had received at the King's hands, and, consequently, retired from Berar, laying waste all the villages in his route till he reached Elgundel, whence he intended to proceed to Beejanuggur.

When Ibrahim Kootb Shah heard of the approach of Jugdew Row with an army of five thousand men, composed of Arabs, Persians, and Abyssynians, and also three hundred elephants, besides a body of Hindoo infantry, he detached Moostufa Khan to oppose him. The King's troops fell in with the enemy in the neighbourhood of Cumamett. Moostufa Khan, in the first instance, sent a person recommending Jugdew Row to throw himself on the King's mercy, on promise of his again receiving the jageers which he formerly held. Instead of listening to these overtures, Jugdew Row ordered his troops under arms, and proceeded to attack Moostufa Khan, who was also on the alert to receive him. A severe action ensued, wherein Venkut Row, the brother of Jugdew Row, was killed, and four Arab Sheikhs,

namely, Sheikh Fazil, Sheikh Ally Julwany, Sheikh Abdool Raheem, and Sheikh Ibrahim,[145] also fell in leading their troops. Jugdew Row was defeated; and, reluctantly compelled to quit the field, fled to Beejanuggur, leaving all his baggage and treasures, as well as two hundred elephants, in the hands of the royalists. The elephants, according to custom, were sent into the King's stables, but the treasures were distributed among the soldiers of the army.

It appears from history, that shortly after the meeting which took place between Ramraj, Ibrahim Kootb Shah, and Ibrahim Adil Shah, at the junction of the Beema and Krishna rivers, the latter monarch, on his return to Beejapoor, died, and was succeeded by his son Ally Adil Shah, then a youth. Hoossein Nizam Shah of Ahmudnuggur, taking advantage of the circumstance of his minority, made war upon him, and Ally Adil Shah, unable to defend himself, evacuated his capital; and attended only by a small body-guard proceeded in person to Beejanuggur to court the alliance of Ramraj, who was induced to march with his whole army, accompanied by Ally Adil Shah, towards Ahmudnuggur. At the same time, these two sovereigns sent a letter to Ibrahim Kootb Shah, calling upon him, in pursuance of the late treaty, to join them. Ibrahim Kootb Shah, however unwilling to act against Hoossein Nizam Shah, considered it politic not to incur the imputation of a breach of the treaty, and, perhaps, draw on himself the vengeance of the allies, whom he accordingly joined at the city of Koolburga, from whence the whole marched to Ahmudnuggur. The Beejanuggur troops laid waste all the towns and villages on their route. Hooseein Nizam Shah, unable to resist their united forces, having left a strong garrison and plenty of provisions in his capital, retired to Dowlutabad. In the mean time, Ibrahim Kootb Shah wrote to him privately, informing him of the political necessity which had induced him to join the allies; but at the same time assured him, that his endeavours should be exerted to

145. The practice of enlisting Arabian infantry in the Deccan appears to be of old standing. They proved, under the pashwa's government, the only good soldiers of his army, especially for the defence of fortifications. An interesting paper on the subject of Mahomedan mercenary troops appeared in the Journal Asiatique of February, 1827, from the able pen of Colonel Fitzclarence, in which he displays great research, and an intimate acquaintance both with European modern history and that of the Mahomedans in all parts of the world.

assist him, and do all in his power to induce his enemies to retreat, and abandon the war. He also made the same communications to the officer commanding in the fort of Ahmudnuggur, advising him to make every possible resistance, and to hold out till the last. The allies besieged the place with vigour for two months, and the garrison were beginning to lose their spirits, when Ibrahim Kootb Shah, with seasonable donations, bought over some of the principal nobles of Beejanuggur, and induced them to propose the return of the troops to their respective capitals. They represented that the rains were fast approaching; that the army was at a great distance from Beejanuggur; and that if the wet season completely set in, it would be nearly impossible to recross the numerous rivers that lay on the march. Ramraj, convinced of the truth of these remonstrances, cansented to retreat; but Ally Adil Shah, who knew that the besieged were suffering for want of provisions, had a conference with Ramraj, and begged him not to think of withdrawing till the place fell, promising to cede to him the district of Indgy if he would only continue the siege for one month longer. Ramraj consented, and the siege was prosecuted with redoubled vigour. Meanwhile Ibrahim Kootb Shah permitted supplies for the garrison, and a number of artillery-men from the King at Dowlutabad, to pass through his camp into the place. The approaches of the allies were brought close to the walls; and the speedy reduction of the fort appeared so certain, that Ibrahim Kootb Shah was induced to try, if possible, to avert that extreme evil. He accordingly deputed his minister and commander-in-chief, Moostufa Khan, to wait on Ramraj, and endeavour to persuade him to raise the siege, but at all events to acquaint him, that the Kootb Shahy troops must return immediately to Golconda. Moostufa Khan, in his conference with Ramraj, made use of every argument he could devise in order to gain his end. The scarcity of provisions in the camp, the approach of the rainy season, the advance of the kings of Guzerat and Boorhanpoor, whom he stated, had entered into an alliance with Hoossein Nizam Shah, and were collecting their armies to march to his assistance, were all adduced as reasons for that measure. Moostufa Khan also engaged secretly, on the part of the King his master, to cede the fort and district of Condapilly to Ramraj, if he would return to his capital. This last motive was, perhaps, the most weighty; for Ramraj immediately consented to retreat,

and sent a message to Ally Adil Shah to that effect, and the three kings repaired to their respective capitals.

At their last meeting at Ahmudnuggur, previously to their separation, a messenger arrived and informed Ramraj, that Toofal Khan, the prime minister of Boorhan Imad Shah, and who was then Regent of Berar, had with four thousand cavalry invaded the territory of Tulingana, and was at present employed in plundering that country. Ramraj, turning round to Ibrahim Kootb Shah, conveyed the news to him, and also observed, that if he was in want of assistance some of the Beejanuggur troops should be placed at his disposal to aid in repelling the invaders. Ibrahim Kootb Shah, annoyed at his supposing he required any foreign assistance, ordered Dustoor Khan Toorkman, in Ramraj's presence, to proceed with a party of only one hundred cavalry to expel Toofal Khan, and to report as soon as possible the nature of his success. Dustoor Khan immediately marched with the Toorkmans which he commanded against Toofal Khan, with whom he came up at the town of Bhimkul, and completely defeated him, taking a number of prisoners, among whom were eleven officers of distinction. Toofal Khan was wounded, and made his escape, and the Mundup,[146] or tent of sixteen poles, belonging to Imad Shah, also fell into the hands of Dustoor Khan.

It should be mentioned, that when the armies marched towards Ahmudnuggur the allies took the fort of Kulliany, and delivered it over into the hands of the King of Beejapoor. After their return to their capitals, Hoossein Nizam Shah conceived it incumbent on him to send an ambassador to Ibrahim Kootb Shah, to thank him for his friendly conduct during the siege of Ahmudnuggur. He therefore deputed Mowlana Inayut Oolla to Golconda, to offer congratulations on the safe return of Ibrahim Kootb Shah. He was also authorised to effect an alliance with the family; and it was agreed that the two kings should meet on the following year for that purpose, in the neighbourhood of Kulliany, and after celebrating the proposed marriage, that their armies should proceed to the recovery of that fortress out of the

146. The Teloogoo term, Mundup, here made use of, implies that this tent was flat, in the shape of an awning, and was of that description of covering usually known in our Indian armies by the name of Shah Miana; so called from its being frequently spread between two tents, and connecting them.

hands of Ally Adil Shah. Accordingly, at the stated period, Hoossein Nizam Shah and Ibrahim Kootb Shah collected their respective forces, and met at Kulliany; where the former gave his daughter in marriage to Ibrahim Kootb Shah; and after one month employed in celebrating the nuptials, the kings laid siege to Kulliany. Ally Adil Shah, upon intimation of that event, proceeded to Beejanuggur, and again solicited the aid of Ramraj, who marched with his army to his support. On the road Ally Adil Shah was joined by Ally Bereed Shah of Bidur, who had been invited by him to join the confederacy. On the approach of the allies, Ibrahim Kootb Shah received intimation that Ramraj, taking advantage of his absence, had detached his brother Venkatadry, accompanied by Jugdew Row and Ein-ool-Moolk, at the head of fifteen thousand cavalry, and thirty thousand infantry, to invade his southern districts. On intimation of this event, Ibrahim Kootb Shah consulted with Hoossein Nizam Shah, when it was resolved that they should raise the siege of Kulliany, and return to their respective capitals. As the retreat of Ibrahim Kootb Shah lay directly in the route of the allies, Hoossein Nizam Shah detached his son, the Prince Moortuza Khan, with three thousand horse, to accompany him on his retreat, notwithstanding which he was pursued by the Adil Shahy troops. Ibrahim Kootb Shah directed Sheer Khan Hussun, Arab Khan, Dowlut Khan, Sheikh Mahomed Moostufa, and Meean Bhay, with their divisions, to remain in the rear, and cover the retreat of the main army. On the first march a heavy rain fell, which continued for three days, and rendered it impossible to move : on the fourth, the enemy pressed hard on the rearguard; and although that corps kept them so much in check as to enable the main body to retreat, yet all the artillery was left on the ground, and Arab Khan and Sheikh Mahomed Moostufa were taken prisoners, while Ibrahim Kootb Shah reached his capital with difficulty.

Some time afterwards, when the confederates returned from Ahmudnuggur, they marched towards Tulingana, and encamped at the village of Tarpully, situated at the distance of thirty-two miles from Golconda. From thence they detached Jugdew Row, Ein-ool-Moolk Geelany, and Venkatadry, to lay waste the country. Ibrahim Kootb Shah deputed Mujahid Khan with a force to oppose them; and an action took place in the neighbourhood of Torkul, which lasted for several days without being decisive.

Ramraj, at the same time, detached Sidraj Timapa, the Raja of Condbeer, with fifty thousand horse, against Condapilly and Masulipatum, and his son-in-law, Jotumraj, with twenty thousand horse, against Dewurconda and Indraconda, while his own forces were employed in plundering the neighbourhood of Golconda. Several skirmishes took place near the gardens of Ibrahim Shah and the village of Beejwara. Four months were occupied in these operations, till Jugdew Row induced the Naigwaries of Pangul, Kovilconda, and Gunpoora, to deliver up those forts to Ramraj. At the same time Kasy Row made over the keys of Indraconda.

On the south Sidraj Timapa attacked Condapilly, and Seetaputty and Vidiadry, from Rajmundry, attacked the fort of Ellore. The King, thus confined to his capital, resolved to march out in person, and attack the confederates at Tarpully, when a messenger most opportunely arrived from Ally Bereed Shah, one of the confederates, proposing that Ibrahim Kootb Shah should send his minister, Moostufa Khan, to camp, in order to negotiate a peace. Moostufa Khan received secret instructions to conciliate Jugdew Row, without whose good will he despaired of obtaining terms. Through his means Moostufa Khan obtained a conference with Ally Adil Shah, after which he accompanied that monarch to the tents of Ramraj, who agreed with reluctance to retreat to Beejanuggur, on condition of being allowed to retain the forts of Gunpoora and Pangul. The confederacy now broke up, and the allies returned to their capitals.

When the King had thus gotten rid of his enemies, and reflected on the awkward situation in which he would have been placed if they had besieged him in his capital, which was incapable of defence, he resolved to rebuild the fort of Golconda with stone and mortar. The nobles were invited to construct palaces within the walls, and the King resolved in future to hold his court therein.

It has been already related that, during the late war, Jugdew Row had induced Kasy Row, the chief Naigwary of the fort of Indraconda, to seize it; on which occasion he placed Mowlana Mahomed Momin, the governor, in confinement. The King, therefore, deputed Moostufa Khan, with ten thousand cavalry, and twenty thousand infantry, to retake that place. The besiegers were, in the first instance, compelled to cut away the woods by which Indraconda was surrounded, after which they carried on regular approaches; but it was two months before practicable

breaches were effected, when it was stormed and carried. Kasy Row, being taken prisoner, was beheaded on the spot, and the imprisoned governor released; after which, Moostufa Khan returned to the capital, and was honoured with titles, and raised to the office of peshwa. The King resolved, by degrees, to reduce the power of the Naigwaries, who, it appeared, had been concerned in the late rebellion with Kasy Row. Sooria Row, the commandant of the Naigwaries in the fort of Golconda, discovering the King's intention, entered into a plot with the Naigwary chiefs intrusted with the command of the different garrisons; by whom it was resolved that, on a concerted signal, when the King should go out to hunt in the country, they should secure all the forts, and Sooria Row seize the treasure at the capital, and put all the Mahomedans to the sword. This plot was communicated to Ramraj, who engaged to send a force to aid in the project. Accordingly, when the hunting season came on, the King gave orders for his troops and camp to be pitched on the plain, and left Golconda, about two o'clock in the morning, to proceed to his camp, and make his first movement. As soon as he had quitted the fort, the gates were closed, and the Naigwaries began to attack the Mahomedans. Two of the latter made their escape, and informed the King of the circumstance, who ordered the troops with him to invest the fort. The mutineers at daylight, seeing the whole of the army around the fort, appeared upon the ramparts, and said that they were willing to return to their duty, if the King would give up his minister, Moostufa Khan, whom they accused of maltreating the Naigwaries of the out-garrisons ever since his accession to power, saying they were afraid that the same treatment might fall to their own lot. The King sent for Moostufa Khan, and related to him the state of affairs brought on during his administration. The minister replied, that if the King thought his death necessary for the good of the state, he was ready to surrender himself into the hands of the mutineers. The King refused to accede to the demand of the Naigwaries, who after some days, with Sooria Row at their head, were compelled to give in; on which occasion every one of them was executed, as an example to the disaffected Naigwaries in the other garrisons.

During the period that the confederate armies were encamped at Tarpully, the fort of Ellore had been attacked by Vidiadry; but Dilawur Khan the governor resisted all the efforts of the enemy,

and reported his situation to court. The King now sent a reinforcement of two thousand infantry to his assistance, and authorised him, after repulsing the besiegers, to build a fort at the town of Neerdole.

Sometime after its completion, Dilawur Khan wrote to court, recommending that troops might be employed against Rajmundry, a town situated only eight miles distant. The King ordered Ruffut Khan Lary, entitled Mullik Naib, with ten thousand horse, to march to Ellore, in order to be ready to attack Rajmundry. On hearing of his arrival at Neerdole, Vidiadry and Seetaputty sent to summon the rajas of Cosimcota and others in the neighbourhood to their aid. These, collecting two thousand cavalry, one hundred thousand infantry, and two thousand musketeers and rocketmen, marched against the Mahomedans. An action ensued, which terminated in the death of the Raja of Oorconda, and the defeat of the Hindoos, who with Vidiadry and Seetaputty fled to the fort of Rajmundry, whither they were pursued by the Mehomedans as far as Dhowlyswur, within four miles of that fort. Dhowlyswur[147] was shortly after taken by storm; and the heavy baggage of the army being left therein, the Mahomedans proceeded to reduce the fort of Tatpak,[148] then in possession of Nursing Row, a powerful zemindar in that part of the country. In consequence of the depth of the ditch a whole month was employed in the attack of this place, when Nursing Row, at the head of two or three thousand cavalry, and ten thousand infantry, sallied out, and attacked the Mahomedans, but he was taken prisoner, and his party totally routed. When the King heard of the capture of Nursing Row, he sent orders to the army to fall back, and to remain during the rains at Dhowlyswur; after which Ruffut Khan again proceeded to the attack of Tatpak, which was reduced, as well as all the surrounding districts of Rajmundry, when the army received orders to return to the capital, and to leave trusty Naigwaries in charge of the several forts which were taken.

Ibrahim Kootb Shah now took into consideration the danger which threatend the Mahomedan kings by the frequent interference of Ramraj. During the late wars he had not only laid waste

147. There is a place called Dowlacheram in the map so situated, and it is probably the same.

148. The position of this place has not been fixed.

the country of Hoossein Nizam Shah, and polluted the musjids by appropriating them to the use of his cattle and of his soldiers, but on his return he had plundered the districts of both his allies. Ibrahim Kootb Shah, therefore, thought the present a favourable moment to rouse the other kings of the Deccan, and by a confederacy against Ramraj, either to destroy his power, or to curtail it so as to leave no cause for future apprehension from him. The greatest difficulty in this plan was to persuade the kings of Ahmudnuggur and Beejapoor to unite for this purpose. To this end Ibrahim Kootb Shah deputed his prime minister, Moostufa Khan, to the court of Hoossein Nizam Shah, and from thence directed him to proceed to the court of Ally Adil Shah, at Beejapoor. The avowed object of the mission was, in the first instance, to effect a reconciliation between those princes, and, if possible, to form some family connection between them : at the same time the ambassador was directed to ascertain how a confederacy against Ramraj would be viewed by these kings. Moostufa Khan succeeded so well, that he not only brought about the reconciliation, but it was agreed, that Hoossein Nizam Shah should give his daughter, Chand Beeby, in marriage to Ally Adil Shah, with the fort of Sholapoor as her dowry; and the latter consented to give his sister, Hudeea Sooltana to the Prince Moortuza, the eldest son of Hoossein Nizam Shah; after which it was resolved that the three kings should meet at the fort of Sholapoor, and from thence proceed with their united forces against Ramraj. Accordingly, on the 20th of Jumad-ool-Awul, A.H. 972 (Dec. 26, A.D. 1564), the combined armies moved to the south, and arrived without opposition at the town of Talikote, near the river Krishna; while Ramraj, summoning all his dependents and rajas from the banks of the Krishna, as far as the island of Ceylon, brought together a force consisting of one hundred thousand horse, and three hundred thousand infantry, and marched to oppose the confederates. On Friday, the 20th of Jumad-oos-Sany, A.H. 972 (Jan. 25, A.D. 1565), the celebrated action took place which cost Ramraj his life, and which ended in the defeat of the Hindoo army, with the loss of nearly one hundred thousand men.[149] The allied armies halted for ten days on the field of action, and then proceeded to

149. I have not followed the author through the details of this action, as Ferishta has so fully related them in the history of Ally Adil Shah, p. 76.—*Translator.*

the capital of Beejanuggur, where the efforts of the conquerors were directed to the plunder of the country and the city, and the destruction of the stone temples. After which the three monarchs deputed severally their generals—Moostufa Khan, on the part of the King of Golconda; Mowlana Inayut Oolla, on the part of Hoossein Nizam Shah; and Kishwur Khan, on the part of Ally Adil Shah—to attack Moodkul and Rachore, which places were easily reduced. Moostufa Khan, without waiting for further orders, delivered over the keys of the forts to Kishwur Khan, which so incensed Hoossein Nizam Shah, that he wrote to the King of Golconda, informing him of the circumstance, and requiring that Moostufa Khan should suffer death. Ibrahim Kootb Shah, unwilling to slay a descendant of the Prophet, sent for Moostufa Khan, and taxed him with treachery.[150] The latter was not allowed to make any defence, but was directed to quit the kingdom and proceed to Mecca, there to repent of his sins. The King caused letters to be written to Golconda to send all the family and property of Moostufa Khan to one of the western seaports, to be ready to accompany him; and it is a well authenticated fact, that his wealth and family required seven hundred carriages and five thousand porters to transport it. Moostufa Khan left the King's presence, and proceeded direct to the court of Ally Adil Shah, by whom he was honourably received, and became his prime minister; after whose death he was assassinated, in the year A.H. 988 (A.D. 1580), in the country of Malabar, a country which he had previously reduced and of which he was governor.

After halting for six months at Beejanuggur, the three sovereigns returned to their respective capitals; and all the districts which had been taken from Ibrahim Kootb Shah in the reign of Ramraj were now recovered. On the following year, A.H. 973

150. It seems most probable, that on this occasion Moostufa Khan did intentionally favour the claims of Ally Adil Shah to the forts of Moodkul and Rachore, since they were equally conveniently situated for his own master as for the King of Beejapoor. Supposing it to be true, then, that he wantonly sacrificed his sovereign's interest, his conduct seems to have merited at the time a more severe punishment than was inflicted on him, although, in the end, after a long and arduous life, in which he displayed the highest talent in the service of the King of Beejapoor, he was basely cut off by the hand of an assassin, and died universally regretted.

(April 8, A.D. 1566), on Friday the 14th of Rumzan, the King had a son presented to him, called Mahomed Koolly.

Upon the return of Hoossein Nizam Shah to his capital he was taken dangerously ill, and died on Wednesday the 7th of Zeekad, A.H. 972 (June 7, A.D. 1565),[151] and was succeeded by his eldest son Moortuza, who assumed the title of Moortuza Nizam Shah. This Prince was devoted to excesses, and left the affairs of his government in the hands of Khonza Hoomayoon, the Dowager-queen, who in a short time becoming very unpopular, Kishwur Khan the peshwa wrote privately to Ally Adil Shah, inviting him to march and attack Ahmudnuggur, where there was a strong party in his favour. On obtaining information of this intrigue, Moortuza Nizam Shah, roused from his lethargy, called together his council. They recommended that an envoy should be forthwith sent to Ibrahim Kootb Shah, the old ally of the house of Nizam Shah, for assistance; but before any aid could arrive from Golconda, Ally Adil Shah had already reached the frontier, and Moortuza Nizam Shah was compelled to quit Ahmudnuggur. He retreated to Berar, where he formed an alliance with Toofal Khan, the ruler of that province, who had usurped the government, and confined the princes of the blood-royal of the Imad Shahy dynasty. With the aid of the Berar troops, Moortuza Nizam Shah marched to Kowlas, by which time the troops of Ibrahim Kootb Shah had also moved, and a junction was effected between the towns of Kand'har and Kowlas, where a treaty was formed. It was resolved that the united forces of Ahmudnuggur, Berar, and Golconda, should march direct to the attack of Beejapoor. Ally Adil Shah, deserting his capital in his turn, retreated to the Concan, leaving a considerable army for the defence of the city, while the allies laid siege to Beejapoor, and laid waste the surrounding country. Ibrahim Kootb Shah, perceiving that Ally Adil Shah was driven from one spot to another, and unwilling that he should be reduced to cede any large tract of country to Moortuza Nizam Shah, contrived to persuade the other allies to raise the siege, and to return to their own capitals.[152]

After this event, Ally Adil Shah made secret overtures of

151. Ferishta has not fixed the date of Hoossein Nizam Shah's death.

152. It will be observed, that this account differs widely from that given by Ferishta.

alliance to Moortuza Nizam Shah, and proposed they should meet at the fort of Owsà. Here they entered into a compact, by which it was agreed that Moortuza Nizam Shah should reduce the kingdom of Berar, and Ally Adil Shah those of Bidur and Tulingana. In the first place, however, the combined forces marched to the northward against Toofal Khan, who, unable to resist them, fled to Gavulgur, which after a considerable time was on the point of surrendering, when Toofal Khan paid two lacks of hoons,[153] and agreed to present fifty elephants to Ally Adil Shah, in order to induce him to raise the siege. In consequence of this secret engagement, Ally Adil Shah sent a person to Moortuza Nizam Shah, saying, that it was shameful for two armies like theirs to throw of the confederacy; but a circumstance occurred, which tended to dissolve this union as suddenly as it had been formed.

On the accession of Moortuza Nizam Shah to the throne, he had scarcely attained his twelfth year; and the affairs of his government were conducted by his mother, the Queen-dowager, Khonza Hoomayoon. At that time she had been induced by ill-advised persons about her to demand from Yeltumraj two lacks of hoons[154] for aid to be afforded to him by the allies against the encroachments of the King of Beejapoor. Yeltumraj, who rather expected that the allies would restore the countries taken by Ally Adil Shah from Ramraj instead of applying to him for money, sent a message to Ibrahim Kootb Shah, informing him of the circumstance. The King of Golconda immediately deputed a person to wait on the Queen-dowager, expressing his astonishment at this unexpected demand; and observing that it appeared very impolitic, in the present posture of affairs, to make demands of money on Yeltumraj, instead of conciliating one who was a useful ally at the head of ten thousand men, and who had reason to bear great enmity towards the powerful state which they were on the point of attacking. Instead of attending to this remonstrance, the demand was again urged by the Queen with threats; and Yeltumraj not only refused to pay the money, but prepared to treat the allies as enemies. Ibrahim Kootb Shah, finding that

153. About 80,000*l*.

154. This circumstance is not mentioned by Ferishta. The Queen-dowager was imprisoned in 977, before the attack on Berar, which event took place in 980. Ferishta was at the time in the service of Moortuza Nizam Shah, and was compelled to fly from Ahmudnuggur in the year 998, two years after the death of that prince.

matters were assuming an unfavourable appearance, sent to Yeltumraj, advising him to retreat to his country, and promising that his own troops should also move at the same time. On the following day, Ibrahim Kootb Shah struck his camp and retreated to Golconda, and Yeltumraj marched to Penkonda. Moortuza Nizam Shah, thus suddenly deserted by his allies and surrounded by the Adil Shahy cavalry, who had occupied the route by which he came, commenced his retreat through the kingdom of Tulingana; and his army laid waste the districts of Kovilconda and Gunpoora. Ibrahim Kootb Shah detached Sulabut Khan, with three thousand horse, to protect the country from the depredations of the Nizam Shahies; and orders were issued to the Munewars and Havaldars[155] to throw every obstacle in the way of their march, to shut the gates of the towns, and to secure the property of the people, as far as was practicable from their hands. The village magistrates were very active during the nights, and kept the enemy on the alert by incessant firing in small parties all round the camp. The Nizam Shahies suffered so much from these irregular attacks, that they were induced to dig a trench round the camp for their protection, as well as to prevent the approach of the Kootb Shahy cavalry, which constantly hovered round them. The Nizam Shahies continued to plunder; and Sulabut Khan, finding remonstrances of no avail, charged the rear of their army, and completely routed them. Moortuza Nizam Shah halted his line, and sent a large body of cavalry under Moatimid Khan to attack the Kootb Shahy detachment. In this latter engagement, the Nizam Shahy commander was killed, and Kamil Khan, another general, was wounded. The Kootb Shahy army also lost one general (Mookurrib Khan). Night put an end to the contest; and on the following morning the Nizam Shahies marched, and did not halt till they arrived on the Bereed Shahy territories.

Before the battle of Talikote, we have seen that Ruffut Khan Lary, entitled Mullik Naib, had marched to the south, and reduced part of the country of Rajmundry; but when the Kootb Shahy forces moved to co-operate with the Mahomedan confederated armies against Ramraj, Ruffut Khan was directed to join the grand army. Twelve months after this period, Ruffut Khan Lary was again despatched to the south, with ten thousand horse, with

155. Village Magistrates.

orders to complete the conquest of Rajmundry. On reaching Dhowleswur, he took measures to attack Rajmundry; but the towns of Pentapoor and Rajpoondy[156] being in the possession of Seetaputty, he was in the habit of sending reinforcements and provisions into Rajmundry by night, so that Ruffut Khan first resolved to attack him, and accordingly marched towards Pentapoor. On the road he was opposed by the enemy, and a severe action took place. When the Hindoos were defeated, and fled to the fort of Pentapoor. The Mahomedan army pursued the fugitives to the walls, which they escaladed, and by that means took the place. Seetaputty and his family made their escape through the woods to the fortress of Rajpoondy, whither he was pursued by the Mahomedans on the following day; but they were detained for some time in approaching that fortress, the roads being narrow, and the woods on both sides impenetrable. Ruffut Khan, having determined to reduce it ordered the jungles to be cut down and burnt. Each day the Mahomedans advanced only about two miles, and lost upwards of three hundred men from the enemy's light troops, which lined the woods on each side of the road. At length, after some time, they cut their way to the fort of Rajpoondy, situated on a hill; but on their arrival, Seetaputty fled through the woods to Rajmundry, and joined Vidiadry, the raja of that place, leaving the fort of Rajpoondy to be occupied by Ruffut Khan, who from thence proceeded to Rajmundry. Here the Mahomedans were opposed by the united forces of Vidiadry and the Raja of Cossimcota,[157] consisting of thirty thousand horse and as many foot, who on the first onset broke through the right wing of the Mahomedan line; but the reserve coming to its support, the troops rallied, and defeated the Hindoos, who fled in confusion, accompanied by Vidiadry and Seetaputty, to the fort of Rajmundry. After four months the Kootb Shahy artillery began to produce some effect on the walls, and made a breach of nearly fifty

156. I perceive in the map Pentapoondi and Rajanuggur situated near Rajmundry; but whether the compiler of the map or the history, has changed the terminations, it is impossible to say.

157. The manuscript from which this translation is made was compiled at Golconda, and the Hindoo proper names are written according to the provincial pronunciation. We find Kishtum is always substituted for Krishna : thus we have Kishtuma Raja and Kishtumcota for Krishna Raja and Krishnacota: the latter provincialism has been concerted into Cossimcota, the name which the town bears in all our maps.

paces in the curtain. In this stage of affairs, a flag of truce arrived from the fort, proposing conditional terms of surrender, which the besieged said they would communicate to Yelloo Pundit, one of the Hindoo accountants in the Mahomedan army. He accordingly proceeded to the fort; when it was agreed that Vidiadry and Seetaputty, with their families, should be permitted, after evacuating the fort, to proceed whithersoever they chose, without molestation. Yelloo Pundit returned to camp with these terms for the confirmation of Ruffut Khan. The conditions were ratified; and Vidiadry proceeded to Cossimcota, and Seetaputty to Beejanuggur. This event took place in the year A.H. 979 (A.D. 1567); and the following sentence commemorates the date of its occurrence:—

معبد کافر ان بدست امد

"The temple of the infidels has fallen into our hands."

After the reduction of Rajmundry, the King sent orders to Ruffut Khan to prosecute his conquests, and proceed to the establishment of the Mahomedan authority in Cossimcota. Accordingly the army moved towards Orissa; but as the country was full of woods and impenetrable forests, he gave orders to his soldiers to cut away and burn in all directions. In their progress they found the infidels collected under Venkutraj, who with twenty thousand infantry prepared to repel the Mahomedans. An action took place, wherein the Hindoos were defeated with great loss, their leader making his escape with difficulty, and the two forts of Gopalpilly and Veeragootum[158] fell to the Mahomedan troops; from whence they proceeded to Cossimcota. Surwaraj and his brother Bhaybulundur, two of the principal rajas of those countries, hearing of the advance of the Mahomedans, and of the fate of the other forts sent ambassadors to Ruffut Khan to negotiate with him. A peace was concluded; and it was agreed that the younger brother, Surwaraj, should proceed, and remain at Golconda, while the elder, Bhaybulundur, should rule his country as a tributary of the King. From thence the army proceeded to the country of Gopal Ooriar, or Wooreea, who fled to Bengal, leaving his territory an easy conquest to the Mahomedans, so

158. It appears that Ruffut Khan, instead of proceeding through the open country along the sea-coast, penetrated through the hills and forests in the interior, and after reducing Gopalpilly and Veeragootum on the north, he came south to Cossimcota.

that it was occupied by the King's force. Ruffut Khan now proceeded to the country of Vidiadry, governed by Velluparaj, who fled on the approach of the Mahomedans to Dewpooral, a hillfort situated in the territory belonging to Vidiadry. This place was close on the sea-shore, and almost inaccessible on account of the woods. The Mahomedans were opposed by twenty thousand infidels in the plain. These were defeated, and fled to the fortification, which was closely invested for four months, till at length Velluparaj, consenting to become tributary, ceded the country of Vidiadry to the King of Golconda. From thence Ruffut Khan proceeded to Chundurbar, in possession of two brother named Nursing and Soorsing, who had occupied a strong fort in a pass, with ten thousand infantry, where they had thrown up a breastwork, dug a ditch, and placed artillery to oppose the enemy. Ruffut Khan halted till his guns could be brought up the pass, when he levelled the breastwork; and forcing his way through, he attacked the infidels, and the two Hindoo brothers were taken prisoners; after which the country submitted to the King of Golconda.

As Ruffut Khan had been successfully employed during the last two years in reducing many of the forts and districts of Rajmundry and Cossimcota, he now resolved to attack Veij Nat Dew, the most formidable of all the rajas of that country. He commenced his operations by the capture of the hill-fort of Potnoor, wherein was taken the brother of the Raja. From thence he proceeded to Kundoo-Deva Pully, the principal hold of that chief; which also fell to the prowess of the Mahomedan arms; but the time occupied in these sieges afforded Veij Nat Dew an opportunity to collect his army; and he accordingly marched to oppose the invader at the head of five thousand cavalry, fifty thousand infantry, and five hundred elephants. Ruffut Khan was not backward to come to action; and a battle ensued, in which the Mahomedans were completely victorious, and the Raja fled to his capital; and soon nt out his eldest son to Ruffut Khan as ambassador, to conclude a peace; in which it was stipulated, that the Raja should pay annually thirty thousand hoons as a tribute to the Kootb Shahy state, and make an offering of forty elephants. To these terms Ruffut Khan was glad to accede, as a considerable disaffection and discontent prevailed in his army, and as he had

already reduced the whole of the districts along the seacoast as far as Rajamurda.[159]

Let us now return to the affairs of the kings of the Deccan. The Queen-dowager of Ahmudnuggur had by her conduct excited universal discontent among all the officers of the government, who conspired against her, and persuaded the young King, Moortuza Nizam Shah, to seize and confine her in the fort of Dowlutabad; while her two brothers, the King's uncles, Ein-ool-Moolk and Taj Khan, fled from the capital. Their departure and the seizure of the Queen threw affairs into the utmost confusion, and the young King was not of an age or of a temper to act with much discretion. Ally Adil Shah, the ancient enemy of the house of Nizam Shah, taking advantage of the moment, deputed his general Kishwur Khan Lary, with twenty thousand horse, to lay waste and occupy as much of the Ahmudnuggur territory as he could seize. He first of all devastated the country of Kondana,[160] and then proceeded to D'harore; which place he took, and ordered it to be strongly fortified, placing a garrison of Adil Shahy troops within it From thence he wrote a letter to Moortuza Nizam Shah, telling him that he had left him the fort of Dowlutabad to repair to; but that if he did not immediately evacuate his capital and proceed thither, he would march to Ahmudnuggur, and oblige him to do so. Moortuza Nizam Shah instantly despatched his general, Khwaja Meeruk Duheer Isfahany, entitled Chungiz Khan, with ten thousand cavalry, to resent this insulting language, and he accordingly marched and invested the fort of D'harore. The sudden arrival of the Nizam Shahy troops so alarmed the Adil Shahy garrison, that Ein-ool-moolk, Ankoos Khan, and Azeez-ool-Moolk, three of the principal officers of Kishwur Khan's force, fled without drawing their swords; while Kishwur Khan, seeing he had no alternative but to fight, resolved to defend the place against the Nizam Shahy troops, who escaladed it on the next morning, and Kishwur Khan was killed in the assault.[161] Ally Adil Shah no sooner heard of the fate of his general than he detached Noor Khan, Ein-ool-Moolk, and Zureef-ool Moolk,

159. The situation of Rajamurda has not been determined.

160. The neighbourhood of Poona.

161. This campaign is differently related by Ferishta, vide p. 154; and as he arrived at Ahmudnuggur from Persia about twelve years afterwards, his authority ought to have much weight.

to the borders, to invade the Nizam Shahy territories, and plunder and devastate the country, while he himself, with fifty thousand horse, took the field, with the determination, if possible, of conquering the Ahmudnuggur dominions. Moortuza Nizam Shah, unable alone to cope with Ally Adil Shah, had recourse to Ibrahim Kootb Shah for aid, who proceeded with his army first to Bidur, and having induced Ally Bereed Shah to unite in the confederacy, they marched together to join Moortuza Nizam Shah, whom they met at the town of Nagdurry, where they swore to stand by each other. The oaths were taken upon a Koran in the possession of the latter, said to be written by Ally, the cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet. On this occasion it was agreed that they should proceed and attack the Beejapoor territories without delay. Ally Adil Shah, suspecting that his minister, Shah Abool Hussun, the son of the late famous Shah Tahir of Ahmudnuggur, had promoted this confederacy, put him into confinement. Syud Moortuza, a nobleman of the Nizam Shahy court, was at this time in the Beejapoor camp. He had fled during the late revolution from Ahmudnuggur, and came over to Ally Adil Shah, where he renewed his friendship with Shah Abool Hussun. On the present occasion, Syud Moortuza, desirous of effecting the release of the minister, applied to Ally Adil Shah to be allowed to proceed in character of envoy to the confederates, and through his influence negotiate a peace, a measure which the King had at heart. Syud Moortuza was accordingly deputed to proceed to the Nizam Shahy camp, and having had an audience of Moortuza Nizam Shah, laid his head on the King's feet, and vowed he would not rise till his Majesty promised to obtain the release of the son of the late Shah Tahir, to whom the house of Ahmudnuggur was under such obligations; declaring, at the same time, that nothing but concluding a treaty of peace with Ally Adil Shah could effect this object. Moortuza Nizam Shah at once forgot his enmity to Ally Adil Shah, and consented to listen to terms, on condition that Shah Abool Hussun should be released, and be employed as ambassador to conclude the treaty. Shah Abool Hussun accordingly proceeded with magnificent presents to the camp of the confederates. While in the camp, he persuaded Moortuza Nizam Shah to attack Ibrahim Kootb Shah's forces as well as those of Ally Bereed Shah, and by thus making a bold stroke at first, follow it up,

and reduce the countries of Tulingana and Bidur. Moortuza Nizam Shah, young, thoughtless, and impetuous, eagerly adopted the proposition, and attacked his allies, who defended themselves with bravery, and contrived to retreat to Bidur, whence Ibrahim Kootb Shah proceeded to Golconda.

On the return of Ibrahim Kootb Shah to his capital, he resolved to be revenged on Moortuza Nizam Shah for his late treachery; and as the latter always obtained assistance from the Berar court, he determined to anticipate that step by sending an envoy to Toofal Khan, the Regent of Berar, inviting him to an alliance against Moortuza Nizam Shah, to whom he could owe no friendship, since the invasion of his country, and the siege of Gavul. Toofal Khan, glad of an opportunity of revenging himself on Moortuza Nizam Shah, readily acceded to the proposed alliance, and despatched his son, Shumsheer-ool-Moolk, with three thousand cavalry to join Ibrahim Kootb Shah; who having collected his own army, proceeded, under the pretence of hunting, towards Bidur, when he was joined, between that city and the town of Kowlas, by the Berar auxiliaries, as well as by Ally Bereed Shah. Thence they deputed ambassadors to Ally Adil Shah, inviting him, also, to join the confederacy. Moortuza Nizam Shah, far from being idle, also collected his army, and determined to prevent the junction of Ally Adil Shah, either by force or stratagem. He accordingly moved towards Beejapoor with his whole force, deputing his minister, Chungiz Khan, with large presents, to the Adil Shahy camp, in order to prevent its union with the confederates, but, at any rate, to make such good use of his money among the courtiers as to detain the King of Beejapoor for some time, till he should hear of the approach of the Nizam Shahies. Chungiz Khan overtook Ally Adil Shah at the fort of Nuldoorg, where he displayed so much diplomatic skill as to induce the King to give up the idea of joining the allies at all, and to consent to meet Moortuza Nizam Shah on friendly terms. Ibrahim Kootb Shah, alramed at this sudden alteration in the measures of the Adil Shahy court, broke up the confederacy, dismissing the Berar auxiliaries with handsome rewards, and recommending Ally Bereed Shah to repair to the fort of Bidur; at the same time promising his aid in case of invasion and attack. Upon his arrival at Golconda, he pitched the royal pavilion on the plain, and directed all the Naigwary

infantry of the realm to repair to his standard. These preparations were not unnecessary; for Moortuza Nizam Shah having made a convert of Ally Adil Shah to his cause, they both marched with the determination of reducing the kingdoms of Tulingana and Bidur; to which latter city they proceeded, the Adil Shahies encamping in the neighbourhood of the Houz-i-Kumt'hana, while the Nizam Shahies invested the fort of Bidur. Ibrahim Kootb Shah no sooner heard of the attack on Bidur than he made preparations for the defence of Golconda. On this occasion he ordered pavilions to be pitched on the bastions, and adorned them with rich brocades and silks from China and with velvets of European manufacture, giving himself up to the gratification of listening "to the enchanting vocal and instrumental music of heart-alluring damsels and fairy faced virgins." At the same time he detached a force of four thousand cavalry and ten thousand light infantry, under Sulabut Khan, to hover round the enemy, and to make night-attacks on the besiegers at Bidur. The Munewar infantry were eminently successful in all directions, and at all hours, bringing nightly between three and four hundred noses and ears from the enemy's lines; and they received for each nose a hoon, and for each ear a purtab.[162] During the day, the cavalry made their attacks at favourable moments on the besiegers, who were distressed for want of supplies, and weary for want of sleep, owing to the constant assaults both of the cavalry and infantry. Determined to raise the siege, but apprehensive lest Ibrahim Kootb Shah should attack them if they separated, Ally Adil Shah deputed Kamil Khan with fifteen thousand horse, and Moortuza Nizam Shah sent Mirza Yadgar with an equal number, to remain the neighbourhood of Kowlas. Moortuza Nizam Shah then proceeded to punish Toofal Khan for the assistance he had given in the preceding year to Ibrahim Kootb Shah; and Ally Adil Shah marched to the south against Bunkapoor and the Hindoo territories dependent on Beejanuggur.

It appears that in the retreat of the Beejapoories, Ally Adil Shah had intrusted his family to the care of Yeswunt Row, Bhoj Mul Naig, and Dew Naig, three Marratta officers who commended six thousand Bergy cavalry, with orders to escort them direct to Beejapoor; instead of which, they, in the first instance, made

162. Stas pagoda.

an incursion, as is usual with those freebooters, into the Kootb Shahy dominions. Sulabut Khan Afshar, a Golconda general, came up with and completely defeated them, taking the two famous elephants called Futteh Lushkur and Futteh Jung, and the fish-standard[163] from the enemy, while Yeswunt Row had much difficulty in carrying off the ladies in safety.

It has been before observed, that the allies left thirty thousand horse in the neighbourhood of Kowlas to cover the retreat of the two armies, the one proceeding to Berar and the other towards Bunkapoor. This division accordingly laid waste and plundered the country on the borders of Tulingana. Ibrahim Kootb Shah despatched Meer Shah Mahomed Anjoo with eight thousand cavalry to oppose them, and also permitted his relation, Mirza Hoossein Beg Toorkman, with four hundred Toorkmans, to accompany the Golconda division. Between Kowlas and Daigloor, the troops were opposed by Syud Heidur, the governor of the latter place, who very imprudently attacked the King's forces with less than three thousand cavalry and some infantry; but he was easily defeated, and pursued into the fort of Daigloor, which thus fell without resistance. On the following day, Shah Mahomed Anjoo marched and encamped on the plain between Diagloor and Kand'har, in the neighbourhood of the enemy's camp. He was opposed, in the first instance, by the Marratta cavalry under Buswunt Row, Viswas Row, and Koly Row, who commanded the advance composed of six thousand mares,[164] which was repulsed by the valour of Mirza Hoossein Beg and the Toorkmans, and many Kolies[165] lost their lives. Thus ended the action of the first day. On the following day, Mirza Hoossein Beg, with his Toorkmans, was directed to attack a party of the enemy who made their appearance; and

163. The Moguls use the fish as the Romans did eagles as standards, in lieu of banners.

164. The custom of gelding horses in the East is never practised, and the consequence is, that the cavalry must either be composed entirely of horses or entirely of mares: the Marrattas prefer the latter on account of their docility, and because they seldom neigh, which in night-attacks would serve to discover the approach of the troops.

165. The Kolies are a predatory tribe in Guzerat, similar to the Bheels of the Marratta country; but the Koly zemindars are also to be found in Buglana and the northern Concan. The Mahomedan historians frequently speak of Koly cavalry when they probably mean Marrattas.

Sulabut Khan Afshar, with three thousand cavalry, was sent to support him, while Shah Mahomed Anjoo, with the rest of the army, followed. Soon after, a bloody battle ensued, in which neither gained any decided advantage. On the following day, the Golconda troops, finding the enemy had decamped in the night, pursued them, and encamped in their neighbourhood. Mirza Yadgar, with ten thousand chosen cavalry from the allied troops, consisting chiefly of foreigners, advanced to the attack; while Mirza Hoossein Beg with his Toorkmans, without orders, mounted, and engaged the enemy. The commander-in-chief, Sulabut Khan, with two thousand cavalry, subsequently went to his support, and after another severe engagement, the allied troops were defeated; notwithstanding which, they returned to the attack, and several skirmishes occurred during a whole month. At length a general action ensued, when the confederates were entirely routed; and the Kootb Shahy troops, after having taken possession of the camp-equipage, baggage, &c. of the enemy, returned in triumph of Golconda.

It has been already mentioned, that the allied monarchs, having raised the siege of Bidur, separated. Moortuza Nizam Shah marched north against Toofal Khan of Berar, and Ally Adil Shah proceeded south to attack the country of Beejanuggur, and wrest it out of the hands of Sree Runga Ray. This prince, unable to cope with the Beejapoor forces, deputed an envoy with magnificent presents to Ibrahim Kootb Shah at Golconda, soliciting his aid against their common enemy. It had been always an understood principle with the Mahomedan kings of the Deccan not to invade the Bejanuggur territories without the general consent of the whole. Ibrahim Kootb Shah, therefore, readily agreed to the overtures of Sree Runga Ray, promising to oppose Ally Adil Shah, and prevent him from making further aggressions. Accordingly, he detached his general, Shah Mahomed Anjoo, with a light force, to skirmish and plunder the borders of the Adil Shahy dominions, while he prepared to move to the southward to the support of Sree Runga Ray. On the Beejanuggur frontier he was joined by Shah Mahomed Anjoo, after he had sacked the towns and laid waste the enemy's country, agreeably to his instructions. He was shortly afterwards met by Sree Runga Ray, and their junction induced Ally Adil Shah to raise the siege of Beejanuggur, and return to Beejapoor; in consequence

of which, the allied armies separated, and each repaired to his respective capital.

It appears, from the best authorities, that from the reign of the late Sooltan Koolly Kootb Shah, the rajas Venkatadry, Kustoory Timraj, and Nursing Row, used to pay an annual tribute of two lacks of hoons into the Golconda treasury, agreeably to an ancient compact made upon the first reduction of the fort of Condbeer. For the last few years, however, since the King had been engaged in war with the other kings of the Deccan, the usual tribute had not only been withheld, but the rajas had had the confidence to cross the Krishna, and attack the fort of Condapilly, and lay waste the district. Ibrahim Kootb Shah, having been long engaged in the defence of his northern frontier, was unable, for some years, to spare a sufficient force to repel the invaders. However, having given his soldiers some respite from their toils, he now determined to punish the rajas of whom we have been speaking, and accordingly detached a large army under the command of his general, Imad-ood-Deen Mahmood Shirazy, entitled Heidur-ool-Moolk, to march and recover the fort of Condbeer. Having crossed the Krishna, he first reduced the fort of Inaconda, and then marched against the strong fort of Cacherlacota, defended by Kustoory Rungia and Moodna Chinia with twenty thousand infantry; but on the approach of the Mahomedans they evacuated it without firing a shot, and it was occupied by the King's forces. Thence Heidur-ool-Moolk marched against the fort of Cummum, which also fell without opposition. Having left a garrison therein, the Mahomedans returned to Condbeer. Here Heidur-ool-Moolk was informed, that Kundy Timuna, Moodna Chinia, and Kustoory Rungia, had collected a force of thirty thousand men, and were on the point of marching to attack him : he therefore deferred the siege of Condbeer, and moved to meet them. The Hindoo infantry poured in on the King's troops on all sides from the woods; but they only rushed on to their own destruction. The Mahomedans gained a complete victory, and pursued the enemy to the fort of Goorum, which surrendered. The general now marched to the attack of Belumconda, which fell; and having occupied all the minor forts in that neighbourhood, Heidur-ool-Moolk proceeded to Condbeer, the capital of the province. A long time was expended in attempting to reduce this strong fortress without effect; and Heidur-ool-Moolk found it necessary to apply

for reinforcements to Golconda, on which Ibrahim Kootb Shah appointed Syud Shah Tucky, known by the appellation of Ameer Shah Meer, with a considerable detachment of Moguls and Persians, to proceed and to take the command from Heidur-ool-Moolk of all the forces south of the Krishna. On his arrival at Condbeer, Shah Meer made many attempts to carry the place by escalade, but invariably failed, till at length he resolved, whatever might be the loss sustained, to drag his guns up the hill to within a moderate distance of the walls. By this means part of one face was battered down, and an attack made one morning both at the breach and on the south gateway. The Hindoos were prepared to receive the storming parties, and fought desperately; but they were driven back, though not without heavy loss on the part of the assailants. The fort was eventually taken, through the exertions of the elephants, who forced open one side of the gate. The Mahomedans then rushing in took the place, in the month of Suffur, A.H. 987 (April, A.D. 1579); and Kupoory Timraj, son-in-law of the celebrated Ramraj of Beejanuggur, fell into the hands of the victors. Thus the province of Condbeer was reduced, as well as all the smaller forts, including two or three sea-ports; so that the whole country, from the sea-shore as far as the Beejanuggur frontier, was occupied by Ameer Shah Meer, who, taking with him his prisoner Kupoory Timraj, returned victorious to Golconda.

About this time, Moortuza Nizam Shah determined to reduce the fort of Bidur, and to conquer the territory of Bereed Shah; but as he knew that the object could not be accomplished without the concurrence of Ibrahim Kootb Shah, he deputed Meer Abool Kasim as ambassador to the court of Golconda, who induced the King to send Ameer Shah Meer, with ten thousand horse, to assist the King of Ahmudnuggur. Ally Bereed Shah deputed an ambassador to the court of Beejapoor, and solicited Ally Adil Shah to march to his aid. The latter consented; but required, as a preliminary, that Ally Bereed should give up a certain young eunuch, celebrated for his beauty throughout the Deccan, and to whom he was much attached. The reduction of the fort of Bidur appearing inevitable without assistance from Beejapoor, Ally Bereed reluctantly agreed to the demand of Ally Adil Shah. When the latter heard of the approach of this youth, he went out to meet him, and appointed an elegant palace for his reception. But on his first

interview, the young man was so incensed at the behaviour of Ally Adil Shah, that, drawing forth a dagger, he stabbed the King to the heart.[166] This event happened on the night of Thursday, the 23d of Suffur, A.H. 987 (April 20, A.D. 1579).

The eunuch, as might be expected, fell a victim to his conduct. Ally Adil Shah having left no children was succeeded by his nephew Ibrahim, the son of his brother Tahmasp; but as the death of his uncle was succeeded by internal commotions, and as Ibrahim was himself very young, Moortuza Nizam Shah took the opportunity of attacking his territories; for which purpose he appointed Behzad-ool-Moolk Toork, with an army, to invade Beejapoor. Behzad-ool-Moolk was opposed by the Beejapoor troops at the village of Darasum, situated between Nuldoorg and Sholapoor, where he sustained a defeat, and was pursued to the neighbourhood of Bidur. The Nizam Shahies, in their retreat, formed a junction with Syud Moortuza, a Nizam Shahy general who had marched from Berar to assist in the siege. Moortuza Nizam Shah now recalled Behzad-ool-Moolk from the field, giving the supreme command to Syud Moortuza, who, after having been joined by Ameer Shah Meer and the Kootb Shahy auxiliaries, marched to Nuldoorg, where the army of Ibrahim Adil Shah was still encamped. Another action ensued, after which the Beejapoor troops took refuge in the fort. A great part of the Beejapoor army being now closely besieged in Nuldoorg, it was thought advisable for the allies to proceed to Beejapoor itself. Accordingly they marched at midnight; but the troops in Nuldoorg hearing of their intention quitted the fort soon after sunset, and proceeded with expedition to their capital, which they reached before the enemy. On the arrival of the allies they were opposed by Yekhlas Khan and Dilawur Khan with great bravery, who had nearly defeated the Nizam Shahy troops, when the Golconda cavalry charging, turned the fate of the day, and the Adil Shahies were

166. This transaction is mentioned by Ferishta nearly in the same manner. A secretary of Ally Adil Shah, who kept a journal, has given a different account, evidently with the view of screening his master's memory from reproach. Ferishta, who lived at the court a very few years afterwards, and who wrote his history on the very spot, and under the patronage of Ally Adil Shah's nephew, is not likely to have misrepresented the fact to Ally Adil Shah's disadvantage. Faria-e-Souza, who was in India at the time, also relates the story in the same way, tom. ii. part iii. chap. XX.

compelled to seek shelter within the walls of the city, leaving two elephants, Atushpara and Koohpara[167] in the hands of the enemy. On the following day, a body of Abyssinians made a sally from the fort, but were repulsed. At this time news arrived, that Ameer Zein, who had been sent with a division of Kootb Shahy troops from Golconda to reduce the districts of Nakavy, Culloor, and Kakny, after having occupied those places, was on the march to join the allies at Beejapoor; but Ibrahim Adil Shah determining, if possible, to prevent this junction, directed Mirza Noor-ood-Deen Nyshapoory, with five thousand cavalry, to march at night and intercept the detachment under Ameer Zein.

The districts of Kakny, Culloor, and Nakavy, were originally taken by Sooltan Koolly Kootb Shah from the Hindoos; but in the short reign of Soobhan Koolly, Ally Adil Shah had wrested them from the Golconda officers; and although Ibrahim Kootb Shah was at all times ready to assert his just claims, yet from the constant warfare in which he had been engaged it was not thought politic to demand them from Ally Adil Shah while he was in alliance, or desirable to engage in war merely for their sake. The demand was, therefore, never made; but now an opportunity presented itself of recovering them that could not be resisted; for which purpose, Ameer Zein with a considerable force had been appointed. This general was at first opposed by Dowlut Khan and Meean Boodoo, who were defeated, and compelled to fly. The towns of Kakny, Nakavy, and Kurnul, fell into Ameer Zein's hands; and having left garrisons in each, he proceeded to the fort of Culloor, which was also taken without opposition. At this time, Ameer Zein received information that one hundred and fifty elephants belonging to Ibrahim Adil Shah, which were at Sagur, were proceeding to Beejapoor; he accordingly marched to intercept them; but the elephants had returned to Sagur, and he was disappointed of his prey. The commandant of Sagur, Syud Ashruf, with a party of three thousand Marratta cavalry, attacked Kootb Shahies, but was defeated with great loss, and himself taken prisoner. Ameer Zein now set fire to the town of Sagur, and proceeded to reduce the fort of Madurgy, which soon fell, thence

167. If the word *para* be Persian, it signifies a part of any thing, and the names may be translated "the portion of fire" and "the bit of rock." If the word *para*, or *p'hara*, be Hindoostany, the names would signify "the burster through fire" and "the render of rocks."

he marched to Etgeer, where he defeated another detachment of Adil Shahy troops. Having recovered all the estates formerly belonging to the Golconda government, Ameer Zein was directed to levy a lack of hoons (40,000*l.*), and to collect ten thousand candies of grain from the inhabitants, and march to Beejapoor. The enemy made great exertions to intercept this convoy; and fifty thousand infantry, from the forts of Nulgonda,[168] Koolburga, and Sagur, attacked Ameer Zein at the village of Ulmulla; but they were defeated with the loss of two thousand men, after which the convoy continued its march. It was again intercepted by thirty thousand infantry, and measures adopted to prevent his cavalry from obtaining forage: indeed every effort was made on the part of Beejapoor to cut off Ameer Zein's detachment before its junction with the allied army; for which purpose Mirza Noor-ood-Deen Nyshapoory, with five thousand cavalry, had been detached from the fort. The besiegers, having intimation of his march, sent an equal force to pursue him; which overtaking the Beejapoor troops on the second day routed them, and enabled Ameer Zein, with his valuable supply of money and provisions, to join the allies in spite of all the exertions of the enemy. At this time a civil war raged within the town; and Kishwur Khan and Ein-ool-Moolk, two of the principal officers of the Beejapoor court, were compelled to fly from the fury of the Abyssinians, and to seek protection in the allied camp.

On the following day, the Abyssinians sent one of their party privately to Syud Moortuza, commander-in-chief of the Nizam Shahy troops, proposing to replace Shah Abool Hussun, the son of Shah Tahir (who was a great friend of Syud Moortuza), in the situation of minister at Beejapoor, on condition that the Nizam Shahy troops should attack Ameer Shah Meer, the commander-in-chief of the Kootb Shahy troops. So little care was taken by the parties to conceal this proposal, that it accidentally came to the ears of Ameer Shah Meer himself. Syud Moortuza, finding the secret had been discovered, instantly went to Ameer Shah Meer and communicated to him, with apparent frankness, the

168. There are two places, Nagoonda and Nowlgooda in the map, situated south of the Krishna, and this may be one of them; but the Hindvy names are so often lost in the Mahomedan appellations that it is difficult to discover the places mentioned in Indian histories, excepting in those of modern date.

overtures which the Abyssinians of Beejapoor had made, and they agreed to take the most solemn oaths to support each other. The Abyssinians, defeated in this plot, devised another method of raising the siege. They employed ten thousand Marratta cavalry to harass the foragers, and so cut off supplies. In this system of warfare they were so successful that the allies found it impossible to continue the blockade, and therefore determined to ravage the country. They accordingly raised the siege, and laid waste and plundered the districts of Mirch, Raybagh, Punala, Satara, and Hookery. Thence they proceeded towards Koolburga, and determined to besiege the fort of Nuldoorg. At this time news arrived of the death of Ibrahim Kootb Shah of Golconda, and of the accession of his son, Mahomed Koolly Kootb Shah, to the throne.

When the late king, Ibrahim Kootb Shah, had settled the countries of the Hindoos on his southern frontier, and despatched his commander, Ameer Shah Meer, to oppose the armies of his Mahomedan neighbours, he vested the management of the affairs of his government in the hands of one Moorhary Row, a Marratta bramin, to whom was attached a body of ten thousand infantry, under the command of Mahomedan officers of rank, with permission to beat the nobut. Moorhary Row was in every respect the second person in the state, not even excepting the princes of the blood-royal. In the latter end of the late king's reign, this unprincipled infidel proceeded with a force towards a famous temple near Adony, where he attacked the inhabitants, laid waste the country, and sacked it of its idols, made of gold and silver, and studded with rubies. He levied also four lacks of hoons (160,000*l.*) from the inhabitants. At sight of the idols the King[169] was taken seriously ill, and never recovered. He died on Thursday the 21st of Rubbee-oos-Sany, A.H. 988 (June 2, A.D. 1580), in the thirty-first year of his reign, and fifty-first of his age, and was buried in the Lungur gardens.

Ibrahim Kootb Shah had thirty children, of whom six sons and thirteen daughters arrived at the age of maturity.

169. The inference the author means to draw is, that there was some magic or talismanic power in the golden idols which Moorhary Row brought, that caused the King's death. The belief of this story was general among Hindoos and Mahomedans; the former referring it to the vengeance of the gods, the latter to the demoniacal power of idols, exercised in favour of a bramin, who wished to put to death his Mahomedan sovereign.

The eldest son, Abdool Kadur, entitled Shah Sahib, was confined in the fort of Dewurconda, where he died in his twenty-first year, and was buried in the Lungur gardens at Golconda.

The second son, Mirza Hoossein Koolly, was drowned while bathing in the Namumpilly tank, at the age of twenty-six, in the year 994; but his body was found, and buried in the Lungur gardens at Golconda.

The third son was Mahomed Koolly, who succeeded his father on his throne.

The fourth son was Mirza Abdool Futteh. He was thirteen years of age at his father's death, and died in his twenty-eighth year, in a fit, A.H. 1003.

The fifth son was Mirza Mahomed Khoodabunda, full-brother to Mahomed Koolly. He was famed for his bravery; but in the year 1018 he engaged in a plot to dethrone his elder brother, and being confined in the fort of Golconda, died, A.H. 1020, in the thirtieth year of his age.

The sixth son was Mirza Mahomed Ameen. He was the youngest child of his father, and died a natural death, A.H. 1004, in the twenty-fifth year of his age.

It is not related in any history that the army of this prince was defeated while he commanded in person. In the camp he was attended by learned men, whom he used to consult on points of law; and such was the vigilance of his authority and the excellence of his police administration, that an old woman might pass with a tray of gold on her head from Golconda to Bengal, to Beejapoor or to Ahmudnuggur, without fear of molestation; a circumstance the more to be wondered at, when we consider the dexterity and the boldness of the robbers of Tulingana. Of the conquests achieved in this reign the principal are those of Cossimcota, Rajmundry, and Condbeer. Among the many edifices erected for the purposes of charity, for public offices, for royal residences, or for general utility, the following are the most conspicuous :—The fortifications around the hill of Golconda; the Ibrahim Gardens; the Goolshun, or Flower Garden; the Lungur, or Alms-house, dedicated to the twelve Imams; the Tank at Ibrahimputtun; the Tank called Hoossein Sagur; the Dam at Boodwul, and the Kala Chubootra, or Black Terrace at Golconda, besides numerous mosques and colleges which were erected under his direction. During the just reign of Ibrahim Kootb Shah, Tulingana, like

Egypt, became the mart of the whole world. Merchants from Toorkistan, Arabia, and Persia, resorted to it; and they met with such encouragement that they found in it inducements to return frequently. The greatest luxuries from foreign parts daily abounded at this king's hospitable board; and praise be to God that the virtuous habits of this illustrious house still increase; and may they continue to do so till the end of time!

MAHOMED KOOLLY KOOTB SHAH

IBRAHIM was succeeded by his third son, Mahomed Koolly, who assumed the family title of Kootb Shah. The first act of his reign was to proceed and join his army, then engaged in the siege of Nuldoorg, with a large reinforcement. He commenced his approaches on that side of the fort where the ditch was dry, but the governor making several sallies prevented the batteries from being completed, and little progress was made during two months. At length, a breach was reported practicable, and attempts were made to storm the place. The garrison repelled several attacks by hurling boxes filled with gunpowder and stones down the breach and over the walls. In this state of affairs, news arrived that an army of twenty thousand Marratta cavalry had arrived in the skirts of the camp, so that the besiegers were compelled to defer their attacks on the fort for the present. Shortly after this, the allies received overtures for peace from Ibrahim Adil Shah, to which the King of Golconda assented, and raised the siege; and having dismissed the Nizam Shahy troops under Syud Moortuza Khan, he returned to his capital.

During the late reign, one Ally Khan Loor,[170] a person of low origin, had been raised to the rank of an Ameer (or noble), owing to his great good conduct in the field; and was subsequently placed in command of the troops south of the Krishna, in the neighbourhood of Condbeer; but the governor of that province, Ray Row, a bramin, not giving him an estate for the payment of his troops as soon as he wished or expected, Ally Khan became disgusted, and joined the Raja of Beejanuggur with a number of

170. The Loories constitute one of the most ancient tribes of Farsistan in Persia: they speak a dialect peculiar to themselves, which is thought to be Pihlavi. The subject seems worthy of enquiry.

his adherents, volunteering, at the same time, to lead an army against Condbeer. Ally Khan being assisted by Meekur Tima, the son-in-law of the Ray of Beejanuggur, with a force of thirty thousand infantry, besides some cavalry, and fifty elephants, marched to the Condbeer province. In the first place, he besieged the fort of Cummum, but was compelled to fight the royalists under Ray Row, who gave him a total defeat; on which occasion ten thousand of his infantry are said to have been killed and wounded, and four elephants, together with the great drum of the enemy, were taken, while Ally Khan and Mekur Tima made the best of their way towards Beejanuggur; but the Raja refused them his countenance or support. Ally Khan, however, marched about from place to place raising troops; and was thus employed when the King directed Raheem Dad and Tahir Mahomed Khan Patan,[171] with a large force to the southward. Ally Khan by this time had collected an army, and was laying waste the district of Condapilly. The royalists marched thither, and Ally Khan threw himself into the fort of Ardinga; but not thinking himself secure, he left a force to occupy it, and fled to the hills. The royalists having arrived at Ardinga took it by storm, and put every man to death. From thence they pursued Ally Khan, who, having posted a party of infantry in an ambuscade in the woods, surprised and slew many of the royalists; but his party was eventually overpowered by numbers, and compelled to fly, with the loss of a thousand men killed and wounded, and as many taken prisoners. At this period, Afzul Khan Hawaldar[172] of Suntravul joined

171. This is the first instance that the term Patan for an Afghan occurs in any history I have seen.

172. The word Havély, in the Hindvy language, literally signifies palace. In a more extensive sense it means the residence of the chief of a district, and thus comes to mean the town in which he lives. Havely lands are those dependent on the principal township of the district, and the chief himself becomes styled Havelydar or Hawaldar. In those countries wherein government lands were assigned for the maintenance of local militia, the Hawaldar was their leader or colonel ex-officio. Hence the civil title became applicable to a military chief of infantry; and time and accident have combined to render the term applicable to that description of non-commissioned officers which answers to the rank of sergeant in the British army, whether of cavalry or infantry; while the ancient Hindvy civic title is almost lost amid the numerous Persian appellations of Shukdar, Moamlutdar, Zillahdar, Turufdar, Tahseeldar, &c.

the royalists with a thousand cavalry; and Ally Khan, informed of the fate of the garrison of Ardinga, marched to the sea-port of Nizampatam, where he plundered all the wealthy merchants of their property; thence he made a rapid march towards Condbeer, and fell on Kishwur Khan, who with a small force was encamped near that place. The attack completely succeeded, and the royalists were plundered of all they possessed. Ally Khan now retreated to Anumbole, where he surprised Afzul Khan's detachment, plundered his camp, and put many of his men to death. Ally Khan was subsequently pursued by Raheem Dad; and in an action which he was compelled to fight he was killed, and the royalists under Raheem Dad returned to the capital, where that chief was honoured with the title of Alum Khan.

About this time, Mahomed Kooly Kootb Shah espoused the daughter of the famous general Ameer Shah Meer.[173]

Dilawur Khan, the regent of Beejapoor during the nonage of Ibrahim Adil Shah II., thought that nothing would so effectually preserve the dominions of his master as an alliance with the King of Golconda; and after the war a splendid embassy came from that court to Mahomed Koolly Kootb Shah, requesting the hand of the Princess Mullika Zuman, the King's sister, for Ibrahim Adil Shah; and according to an agreement which took place on this occasion, the royal bridegroom marched to the fort of Nuldoorg, where he was met by the bride from Golconda, accompanied by most of the principal nobles of the Kootb Shahy court: a treaty of perpetual amity and friendship was also settled on the same occasion.

In the year A.H. 998 (A.D. 1589), the King determined to remove the seat of his government, on account of the confined situation of Golconda, which from many causes, particularly the want of water, became extremely unhealthy: he accordingly fixed on a spot situated at the distance of five coss from his former capital, on the banks of the river Moosy, where he laid the foundation of a new city, which was called Bhagnuggur (after his favourite mistress Bhagmutty); but after her death he ordered it to be called Hydrabad,[174] although for many years it retained its original

173. A recapitulation of events occurs in the original, which in this place has been omitted.

174. The author of the Kootb Nooma Alum observes, that "the new city of Hydrabad had no wall built round it, and it was for want

name. It soon flourished to a very extensive degree, the courtiers vying with each other in building palaces, and constructing gardens. Great pains were taken to introduce water in every direction; and the increase of the land-rents alone, arising out of increased facility of irrigation, amounted to four lacks of hoons[175] annually. Mahomed Koolly Kootb Shah built an elegant musjid and the chahar minar in the middle of the city. The latter building is quadrangular with four arcades, each arch occupying the whole space between the minarets at its corners. Over the centre is a dome, and under the dome is a fountain of excellent water. There are small apartments in each minaret, intended for the use of the professors and students of the college. The King also built baths, hospitals, and other colleges, all of which were suitably furnished; and the attendants for the two former, and learned doctors for the latter, were liberally paid by government.

Many years now elapsed without any war taking place, the King's attention being entirely occupied in the framing of good regulations for the government of his country, and the promotion of the welfare his subjects: but he at length resolved to extend his conquests to the south; and having collected his troops, crossed the Krishna, and first of all attacked the fort of Moosulmooroo.[176] The Hindoos received the Kootb Shahy army with a volly of musketry and discharges of cannon; but they suffered for their temerity, as the place soon fell. The army now directed its march towards Nundial and Kulgoor.[177] These two forts were at this time in the possession of Buswunt Raj, the son-in-law of the late Ramraj, and his nephew Nursing Raj. They were attacked by the Mahomedans, when, after a few days, the Raja consented to pay an annual tribute, and to deliver up the keys. After which many other zemindars in that neighbourhood were induced to

of that protection twice plundered, without opposition; that Moobariz Khan, when Sooba of Hydrabad, began to enclose it with a wall about ten miles in circumference; that it remained unfinished at his death, but was completed by Asuf Jah his successor."

175. 160,000*l*.

176. There are some diamond mines in the neighbourhood of this place, which was, probably, the cause of the King's march towards it, and excellent iron is also manufactured in its vicinity.

177. No large place of this name occurs in our maps: it may be Culloor or Kurnool, on the banks of the Toongbudra, the present capital of the district of Nundial.

become tributaries; among whom were those of Jumulmooroo, Joodry, Churwul, Nunduatcota, Dole, Chinnoor, and Gundicota.[178]

As most of the petty rajas of Beejanuggur had now bent their necks to the Mahomedan yoke, the King determined to reduce all those in the neighbourhood of his camp; he therefore directed his minister, Ameer-ool-Moolk, with the greater part of the army, to attack the fort of Gundicota. This place was in possession of Nursing Raj, the nephew of the late Ramraj, and was celebrated for a famous temple, to which the surrounding Hindoos of Beejanuggur, to the number of one hundred thousand, used to repair once annually, to pay their devotions, and to make large pecuniary offerings to the idol. After standing a siege of some duration Nursing Raj consented to become tributary to the King of Golconda.

When the throne of Beejanuggur devolved on Venkutputty, it appears that prince, in breach of the treaties existing between his predecessor and the King of Golconda, removed his seat of government to the fort of Penconda, situated on the Kootb Shahy frontier. He also made some incursions and invasions into the Golconda dominions; for the prevention of which the King marched his army, after the reduction of Gundicota, towards Penconda, where he arrived without opposition, and immediately commenced the siege; but in a short time Venkutputty deputed his minister Gopraj Tima, and his general Pavia Chitty, as ambassadors to the King, who, upon their making due submission, agreed to an armistice, preparatory to negotiating terms of peace. The Hindoos, taking advantage of the absence of the Mahomedans from the vicinity of the fort, supplied themselves in three days with provisions for a siege; and on the fourth the famous Jugdew Row, accompanied by Goolrung Setty, Munoopraj, and Papia Samywar, at the head of thirty thousand infantry and cavalry, besides four thousand musketeers, threw themselves into the fort. When the King discovered these proceedings he renewed the siege; but his forces made little impression. The rains were now approaching, provisions also were scarce in the camp; and aware that the inundation of the Krishna river would cut off all communication with the Golconda territory, the King deemed it advisable to raise the siege. Accordingly, having left

178. Very few of these places are to be found in our printed maps.

Sunjur Khan in Gundicota, Asyrow in Moossulmooroo, and Juggutrow in Nundial, and placing a large army under the command of Moortuza Khan in the territories south of the Krishna, Mahomed Kooily Kootb Shah returned to his capital. The Mahomedan troops having been required to join the grand army proceeding against Gundicota and Penconda, had left the district of Condbeer wholly unprotected. Venkutputty took advantage of this circumstance to distract the attention of the enemy, by despatching a force to assist Kowlanunda, the Raja of Udgerrydoorg, and wrote to him to make a sudden inroad on the enemy's rear, by plundering and laying waste all his territory as far as Condbeer and the Krishna. Kowlanunda, after being joined by this detachment, sent his son-in-law Woorias Ray to carry this scheme into effect.

Afzul Khan, the governor of the province of Condbeer, finding his districts laid waste, and unable, for want of troops, to oppose the Hindoos, sent intimation to all the jageerdars to collect their best cavalry and retaliate, by making an inroad by the route of Ongole, into the Udgerrydoorg territory; a measure that induced the Hindoos to return for the protection of their own country, and they came up with Afzul Khan and surrounded his army. This small party, after defending itself for some time, began to give up every thing as lost, when Ajda Khan, with five hundred cavalry, came to its assisatnce; and before the enemy could discover his numbers, charged upon his rear. This sudden attack by fresh troops completely changed the fate of the day; and Woorias Ray was defeated, with the loss of three thousand men killed, wounded, and taken prisoners, and all his camp-equipage.

The sudden swelling of the rivers, and the absence of the King with his army, gave Venkutputty leisure to muster the whole of his forces, which amounted to one hundred thousand men. The leaders were Yeltumraj, Goolrung Setty, and Munoopraj, who marched to recover Gundicota from the hands of Sunjur Khan. Here the enemy were daily opposed by sallies from the garrison, but they persevered in the siege; when they heard that Moortuza Khan, with the main army of the Mahomedans, had penetrated as far as the city of Kurpa, the most famous city of that country, wherein was a large temple. This edifice the Mahomedans destroyed as far as practicable, broke the idol, and sacked the city. Venkutputty, on intimation of the intelligence, detached

Yeltumraj and Munoopraj, with ten thousand cavalry, to attack Moortuza Khan; but after a severe action, the Hindoos were defeated, and compelled to seek safety in flight.

Mahomed Koolly Kootb Shah no sooner heard of these attacks, and fully aware of the small number of his forces in the south, than he detached Roostoom Khan, at the head of five thousand horse, to reinforce Moortuza Khan, and also to assume the command of all the troops. Meanwhile Moortuza Khan continued to defend himself for three whole months against the Hindoos, whose numbers increased to that degree, that the Mahomedans found it impossible to give them battle, but confined their operations to plundering and cutting off supplies. The moment Roostoom Khan joined the army, Moortuza Khan, conscious that they could effect nothing by an action in the field, proposed that he, with half of the army, should march towards Beejanuggur, and that Roostoom Khan should, with the other half, still continue the predatory warfare. Roostoom Khan having assumed the principal command neglected all advice from Moortuza Khan. On the day after his arrival, he crossed a river in his front, and imprudently encamped on a black clayey soil,[179] where the rain had fallen, but he did not proceed to attack the Hindoos. The enemy having ascertained that a reinforcement had arrived, delayed also to engage the Mahomedans. At this time, whether to amuse their own soldiers, or for what reason is immaterial, the Hindoos dressed up a red bullock[180] with gilded horns, and having painted it with many different

179. A British regiment of infantry, under Captain Montgomery, was cut off in the year 1783, in the same part of the country, between Cummum and Cuddapa, owing to its being encamped on a black clay during the rainy season; and the movements of no fewer than fourteen thousand men, cavalry and infantry, dispersed in several parts of the country during the early part of the campaign of 1817, were paralysed on the same account for nearly three weeks, some of which were in great danger of starvation.

180. The Mahomedans of the present day look down with such contempt on the Hindoos, amongst whom they are born and live all their lives, that they are wholly indifferent to their ceremonies and festivals, and there is scarcely a learned Mahomedan in India who could afford the most common information on any peculiarity of Hindoo customs. The ceremony of the red bullock, alluded to in the text, may, therefore, require some explanation. On the full moon of the month of Bhadrapada (September) the working cattle have a holiday. They

colours, and fastened bells to its legs and neck, drove it towards the Mahomedans. Roostoom Khan, who happened to be in front of the army and alone, becoming alarmed at the strange appearance of the animal, galloped off to the rear in dismay, and communicated a panic to his troops. The Hindoos, observing a confusion in the lines of the Mahomedans, took advantage of it to surround them with their musketeers, and galled them on all sides. The Mahomedan cavalry, in which their principal force consisted, unable to charge through the heavy black soil, were shot one by one, and might have been annihilated, but for Moortuza Khan, who collecting a small party forced his way through the enemy's ranks, and thus covered the retreat of many of the Mahomedans; but all the camp-equipage was taken, and a heavy loss sustained. Roostoom Khan, who was a notorious boaster, was disgraced on his return to Hydrabad, by being dressed in female attire, after which he was banished the kingdom; while Moortuza Khan was honoured with titles and valuable presents.

The King determined to spare neither men nor money to carry on the war against the Hindoos: he accordingly directed Etibar Khan Yezdy, the Hawaldar of Condbeer (henceforth called Moortuza Nuggur[181]), to collect all the troops under his com-

are driven down to the river and washed; a quantity of oil is then poured down the throat of each; they are subsequently painted with spots; their horns are gilt, to the end of which long tassels are affixed; their necks and heads are adorned with garlands of flowers; bells are hung round their shoulders and feet; and gaudy cloths, sometimes of great value, are thrown over the body. Each farmer leads out his team; that of the head man of the village taking precedence. The whole issues from the gate of the town, led by bands of music; and after proceeding a certain distance, all the cattle are set at liberty, and allowed to go where they like. Unaccustomed to this freedom, many of the younger ones run about as if wild, and they are frequently followed by others, so that they have the appearance of being mad. The anniversary is called the festival of the *Pola* or Cake, and ends in feeding those who have assisted at the harvest. The ceremony may be compared with our harvest-home. On such an occasion probably it was that the leader of the Mahomedans mistook the whole scene for a piece of witchcraft, and by his cowardice and ill conduct led to the disaster which befell his army.

181. It still bears the title of Moortuza Khan, who was celebrated in the late campaign.

mand, with orders to march towards Beejanuggur,[182] and to lay in ashes all the enemy's towns in his route. On learning of the approach of the Mahomedans, the Hindoos dispersed in every direction, and occupied the woods with their infantry. On this occasion Nursa Nundraj, the Raja of Anuntgeer (one of the most famous hill-forts in those parts), marched at the head of fifty thousand infantry and three thousand horse, with the resolution of harassing the Mahomedan army by night-attacks. Accordingly, having selected for this purpose ten thousand rocketeers, he surrounded their camp. As soon as he arrived in their neighbourhood, a severe storm of rain came on, which prevented him from carrying his plan into effect; and the Mahomedans, finding him so near, did not fail to attack on the following day. After a severe action, in which the Mahomedans lost a great number of men, they were at length victorious, and took prisoners all the families of the Hindoos, besides their camp-equipage. Etibar Khan now proceeded to the town of Calistry, which he reached after a month's march from Golconda. Here he destroyed the Hindoo idols, and ordered prayers to be read in the temples. These edifices may well be compared in magnificence with the buildings and paintings of China, with which they vie in beauty and workmanship. Having given a signal example of the Mahomedan power in that distant country, the Hindoos did not dare to interrupt his return. Thus was the force of the Mahomedans, south of the Krishna, employed for several years. At the period when Ameen-ool-Moolk became Meer Joomla, or minister, to Mahomed Koolly Kootb Shah, he sent officers to collect the balances of the customs due to the government from the different jageerdars. This demand had been so long deferred, that the jageerdars, deeming it an innovation, prepared to rebel; and in consequence Alum Khan Patan Khan Khanan, Sabajee Marratta, and Bala Row, resisted the authority of the collectors, and not only refused to pay but made overtures to the Raja of Beejanuggur to join him in opposing the King's forces; and as a proof of their intentions they plundered the country belonging to the crown in the neighbourhood of Condbeer.

Etibar Khan reported the disaffection of these officers to

182. The author, apparently forgetting that Penconda and not Beejanuggur was the capital of the Hindoo empire, frequently uses the latter where he ought to use the former.

court, and Ameen-ool-Moolk volunteered to lead a force against them; for which purpose he left Hyderabad with ten thousand horse. On his arrival near Condbeer, he was met by Kowlanund the governor, whom he believed to be the instigator of the rebellion, and immediately caused him to be hanged. This prompt measure alarmed the insurgents; for although they had collected seven thousand cavalry and ten thousand infantry, and had strengthened the fort of Ardinga, they now began to waver in their councils, and instead of opposing the royalists, retreated to join the Ray of Beejanuggur. Ameen-ool-Moolk pursued them, but contenting himself with devastating and occupying their estates, he returned to Condbeer, where having seized a number of Naigwaries, who had formerly been with the rebels, caused them to be executed to the number of two hundred, after which he returned to Hydrabad.

About this time, a person calling himself Shah Sahib, caused a considerable commotion in the state. The circumstances are as follow:—

Ibrahim Kootb Shah's eldest son, Abdool Kadur,[183] taking a religious turn, acquired the appellation of Shah Sahib, or the Saint, and married one of the ladies of a holy family of Bidur, the descendants of Shah Khuleel Oolla, who traces his pedigree to Shah Neamut Oolla Wully.[184] He was confined to the fort of Dewurconda by his father, and died in his twenty-first year; but his body was brought to the capital, interred in the family vault at Golconda, and the Princess, his wife, returned to her relations at Bidur. At this period, a person who had been a companion of the Prince in his lifetime had the assurance to give out in the city of Bidur that he was the Prince Shah Sahib, and so imposed on the relations of his wife, that they really believed him to be the same person. Mahomed Koolly Kootb Shah, upon hearing of this circumstance, sent for the people who were present at the

183. He is probably so named after a celebrated saint who died in the reign of Ibrahim Kootb Shah, and is interred under a large dome at Puttuncheroo; the inscription on which styles him Syud Abdool Kadur, commonly called Ul-Messeeh-ool-Koorreish-ool-Kadirry. It states that he was of true Syud descent, both by father and mother. He died A.H. 976 (A.D. 1565). It is not improbable that this prince was educated by this holy man, and purposely devoted to his service.

184. The history of Shah Neamut Oolla will be found in vol. ii. p. 258.

death of his elder brother, and having ascertained, beyond a doubt, that he had been buried twenty years ago, he wrote a letter to Ally Bereed Shah, the King of Bidur, to seize the impostor. He was accordingly taken up and imprisoned; but the holy fraternity in Bidur procured his enlargement, and secured him a safe retreat towards Beejanuggur, where he was joined by numbers of discontented and factious persons. Among these were Khodawund Khan the Abyssinian, who was famed throughout the Deccan for his bravery, and Kheir Ally Khan, the son of Dilawur Khan[185] of Beejapoor. The impostor, having collected from three to four thousand cavalry, proclaimed himself the rightful heir of the crown of Golconda, and established a camp on the banks of the Krishna. Thence he wrote letters of invitation to several Naigwary chiefs in Tulingana, and sending his emissaries into Golconda, made overtures to the nobles about court. Some of the latter received these advances favourably, but they afterwards suffered for their treason. The King, in the mean time, directed Etibar Khan to march with his troops from Condbeer to engage the pretender: and having also sent a force from Golconda, he caused the army to rendezvous at Pangul. Before the arrival of the King's army, the pretender's troops were devastating the country so that Etibar Khan pushed on with two thousand cavalry and attacked them. These consisted of six thousand horse besides infantry; but they suffered a total defeat in spite of the valour of Khodawund Khan the Abyssinian, who was unhorsed and taken prisoner. The pretender was compelled to fly, and sought refuge in the fort of Tuckull,[186] whence he made good his way to Beejapoor, where he threw himself on the protection of Ibrahim Adil Shah II.; after which, he never set up his claims, but died in obscurity.

At this period, Bhaybulundur, the Raja of the district of Cossimcota, who regularly sent his tribute every year, died; and his son, Mukoond Raj, a boy of twelve years of age, was left as his heir. Mahomed Koolly Kootb Shah immediately sent letters acknowledging him as successor, and invited him to the capital,

185. This is the protector whom Ibrahim Adil Shah first expelled from his court, and subsequently caused to be blinded, vol. iii. pp. 102, 103.

186. The word is not quite clear in the text. The town of Tuckull is within three miles of Pangtoor, and fifteen from Pangul, near which the action was fought.

where he was honoured with a dress of instalment, and returned to his government; but scarcely had he reached it, when, at the instigation of his relative Vidiadry, he put to death his brother Dewraj, and sometime after made an attempt to seize the person of Birlas Khan, the King's governor in that country. Such outrages called for the immediate interference of the King, particularly as the Raja, confiding on the valour of his troops and his native woods and mountains for protection, had not sent the annual tribute to court.

The king accordingly directed his general, Meer Zein-ool-Abideen, Roosoomdar,[187] with a force to proceed against the Raja. Upon his arrival near Cossimcota, the general deputed a person to Mukoond Raj, requiring of him to pay the arrears of tribute, and to promise more punctuality in its future payment; but that foolish youth refused to give any satisfaction; and as the Mahomedans were too few to enforce their demand, Meer Zein-ool-Abideen wrote to court for reinforcements. The King immediately directed the Ameer Joomla, Ameen-ool-Moolk, with more troops to join the former detachment, and to assume the principal command. Ameer Joomla was accompanied by Shunkur Raj, the nephew of the late Bhaybulundur. Mukoond Raj, alarmed at the serious preparations made to attack him, wrote to the neighbouring rajas for assistance, as well as to Venkutputty, Raja of Beejanuggur, to induce him to take advantage of the moment, and to detach a force to Condbeer, while he with thirty thousand infantry and three thousand cavalry engaged the King's army in the neighbourhood of Rajmundry. After a bloody battle, in which Shunkur Raj was killed, and the Mahomedans nearly defeated, the fate of the day was decided by Ameen-ool-Moolk, who had remained on the flanks, with a large body of cavalry, waiting for a favourable opportunity to charge the enemy's infantry, which he entirely routed. On this occasion the Mahomedans lost several brave officers and men; but the victory was complete; and Mukoond Raj with his flying troops fled through the woods, and did not halt till they reached Cossimcota. On his arrival there Mukoond Raj put to death Birlas Khan and Ghuzunfur Beg, together with several other Mahomedans whom he inveigled into his presence. Shortly after this, the Mehomedan army arriving

187. Collector of roosoom, or tribute.

near Cossimcota, Mukoond Raj, who could now expect no quarter, retired towards Mudwara[188] and Chicacole. Ameen-ool-Moolk pursued him thither, laying waste the country, and levelling with the dust all the towns and villages in the route. Mukoond Raj, unable to cope with the royal troops, continued his flight to Pettapoor, and for a long time fled from village to village, in the woods and hills. The Mahomedans gave him no rest, and compelled him to seek an asylum with Ramchundur Raj, a prince of great fame and power in those parts. Ramchundur, in order to repel the invaders, wrote letters to Madhoo Sing, a raja whose country bordered on Bengal, and who, with a large army of Rajpoots, was in the service of Akbur Padshah of Dehly. Madhoo Sing, at the request of Ramchundur, marched to his assistance, while Ameen-ool-Moolk pursued the fugitive into that raja's dominions, levying contributions on the towns, devastating the villages, and pillaging the open country. Madhoo Sing, finding that no advantage was to be gained in the war, withdrew to Bengal, leaving Ramchundur to the alternative of becoming a tributary to the King of Golconda. Mukoond Raj, unable to secure a retreat in that country, was obliged to fly and seek protection in Bengal. Ameen-ool-Moolk, having settled affairs to his wishes, left Alum Khan, Asy Row, and two Reddywar[189] officers, for the protection of that frontier, and himself returned to Cossimcota, where he established the King's troops, and assumed charge of the government. Thus having given an account of the campaign against Mukoond Raj, let us now turn towards the motions of Venkutputty, Raja of Beejanuggur, who we have seen had been invited to take advantage of the moment, and to invade the district of Condbeer. Independently of the letters from Mukoond Raj, he had another strong motive to adopt this measure: as a great part of the King's army was employed in supporting the falling government of Ahmudnuggur, which capital was at this period besieged by the Prince Moorad Mirza, the son of Akbur Padshah, no moment could, therefore, be more favourable than the present. Venkutputty, in consequence, collected all his troops, and marched towards Condbeer with an army consisting of two hundred

188. The remains of this famous city and hill-fort are still to be seen.

189 The Reddywars, Munewars, and Naigwaries, are provincial appellations for local infantry militia.

thousand horse and infantry, and one thousand elephants. The King of Golconda had been previously informed of his intentions, and directed his army, under Adil Khan Bungy,[190] accompanied by two hundred elephants, and many guns, to oppose him. Adil Khan first proceeded direct to Condbeer with his cavalry, but was obliged to remain there sometime for his guns; while Venkutputty, who had not advanced beyond his frontier, finding that the King's troops had arrived, and that the army was very formidable, thought it prudent to send ambassadors with rich presents to the King at Golconda. The ambassadors had directions to make his excuse, by saying that the object for which he had left his capital, and come towards Condbeer, was merely for the purpose of seeing the lake at Cummum.[191] Orders were accordingly issued to Adil Khan Bungy to refrain from invading his territories, but to remain with the army at Condbeer as a corps of observation.

When the whole of the troops had been withdrawn from Rajmundry and Ellore, for the purpose of attacking Mukoond Raj in Cossimcota, the Reddywars of that country, taking advantage of the moment, began to plunder and attack the surrounding towns, such as Neerdole and Ellore, and P'harchully,[192] which compelled the unfortunate inhabitants to fly to the woods. Upon intimation of these proceedings at the capital, orders were sent to Adil Khan to proceed against the Reddywars. He accordingly marched, and routed them in all directions; but they only fled to collect on a spot where they could make a stand with advantage. The whole of the country being woody and hilly, it was difficult to pursue them; and when the royalists attempted to cross one of the rivers, they found the banks lined with twenty thousand infantry, who prevented them. Here they halted till guns and rockets could be procured from Rajmundry, which were not furnished until orders to that effect were received from court; when Meer Zein-ool-Abideen and Kurreem Khan, with all the musketeers and rocket-men in the neighbourhood, proceeded to support Adil Khan

190. The proper surname is probably Bungush, a celebrated Afghan tribe.

191. This lake is sixteen miles in circumference, and receives a number of tributary streams, which are disembogued through a sluice which forms the river Goonta Cummum, deriving its name from the lake, and which, after pursuing a course of two hundred and thirty miles after passing Ongole, empties itself into the sea near Mootapilly.

192. No such place appears in the map.

Bungy. Finding that nothing could be effected without crossing the river, several detachments were sent to explore a ford. Babajee and D'hurmarow at length discovered one, about ten miles from the camp. Having crossed which, they attacked the enemy's infantry on the opposite bank. The passage was well defended; but as the King's detachment was soon after supported by the main army, the Reddywars fled, and sought protection in the hills and woods. The royalists pursued them to the mouth of a narrow pass which the enemy had stockaded and blocked up with stones and trees, behind which they had placed guns and musketeers. This work was gallantly stormed and taken, although not without considerable loss on both sides. At length the Reddywars sent a deputation to court, and the King's armies were recalled. Adil Khan Bungy returned to Golconda, and Meer Zein-ool-Abideen to his government of Cossimcota, where some disturbances had arisen during his absence.

When Mukoond Raj first opposed the King's authority, Shunkur Raj the nephew, and Hurrychundur the brother, of Bhaybulundur were at Hydrabad, and proceeded with Ameen-ool-Moolk against Mukoond Raj. Shunkur Raj, as has been related, fell in the battle of Rajmundry.

At that time one Rawoot Row, a petty raja in the command of a body of cavalry and infantry, and who was famed for his courage, had sometime before joined, and subsequently acted in concert with Ameen-ool-Moolk; but being offended at some orders issued by him, Rawoot Row quitted the King's camp without permission, and afterwards induced Hurrychundur to quit it also, and to unite with him in an attempt to establish Hurrychundur in the government of his ancestors at Cossimcota. The first display of open violence evinced by Rawoot Row was to collect a force of ten thousand infantry, with which he made night-attacks on the King's army, whose vengeance they escaped by taking shelter in the woods and fastnesses in that strong country. They were, however, pursued; and in a skirmish which took place Rawoot Row lost his life by an arrow wound. This event put an end to any more resistance for the present; but Hurrychundur, making his escape, fled to Veij Nat Dew, a tributary raja in the neighbourhood, whom he induced to espouse his cause. At the same time, Hurrychundur wrote to Mukoond Raj, entitled Bhaybulun-

dur, to collect his dependents, and attack the fort of Joorjoora,[193] then in possession of Mullik Naib. Mukoond Raj, having brought together all the Munewars and Naigwaries in the neighbourhood, marched and laid siege to Joorjoora, which was gallantly defended by the Moslems; but it was so vigorously attacked, that an assault was made and the scaling ladders applied to the walls, when Chungiz Khan, one of the King's officers, arrived with a reinforcement, and not only saved the place but defeated the enemy, which dispersed in all directions. In the mean while, Veij Nat Dew and Hurrychundur marched to attack Meer Zein-ool-Abideen's army, with a force consisting of five thousand cavalry and thirty thousand infantry: they were, however, also defeated, with considerable loss, and Veij Nat Dew fled to the fort of Veeragootum, and the Mahomedans encamped at Narainpatam. In the mean time, Mukoond Raj of Julmoor invested the fort of Mahomed Koolly Kootbshahabad; but on hearing of the defeat of Veij Nat Dew he raised the siege, and fled to his capital, a strong hill-fort situated amid the hills and woods of those parts. He was pursued by Chungiz Khan for two months; when, finding himself unable to hold out much longer, he wrote letters to Veij Nat Dew, informing him of his situation. Veij Nat Dew detached his nephew, Nowlapa Nurswundy, with two thousand cavalry, thirty thousand infantry, and one hundred elephants, under the command of Hurrychundur, to his assistance. The Mahomedan army, composed of five thousand horse and ten thousand infantry, marched to oppose this force, which had taken post in the centre of a valley, surrounded on all sides by hills difficult of access. The King's troops, however, gained the heights, and came down upon the enemy in all directions. The Hindoos were defeated, and saved their lives by a precipitate flight. Hurrychundur was pursued day after day, till at length his party, being surrounded, was defeated, after a bloody action, while himself and his colleague, Nowlapa Nurswundy, made their escape with difficulty, and left in the enemy's hands many of Veij Nat Dew's relations, who were wounded and taken prisoners. Veij Nat Dew, finding that no advantage was to be gained by supporting Hurrychundur in so unprofitable a war, sent an ambassador with thirty thousand hoons[194] and fifty elephants to purchase a peace, and to consent

193. Perhaps the Jeigowla of the map.
194. 12,000*l*.

to pay the same amount annually as tribute. The terms were accepted; but the Raja's relations were kept prisoners as hostages until the delivery of Nowlapa Nurswundy, his nephew, whom the Mahomedans insisted on being given into their hands, as he was considered the principal promoter of the war.

After having concluded hostilities with Veij Nat Dew, Meer Zein-ool-Abideen detached Chungiz Khan with a considerable army against Mukoond Raj Bhaybulundur, who occupied Julmoor. Mukoond Raj's force encamped at Verool, a place situated among the hills, and famous on account of its caverns,[195] on which spot he was attacked by Chungiz Khan. On the first day neither party had any apparent advantage; but on the following the Hindoos were defeated, and Mukoond Raj fled to Julmoor, whence also flying, he left his country and property to fall into the hands of the faithful, and sought shelter in the Bengal provinces.

Julmoor was now occupied by the Mahomedans; and the whole of the province of Cossimcota promised to repay, during a peace, the trouble and expense of the protracted war; when on a sudden Kishtum Raj,[196] the son of the late Rawoot Row, raising a force, wrote to Bengal, inviting Mukoond Raj Bhaybulundur to return and make another attempt to recover his patrimonial territory; himself commencing the war by seizing the two towns of Potnoor and Mudwara. On intimation of this violence, Meer Zein-ool-Abideen detached Chungiz Khan, D'hurmarow, and Balyrow, to attack the enemy. Mukoond Raj was defeated, after an action which lasted from daylight till sunset, and retreated to Mudwara; but as that fort was situated in the midst of thick woods, and it was considered impracticable to reduce it, D'hurmarow proposed to Meer Zein-ool-Abideen, by way of putting a stop to this war, to admit the claims of Mukoond Raj to the fortress and district of Mudwara, on condition of his becoming tributary to Golconda. To this proposal Meer Zein-ool-Abideen would by no means consent. A coolness ensued between these officers, and owing to the representations of D'hurmarow at court,

195. This village is situated near Chicacole, and bears the same name as that which is usually called Elloora in the Deccan, both deriving their appellation from the caves in their vicinity. The proper name is written Verool, and not Elloora.

196. Krishna Raja.

Meer Zein-ool-Abideen was recalled, and Syud Hussun was deputed in his stead. On his arrival he granted terms, in the first instance, to Hurrychundur, the uncle of Mukoond Raj; and it was proposed, by way of reducing Mukoond Raj, to build three forts on the passes and narrow roads by which alone he could make attacks. For this purpose the forts of Moostufabad, Kootbshahabad, and Mahomedabad, were built, in which small garrisons were always maintained.[197] Mukoond Raj, thus hemmed in on all sides, had recourse to the assistance of Kishtum Raj, who attacked Mahomedabad with three thousand musketeer infantry, but was himself killed by an arrow from the garrison. Mukoond Raj became disconsolate on the death of his friend; but detached one Sudashew, a distinguished officer, to supply his place. Sudashew shortly after fell, at the head of his troops, by a musket-shot; and the storming party which he was leading in person, having lost their officer, returned and joined Mukoond Raj. Shortly afterwards an attack was made on Moostufabad by one Agny Raj, at the head of ten thousand infantry. He was opposed by all the Mahomedan army, and was killed in the assault; at the same time one Boochuna Raj also fell, in his efforts against the fort of Kootbshahabad. Syud Hussun, upon hearing of the defeat of the several attempts made upon his posts, now resolved to reduce Mudwara, and employed his troops in cutting down the woods, and destroying them by fire. Mukoond Raj, reduced to the last alternative, made one desperate effort, and with his whole force attacked the Mahomedans, in which he was defeated, and again fled to Bengal. Thus the province of Cossimcota was cleared of every raja likely to molest the Mahomedans; and Sooria Row was soon after sent from Golconda to partition out that country into jageers, and to superintend the civil duties. Since which time it has been held as a dependency of Golconda.[198]

At this time the King appointed the respectable Syud, Meer

197. These petty fortifications have long since fallen to decay.

198. It seems to have been a practice general throughout the Deccan to make over all new and distant conquests as feudal estates to the military chiefs, which seemed the most likely method of giving them an interest in retaining them for the government. The same practice was adopted by the Marrattas; and it led, as might have been anticipated, to the dismemberment of the empire, and to the establishment of the independent principalities of Holkar, Sindia, Bhosla, Gykwar, and others.

Mahomed Ameen, a native of Astrabad, to the situation of Meer Joomla,[199] with a salary of two lacks of hoons.[200]

In the year A.H. 1012 (A.D. 1603), in consequence of the increasing friendship which subsisted at this period between the court of Hydrabad and that of Persia, Shah Abbas deputed one of his relatives, Oghzloo Sooltan, on an embassy to Mahomed Koolly Kootb Shah. On hearing that the ambassador had arrived at Goa, the King deputed Ameer Zein-ood-Deen of Nyshapoor to welcome him, and to provide suitably for his journey to Hydrabad. On his approach to the city he was met by all the most respectable chiefs of the kingdom; and he had an audience of the King at the Kala Chubootra of Golconda, on which occasion the ambassador presented his letter of credentials, as also various presents which he had brought with him. Among these were a crown studded with rubies, of great value, and a handsome dagger highly ornamented with jewels; forty horses of the purest Arabian breed, with saddles, bridles, and housings covered with gold and precious stones; fifty pieces of the richest velvet, and cloths of European manufacture; twelve pairs of Kirman carpets, and a Persian carpet twelve yards square, besides other valuable products of Persia, which it is unnecessary to describe. The ambassador was received with the highest honours; and after being honoured with valuable presents, one hundred officers of rank, who accompanied him, all received handsome robes, and the palace of Dilgoosha was assigned for their residence. Owing to the invasion of the Moguls into the Deccan at this period, the Persian ambassador resided for six years at Hydrabad; during the whole of which time he received annually two thousand tomans (2000*l*.) for his personal expenses, besides numerous presents. Previously to his departure Hajy Kumur Ally, a confidential officer of the government, was directed to accompany him, conveying along with him such of the products of India as were worthy to be sent to the King of Persia. Among other articles was some of the gold cloth manufactured at Peitun, which occupied five years in completing.[201]

199. Meer Joomla signifies literally the chief of the collections. His office was that of minister of finance.

200. 80,000*l*. sterling.

201. Ferishta, in alluding to this embassy, states, that its principal object was to obtain in marriage the daughter of Mahomed Koolly

In the year A.H. 1016 (A.D. 1607), the Prince Sooltan Mahomed, son of the late Prince Mahomed Ameen, was honoured with the hand of the King's beautiful daughter, his own first cousin.

At this period a great number of Moguls, that is to say, foreigners, having collected from all parts, especially from Agra and Lahore, had settled in the city of Hydrabad. Some of these, with their friends, went together one day, without asking permission, to see the palace and gardens of the Nubat G'hat; and having drank pretty freely, they ascended the hill upon which it is built, notwithstanding the eunuchs left for the occupation of the palace not only prohibited them but endeavoured to prevent their entering into the royal apartments. This circumstance was immediately reported to the King, who directed Ally Aka, kotwal of the city to proceed and keep the peace by turning out the intruders. Ally Aka reported that in consequence of the invasions of the Dehly troops into the Deccan many Moguls of late years came into the city, who had no other employment but that of debauchery; that they were constantly engaged in acts in direct violation of good order, and that their numbers had become quite alarming to the public peace. On this the King directed a proclamation to be made, commanding all foreigners, under the description of Moguls, who had no employment, to quit the kingdom. Ally Aka, kotwal, who was a young man, and inflated with the insignia of his office, caused proclamation to be made, directing all foreigners, whether Patans, Persians, Arabs, or Tartars, to quit the city; and, in order to carry this measure into effect, directed his subordinate police-officers to turn them out by force, or to confine them without distinction. The Moguls, hearing of the outrage committed by their countrymen on the Nubat G'hat palace, thought that nothing less than instant death would befall them, and this apprehension became general throughout the city. The inhabitants of the Deccan, delighted at this opportunity of enriching themselves, left their several occupations, and flew to share in the plunder of the warehouses of the wealthy foreign merchants then settled in Hydrabad, many of whom were killed in defending their property. The moment Meer Joomla heard of these riots, although in the midst of business, he ran to the palace; and notwithstanding the

Kootb Shah for one of the princes of Persia; but it appears she was married to her cousin Sooltan Mahomed in 1607, while the Persian ambassador was residing at the court of Hydrabad.

King was asleep, and the servants warned him not to intrude, he had courage sufficient to burst open the door, and thunder into his Majesty's ears the alarming state of the city.[202] He even requested him to look at the scene out of the palace windows, and satisfy himself of the truth of his representation. The King ordered a proclamation to be instantly issued, making it death for any person to touch the property of the Moguls; and after sending for Ally Aka, kotwal, he directed him to proceed in person and put an end to the riots, or that he would have him trod to death by elephants. Ally Aka, according to his instructions, proceeded into the city, and with a part of the body-guard put to death many of the rioters; and by way of satisfying the minds of the people, several minor police officers, who had been most active, were beheaded or hanged, or flayed alive, while others were maimed by the loss of limbs, and exhibited through the city in this mutilated state as examples.

In the year A.H. 1018 (A.D. 1609), the King's younger brother, Mirza Mahomed Khoodabunda, went into rebellion. In the first instance, Abdool Kurreem and Anwur Khan, at the instigation of Shah Rajoo, a holy personage of that age, raised the standard of revolt, supported by many of the Hawaldars or governors of districts. The object of the rebels appears to have been to murder all the foreigners who were Sheeas, to dethrone the King, and to place Mirza Mahomed Khoodabunda on the musnud; but fortunately the King obtained information of the conspiracy, and prevented their plans from being carried into execution, by seizing and confining the ring leaders in the fort of Golconda, together with the Prince Mirza Mahomed Khoodabunda himself, who died there in the year 1020 (A.D. 1611).

It has been already related, that when Mukoond Raj, the son of the late Bhaybulundur, had been expelled from his territory, and the province of Cossimcota had been subdued by the Mahomedans, that Veij Nat Dew also, who was one of the principal rajas in that country, and could muster fifty thousand infantry and one thousand elephants, had been compelled to consent to pay an annual tribute to the Kings of Golconda. From the period when Syud Hussun became governor of the province of Cossimcota,

202. Such a Meer Joomla at Calcutta might have saved many of the poor sufferers who were suffocated in the black hole while the nawab slept.

during eight years, nothing occurred to disturb the public tranquillity. In the same year, when Jehangeer Padshah of Dehly detached his son, the Prince Purveez, to make conquests in the Deccan, a universal spirit of revolt broke out among these rajas. Veij Nat Dew, partaking of the general disaffection, detached a force to plunder and make night-attacks on the Mahomedans of Cossimcota; who, unprepared for resistance, were at first surprised; but they eventually succeeded in repelling the enemy; and the Hindoos spread themselves in all quarters, and laid waste the country. News of this sudden revolt reaching court, Chungiz Khan and D'hurmarow, two officers of distinguished gallantry and ability, were directed to proceed and reinforce Syud Hussun in Cossimcota. Veij Nat Dew, instead of marching boldly to oppose the Mahomedans, took post in his capital, and his country became a prey to their ravages. Kishtum Raj, nephew of Veij Nat Dew, being offended with his uncle's conduct towards him, fled for protection into the Mahomedan camp, where he was honourably received; and as this young man was popular in his uncle's army, many of the officers of Veij Nat Dew came over and joined him. Shortly after this, Veij Nat Dew being old, and deserted by most of his courtiers and soldiers, was taken seriously ill, and died. On the occurrence of this event, Chungiz Khan and D'hurmarow marched with the army towards his capital, whilst the latter wrote to the representatives of the late raja, requiring them to pay the tribute, or that the country would be laid in ashes. They replied by saying, that Veij Nat Dew had left no sons fit to succeed him, and that the hopes of the country rested on Kishtum Raj, who was now with the Mahomedan army; that, therefore, if he were sent to the capital, they would agree to pay the usual tribute in his name. Accordingly a treaty was entered into with Kishtum Raj as the successor of Veij Nat Dew, who consented to pay the same tribute as Bhaybulundur, and to present on the occasion of his installation three lacks of hoons,[203] and three hundred elephants, besides jewels. D'hurmarow, satisfied with the professions of Kishtum Raj, gave him a suit of armour from the royal armoury, and some horses and other articles of state, and sent him with a suitable escort to the capital of his new kingdom. He was joyfully received by the

203. 120,000*l*.

courtiers and by his army, and immediately sent 150,000 hoons[204] and one hundred and fifty elephants, in part-payment of the stipulated amount, for the King; but instead of endeavouring to make up the remainder of the sum, he was so infatuated as to follow the advice of some of his friends, and to attack the country of the Mahomedans. The King, on hearing of the young raja's ingratitude, directed the army, under Chungiz Khan, to march, and build a strong fort as a depot, in the neighbourhood of his capital; which being carried into effect, distressed the Hindoos, as it gave the Mahomedans opportunities of attacking them every moment. In a very short time afterwards, Kishtum Raj was compelled to pay the remainder of the stipulated sum for his installation, and also the annual tribute, as had been originally agreed upon.

In the year A.H. 1019 (A.D. 1610), news arrived that Purtab Sa,[205] the Raja of Bustar, had plundered some of the King's subjects on the borders of his country, and that he was daily gaining strength, and making partial incursions into the Kootb Shahy dominions. Asyrow, an officer of ability, with several others, were detached to attack and reduce him. In the first instance Asyrow was opposed by Purtab Sa in person, who was defeated, but fled into almost impenetrable woods. The King's troops pursued the enemy as far as they could, and occupied some of the villages and small towns in that country, but were unable to besiege with success the fortress of Bustar, situated in the midst of thick forests. The army was accordingly encamped on an open spot, and Asyrow wrote to the capital for instructions. The King immediately directed his prime minister, Meer Mahomed Ameen, to march, at the head of all the disposable troops at the capital, and conquer the country of Bustar. Purtab Sa, unable to cope with the Mahomedans in the field, fled before them from place to place. Meer Mahomeed Ameen proceeded into the interior until he arrived in the neighbourhood of Mulangoor and Mundlere, at which places he built strong forts; and having marched for a whole month he reached the capital of Bustar, to which place the arms of Islam had never before penetrated. Purtab Sa called together all the neighbouring rajas to resist the attack; but a sudden fall of heavy rain coming on spoiled great part of the

204. 60,000*l*.
205. A Goand chief.

powder and this event, together with the circumstances of a dearth of provisions and the distance of the Mahomedan army from the capital, combined to induce Meer Mahomed Ameen to retreat. This object was effected with great difficulty as far as the banks of a considerable river on the frontier, where he encamped: thence he wrote to court for fresh orders; and the King directed Mullik Birlas, with five thousand musketeers and rocketers, to march to his assistance.

Shortly after this, on Saturday the 17th of Zeekad, A.H. 1020 (Dec. 17, A.D. 1611), Mahomed Koolly Kootb Shah, having been taken suddenly ill, died, after an indisposition of only two days. The Deccanies assembling at the palace commenced to attack the foreigners who were maintained about the King's person; but the mob was dispersed by the kotwal of the city, who called the rioters away to the coronation of the young king. Mahomed Koolly Kootb Shah died in the 49th year of his age, after reigning nearly thirty-four years.

Among the public works executed by his orders are the following, in the vicinity of Hydrabad :—

1. The palace and gardens of the Ilahy Mahal.
2. The Mahomedy gardens.
3. The palace of Nubat-Ghat.
4. The palace of Kooh-toor.
5. The palace of the Nuddy Mahal.
6. The alms-house, entitled Lungur of the twelve Imams.
7. The Jooma musjid.
8. The college.
9. The private mosque.
10. The public hospital.

Besides these were many other mosques, baths, and public seminaries. On reference to the accounts of Meer Aboo Talib, the King's private treasurer, it appears that seventy-eight lacks of hoons (2,800,000*l*. sterling) were expended in the construction of public works during the lifetime of Mahomed Koolly Kootb Shah. A sum of sixty thousand hoons, (24,000*l*.) was distributed annually to the poor; of which twelve thousand hoons (4800*l*.) were given in charity during the month of Mohurrum alone.

CHAPTER III.
(CONTINUED.)

SECTION V.

HISTORY OF THE KINGS OF BERAR, ENTITLED IMAD SHAHY.

FUTTEH OOLLA IMAD SHAH

THE first person who became distinguished in this family was descended from the Canarese infidels of Beejanuggur. Having been taken prisoner in the wars with that country, when a boy, he was admitted among the body-guard of Khan Jehan, the commander-in-chief, and governor of Berar. As he grew up he discovered abilities and courage, which attracted the notice of his master, who ultimately became so much attached to him, that he nominated him to offices of distinction. After the death of Khan Jehan, he repaired to the court at Mahomedabad Bidur, and in the reign of Mahomed Shah Bahmuny, through the influence of Khwaja Mahmood Gawan, he received the title of Imad-ool-Moolk, and was subsequently raised to the office of commander of the forces in Berar.

In the year A.H. 890 (A.D. 1484), he declared his independence; shortly after which he died, and was succeeded by his eldest son.

ALLA-OOD-DEEN IMAD SHAH

ON the death of Futteh Oolla, his eldest son, Alla-ood-Deen, succeeded to the government; and following the example of other chiefs of the house of Bahmuny, declared himself King, under the title of Alla-ood-Deen Imad Shah; and established his royal residence at Gavul. When Mahmood Shah Bahmuny fled from the persecutions of Ameer Bereed, this prince marched with the whole of the army of Berar to Bidur, in order to replace him on his throne; but Boorhan Nizam Shah Bheiry, fearing the restitution

GENEALOGY OF THE KINGS OF BERAR,

ENTITLED IMAD SHAH.

1

Futteh Oolla Imad Shah.

2

Alla-ood-Deen.

3

Duria.

4

Boorhan.

of the Bahmuny dynasty, marched to the assistance of Ameer Bereed, and, as has been related, Mahmood Shah, in the heat of an action which took place, fled from his ally, and threw himself again into the hands of Ameer Bereed.

In the year A.H. 923 (A.D. 1516), Ameer Bereed marched from Bidur, and first took the fort of Mahoor, after which he attacked Ramgir, and carried it by assault, and slew the governor,[206] Khoodawund Khan Abyssinian. Upon intimation of this invasion, Alla-ood-Deen Imad Shah began to collect his forces, on the plea of assisting the family of Khoodawund Khan; and Ameer Bereed, in order to avoid a war, placed each of the sons of the deceased in the two forts of Mahoor and Ramgir, and desired them to consider themselves tributary to Alla-ood-Deen Imad Shah. On approaching the forts, Alla-ood-Deen made himself master of them by treachery. Khoodawund Khan's sons fled for protection to Boorhan Nizam Shah, while Alla-ood-Deen placed his own governors and garrisons in them.

The usurpation of these two forts, and the aggrandisement of Berar, gave umbrage to the Nizam Shahy court, between which state and that of Imad Shah frequent battles ensued, wherein the latter was at length so totally defeated as to fly to his capital of Gavul. Alla-ood-Deen had previously contracted an alliance by marriage with the daughter of Ismael Adil Shah. But as the latter monarch was now engaged in a war with the Ray of Beejanuggur, he was unable to assist his ally and son-in-law, the King of Berar; and Boorhan Nizam Shah took advantage of the circumstance to wrest the forts of Mahoor and Ramgir out of his hands.

In the year A.H. 934 (A.D. 1527), Alla-ood-Deen Imad Shah, in conjunction with Meeran Mahomed Khan, the ruler of Kandeish, marched to take revenge of Boorhan Nizam Shah.

After a severe action, the latter was victorious, and took all the elephants and guns of the allies, who retreated to their respective capitals. Ismael Adil Shah, to whom application for aid was made in the first instance, being unable to render it, Meeran Mahomed Khan, who had lost all his elephants and artillery in the late war, applied to his relative, Bahadur Shah of Guzerat,

206. Ramgir, Mahoor, and south of the province of Berar, were conferred on Khoodawund Khan the Abyssinian, at the same time that Elichpoor, Gavul, and the north of Berar were made over to Futteh Oolla Imad-ool-Moolk. Vide vol. ii. p. 309.

to afford him assistance. Bahadur Shah, who wished nothing more than to extend his dominions, thought this a favourable opportunity to carry his project into effect, and he accordingly marched with a large force towards the Deccan; but Alla-ood-Deen soon discovered the real intentions of the King of Guzerat; and having read the public worship in that monarch's name at Gavul, presented him with the sovereignty of the country, at the same time that his ally, Meeran Mahomed Khan of Kandeish, pressed the Guzerat monarch to march on direct to Ahmudnuggur, and compel the submission of the house of Nizam Shah. Bahadur Shah, pleased at the obsequiousness of his allies, marched by Dowlutabad to Ahmudnuggur, and, as we have before related, caused coin to be struck in his name, and his title as sovereign to be acknowledged there; after which the allies returned to their respective capitals. Soon after this, Alla-ood-Deen Imad Shah died, and was succeeded by his eldest son.

DURIA IMAD SHAH

SHORTLY after the accession of Duria Imad Shah, he gave his daughter Beeby Dowlut in marriage to Hoossein Nizam Shah. Duria Imad Shah appears to have reigned in great tranquillity with all the other kings of the Deccan until his death; after which he was succeeded by his son, an infant.

BOORHAN IMAD SHAH

ON the death of Duria Imad Shah, Boorhan Imad Shah succeeded to the throne when but a child. His minister, Toofal Khan Deccany, became regent; and before the Prince was of an age to assume the reins of his empire, Toofal Khan, assisted by the ruler of Kandeish and by the Nizam Shahy court, usurped the government. He eventually confined his sovereign in irons in the fort of Narnala, and assumed the title of King.

TOOFAL KHAN

THIS enterprising minister united in his person the grand requisites for successful ambition, viz. undaunted courage and con-

summate art. His power advanced so rapidly after his usurpation, that the kings of Ahmudnuggur and Beejapoor were induced to seek his destruction, and marched their united forces against him. Toofal Khan, unable to oppose both princes, made overtures to Ally Adil Shah and his minister, presenting to that monarch an offering of valuable jewels, to relinquish the war. Moortuza Nizam Shah, having discovered this correspondence, retreated to Ahmudnuggur. But in the year A.H. 980 (A.D. 1568) he again marched against Toofal Khan, under the pretence of releasing the imprisoned prince from his confinement in Narnala.

On this occasion, Toofal Khan became alarmed, and deputed an envoy to beg assistance from Ibrahim Kootb Shah of Golconda, and with this aid he attacked Chungiz Khan, the peshwa of Ahmudnuggur. But Toofal Khan was completely defeated; and being closely pursued and much harassed, was eventually besieged in the fort of Narnala, while his son took refuge in Gavulgur. The former of these places being strongly situated on the top of a hill, and not to be taken by ordinary means, Moortuza Nizam Shah merely invested it for a time, and at length resolved to return to Ahmudnuggur. Chungiz Khan, however, succeeded in gaining over some of the garrison, part of which escaped to him from the fort. These deserters being well rewarded, and provisions becoming scarce within, others daily followed their example, till at length only twelve artillery-men remained to work the guns. Chungiz Khan, who obtained the best information from the deserters, contrived, with great labour, to drag a gun up the hill, sufficiently near to batter one of the bastions; and one night twenty-eight men and a trumpeter, headed by an officer, approached the breach, and got over the wall, when the trumpeter was ordered to blow his trumpet. Toofal Khan, supposing that a large party had gained the works, and himself being left with a very few attendants, fled into the contiguous hills, without making any attempt to defend the place. The next day, Moortuza Nizam Shah seized all that was worth taking, and permitted the fort and town to be sacked. Syud Hoossein Astrabady, who was sent in pursuit, overtook Toofal Khan on the third day, and brought him to the royal camp. Shortly after which, the fort of Gavul was taken by capitulation, and Shumsheer-ool-Moolk, the son of Toofal Khan, was also made prisoner. Moortuza Nizam Shah, instead of placing the captive monarch on the throne of Berar, sent him with the usurper Toofal

Khan, and his son Shumsheer-ool-Moolk, to be confined in one of the Nizam Shahy forts, where, it is said, they were all three subsequently strangled by the King's order. Others assert, that their whole families, amounting to forty persons, died in one night, in consequence of the cruelty of their keepers; who, wanting to extort part of the money allowed for their subsistence, and not being gratified by compliance, shut them up in a small dungeon on a hot night, where they perished before daylight. Thus the family of Imad Shah and that of the usurper Toofal Khan became extinct.

CHAPTER III.
(CONTINUED.)

SECTION VI

THE HISTORY OF THE KINGS OF BIDUR, ENTITLED BEREED SHAHY.

KASIM BEREED

SEVEN persons of this family have reigned until the present period, since their first establishment in the capital of Ahmudabad Bidur.

Kasim Bereed Toork was brought by Khwaja Shahab-ood-Deen Ally Yezdy to Bidur, and sold as a Georgian slave to Sooltan Mahomed Shah Lushkurry Bahmuny, by whom he was admitted among the Georgian attendants of that monarch. In his reign he distinguished himself by his bravery against the rebel Marrattas residing between Peitun and Chakun, whom he was deputed to reduce. One action in particular took place, in which Kasim Bereed was victorious, and having slain Sabajee Marratta, the King gave the deceased chief's daughter in marriage to Kasim Bereed's son, Ameer Bereed, as a reward for his services. Sabajee's territory was also conferred on him; and upwards of four hundred Marrattas, who were connected with the late chief, entered his service, many of whom he persuaded to embrace the faith. To this attached body of Marrattas Ameer Bereed always evinced the utmost kindness; and the connection formed by his son's marriage gave him a paramount influence on his estate, so that in the reign of Sooltan Mahmood Shah Bahmuny he, like many of the other nobles, aimed at regal power; and by the advice of Adil Shah, Nizam Shah, and Imad Shah, he usurped the forts of Owsa, Kand'har, and Oodgeer; and leaving to his king only the town and fort of Ahmudabad Bidur, read the public prayers, and coined money, in his own name. After having ruled his estate for a period of twelve years, during the lifetime of his sovereign, Kasim Bereed died in the year A.H. 910 (A.D. 1504).

GENEALOGY OF THE KINGS OF AHMUDABAD BIDUR,

ENTITLED BEREED SHAH.

1
Kasim Bereed I.

|

2
Ameer Bereed I.

|

3
Ally Bereed.

|

4
Ibrahim Bereed.

|

5
Kasim Bereed II.

|

6
Mirza Ally Bereed.

|

7
Ameer Bereed II.

AMEER BEREED

AMEER BEREED succeeded his father. During his rule, Mahmood Shah Bahmuny died, and Kuleem Oolla Shah Bahmuny, the last of his race, fled from Bidur to Ahmudnuggur. At this period, also, the city of Bidur was taken by Ismael Adil Shah, but was afterwards restored to Ameer Bereed. At the time when Bahadur Shah of Guzerat invaded the Deccan, (at the instance of Alla-ood-Deen Imad Shah, and Meeran Mahomed Khan, ruler of Kandeish,) Ismael Adil Shah invited Ameer Bereed to Beejapoor, where he intrusted him with the command of four thousand foreign cavalry, wearing the twelve-pointed cap of the Imams, to proceed to the assistance of Boorhan Nizam Shah, as has been already related, and he distinguished himself much in that campaign. At length, when proceeding, some years afterwards, to the assistance of Boorhan Nizam Shah, he was taken ill suddenly, and died at Dowlutabad. His body was brought to Ahmudabad Bidur by his brother Khwaja Jehan, and he was buried in that city, in the year A.H. 945 (A.D. 1549).

His reign lasted for a period of forty-five years.

ALLY BEREED SHAH

THIS person is the first of the dynasty who adopted the style of Shah or King; for though his grandfather Kasim Bereed assumed regalia, he did not take the royal title. When Boorhan Nizam Shah sent his minister, the venerable Shah Tahir, to congratulate him on his accession, Ally Bereed Shah very imprudently attacked that minister concerning his faith and doctrines. The holy man became so provoked at the taunts he experienced on this occasion, that he left the court, and, on his return, informed his master of the disrespectful treatment he had experienced, and urged him to march his army against Bidur. Ally Bereed Shah having delivered over the fort of Kulliany to Ismael Adil Shah, solicited his aid; notwithstanding which Boorhan Nizam Shah's marches were so rapid, that the forts of Owsa, Kand'har, and Oodgeer, surrendered at his approach, and he reduced the kingdom of Bidur to a territory producing only 400,000 hoons.

In the year A.H. 987 (A.D. 1579), Moortuza Nizam Shah made an attack upon the remaining part of the Bidur territories, and laid close siege to the capital itself. Ally Bereed, thus straitened, sent an envoy to Ally Adil Shah, who replied, that if he would make him a present of two eunuchs, whom he named, he would send his assistance. Ally Bereed assented; and two thousand Beejapoor cavalry marched to raise the siege of Mahomedabad Bidur. Moortuza Nizam Shah, hearing of the approach of the Adil Shahies, and also of the rebellion of his brother Boorhan Nizam Shah at Ahmudnuggur, retreated to his capital, and left Mirza Yadgar with a body of Kootb Shahies, who had joined from Golconda, to prosecute the siege; but as soon as the Beejapoor detachment arrived within a few miles of the place, Mirza Yadgar retreated; and Ally Bereed delivered over the two eunuchs, contrary to their own inclination, to the Beejapoories. These two youths[207] were so stung with shame on being transferred from one king to another, that shortly after their arrival at Beejapoor one of them put Ally Adil Shah to death, as we have before seen in his history.

Soon after this, Ally Bereed Shah died, in the year A.H. 990 (A.D. 1562), having reigned forty-five years. He was succeeded by his eldest son.

IBRAHIM BEREED SHAH

THIS Prince reigned seven years, and died in the year A.H. 997 (A.D. 1569).

KESEEM BEREED SHAH II.

AFTER the death of Ibrahim, he was succeeded by his younger brother, Kasim Bereed II., who after reigning three years died a natural death in the year A.H. 1000 (A.D. 1572).

MIRZA ALLY BEREED SHAH

KASIM BEREED II. was succeeded by his son, a child of the name of Mirza Ally Bereed. One of his relations, Ameer Bereed,

207. There were two eunuchs delivered over, though only one of them committed the murder.

shortly after usurped the kingdom, and expelled Mirza Ally Bereed to Bhagnuggur; after which he ascended the throne, under the title of Ameer Bereed.

AMEER BEREED SHAH II.

THIS prince is at the present period, being the year A.H. 1018 (A.D. 1609), on the throne at Bidur.

Let it not be concealed from the perusers of these sheets that the author has failed in procuring any written accounts of the Kootb Shahy, Imad Shahy, or Bereed Shahy dynasties; he has therefore been compelled to fill up the page with oral traditions, from the most respectable and well informed people of his own times. It is his earnest request, that if any one should, hereafter, ascertain more correctly the precise period when these monarchs ascended the throne, or died, that they will fill up the chasm which occurs in this history; and should any detailed accounts of the reigns of these princes be discovered, it is his request that they may be inserted in his work, to complete the history of the Deccan.[208]

208. It is in conformity with this wish that the appendix to the history of the kings of Golconda has been supplied by the translator.

A

CHRONOLOGICAL EPITOME

OF THE

WARS OF THE PORTUGUESE IN INDIA,

AS CONNECTED WITH

THE HISTORY OF THE DECCAN.

THE history of the Portuguese in India is so intimately connected with the narrative contained in this volume, that it has been thought desirable, instead of recapitulating the chronological events of Europe during the sixteenth century, already annexed to the preceding volume, to append a short abstract of the proceedings of the Portuguese, derived from their contemporary historian, Faria-e-Souza. This appendix, while it affords a partial insight into the proceedings of the first European nation that invaded India, is not intended to exhibit all the exploits of those enterprising adventurers in the East. Care has been taken not to overload this epitome with details altogether unconnected with Ferishta's history, although occasional allusion is made to such general circumstances as tend to exhibit the nature of the Portuguese dominion; the leading features of its government; the nature of the obstacles it encountered on the western coast of India, and the great efforts it made to surmount them; and, lastly, to point out the effects which seem to have been produced every where against the rule of the Portuguese in India.

To the European reader who peruses Ferishta, and who may not have consulted the Portuguese historian, this epitome will, probably, be acceptable, as displaying, in a narrow compass, some of those leading points of the Portuguese administration which may bear comparison with our own; and it will tend to afford a better criterion of the condition of the native powers in India than any account we can receive even from their own historians. The numbers of the Portuguese engaged in each of the several wars are not likely to be overrated, whatever may be the case as to their

enemies, nor their want of success to be misstated. These facts, therefore, may, I think, be relied on; and they alone furnish us with valuable data to confirm or reject the authority of Indian historian.

TOME I. PART I. CHAP. IV.

Vasco de Gama quits Lisbon on the 8th of July, A.D. 1497, with three small ships and one hundred and sixty men: he reaches St. George's island, near Mozambique, on the east coast of Africa, in south latitude 14° 30″; the chief of which is called Zacoeja (Shah Khwaja). Gama sails thence on the 11th of March, A.D. 1498. He reaches Melinda on the same coast, where he finds several *Guzerat* merchants. Obtains a Guzerat pilot, named Melemo Cana, Maalim Khan (literally Mr. Pilot), who appears quite familiar with the astrolabe, and seems to consider that used on board of Vasco de Gama's ship a very imperfect instrument. On May 20 Vasco de Gama reaches Calicut, which he finds in possession of a Hindo king called Zamori. Meets with a European Mahomedan, Monzayde (Meean Zeid), who speaks Spanish, and becomes Vasco de Gama's interpreter. Several Mahomedan merchants are settled at Calicut, carrying on an extensive trade with Europe, through the Red Sea and the Gulf of Persia. The governor of the Mehomedans is called Kotwal. Gama finds also several Christians at Calicut. The Mahomedans become jealous of Vasco de Gama, and they induced the King (Zamori) to detain seven Portuguese. Vasco de Gama, unable to procure their release, retaliates by seizing twenty Indian fishermen, and accompanied by his interpreter, Meean Zeid, returns to Portugal in the year A.D. 1499, having lost one hundred and five men out of one hundred and sixty, during an absence of twenty six months.

TOME I. PART I. CHAP. V

On the eighth of March A.D. 1500, Vasco de Gama quits Lisbon a second time, with a fleet consisting of thirteen sail, containing twelve hundred men, including eight Franciscan friars, eight chaplains, and one chaplain major. "The substance of whose instructions was, to begin by preaching, and if that failed.

to proceed to the decision of the sword." Vasco de Gama reaches Melinda on the 2d of August; and having obtained two Guzerat pilots there, he proceeds to Calicut, which he reaches on the 17th of September. An exchange of prisoners and hostages takes place between Vasco de Gama and the Zamori. The latter gives up six bramins named by the former. The Mehomedan merchants from Mecca oppose the trade of the Portuguese. The Mahomedans induce the Portuguese to attack an Indian vessel having elephants on board, proceeding from Ceylon to Guzerat. The Guzerat vessel bears down on the Portuguese, and fires several guns at them, and proceeds to Cananore. The Portuguese attack and cut out the Guzerat vessel, but subsequently deliver it over to the King of Cochin. At Cranganore the Portuguese find *several Christians* under an Armenian bishop. Vaso de Gama returns to Portugal. In March, John de Nova sails from Lisbon with four ships. In the year A.D. 1501, discovers the uninhabited island of St. Helena. In the year A.D. 1502, Vasco de Gama again proceeds to India with twenty ships. The fleet falls in with the Meri, a large ship belonging to the Sooltan of Egypt, on board of which are two hundred and eighty persons, many of whom are pilgrims for Mecca. The Mahomedans refuse to allow the Portuguese fleet to take possession of the vessel, and make a desperate resistance, in which every person on board is put to death, with the exception only of twenty children, who are subsequently baptized. Vasco de Gama reaches India, and receives a deputation from the Christians of Cranganore, whose numbers amount to *thirty thousand* souls, and are subject to the patriarch of Armenia. vessels. The Indians use *fire-ships*. Two of the Indian vessels are taken; one containing an idol of gold, studded with jewels, weighing thirty pounds. Vasco de Gama returns to Lisbon with part of his fleet.

TOME I. PART I. CHAP. VII.

In the year A.D. 1503, Alfonso de Albuquerque reaches India with nine ships. The Zamori attacks the Portuguese at Cochin, with fifty thousand men, both by land and sea. The Indian fleet consists of eighty vessels of all descriptions, carrying *three hundred and eighty guns*, and four thousand men. Eight boats and thirteen guns are taken by the Portuguese. The Hindoos use

more fire-ships on this occasion. They employ floating castles, fifteen feet high, constructed on two boats, each calculated to contain men, and after fighting their way into the midst of the Portuguese fleet, they are converted into fire-ships, and abandoned. Thirteen ships, containing twelve hundred men, arrive from Portugal in the year A.D. 1505. Don Alfonso Albuquerque destroys a fleet from Arabia, in which seven hundred Turks lose their lives. He quits India in January, A.D. 1505, with thirteen vessels, of which three only are of his own fleet, and reaches Lisbon on the 22d of July. (*Six months.*)

TOME I. PART I. CHAP. VIII.

In the year A.D. 1507, Don Francisco Almeida arrives in India with twenty-two ships and fifteen hundred *fighting* men.[1] –Geographical division of the western coast of India by the Portuguese:—

First, Cambaya, north of Bombay, belonging to the King of Guzerat.

Secondly, Deccan, lying between Bombay and Goa, belonging to the Kings of Ahmudnuggur and Beejapoor.

Thirdly, Canara, lying between Goa and Cananore, belonging to the Raja of Beejanuggur. The country south of Cananore. denominated Malabar. is divided among the kings of Calicut, Cananore, Cranganore, Cochin, Quilon, and Travancore.

TOME I. PART I. CHAP. X.

In the year A.D. 1507 Don Francisco Almeida sends his son, Don Lorenzo, with eleven vessels, to attack the Mahomedan fleet, of which sixty vessels are larger than those of the Portuguese.—Ceylon discovered.

TOME I. PART II. CHAP. I.

Thirteen vessels, and thirteen hundred men, leave Lisbon for India in March, A.D. 1507.

1. Probably soldiers.

TOME I. PART II. CHAP. II.

In the year A.D. 1508, twelve vessels arrive from Lisbon under Alfonso Albuquerque. The Egyptian fleet under Meer Hashim, and the Guzerat fleet under Mullik Eiaz Sooltany, engage the Portuguese fleet off Choul. The Mahomedans use *grenadoes* and other *fireworks*. Don Lorenzo Almeida, the Portuguese admiral, is killed, and his ship taken, with the loss of one hundred and forty men. The Mahomedan admiral sends a letter of condolence to the admiral's father, Don Francisco Almeida, governor-general of Goa.

TOME I. PART II. CHAP. III.

Seventeen ships sail from Lisbon Don Alfonso Albuquerque appointed governor-general. Don Francisco Almeida quits Goa with a fleet of nineteen vessels, and sixteen hundred men, of which *eight hundred* are natives[2] to attack the Mahomedans in the year A.D. 1508. He lands and burns Dabul on the 20th December, but is unable to take fort. He takes a Mahomedan vessel in Bombay harbour, and reaches Diu on the 2d of February, A.D. 1509. A sanguinary action ensues with the Turks, in which the Portuguese are victorious. The Portuguese massacre all thir prisoners. Vast number of books are found in the captured vessels of the enemy. The governor of Diu sends one Syud Ally to congratulate the Portuguese admiral. A truce concluded. All the Turkish cannon sent ashore to Diu, and delivered over to the King of Guzerat.

TOME I. PART II. CHAP. IV.

Fifteen additional ships of war arrive in India from Lisbon. Almeida is killed during his return to Portugal. Albuquerque and Coutinho, on the 2d of January, A.D. 1510, attack Calicut. They are repulsed, Coutinho and eighty Europeans losing their lives on the occasion: among the wounded is Alfonso Albuquerque.

2. These were the first native troops, perhaps, ever employed by Europeans against their countrymen.

TOME I. PART II. CHAP. V.

Albuquerque resolves to take Goa[3] from (Sabayo) Yoosoof Adil Shah Savaee. Is assisted by Timoja of Canara. Goa is taken on the 20th of February. Vast quantities of cannon and military stores found therein. Goa retaken from the Portuguese in May, after a siege of twenty days. Thirteen ships arrive from Europe to reinforce Albuquerque. On Nov. 22, A.D. 1510, he proceeds with twenty-three sail of vessels, and fifteen hundred soldiers, assisted by Madhoo Row, the admiral of Timoja, to attack Goa. Goa recaptured by the Partuguese. The civil administration of the country is intrusted to Timoja and Mally Row, the nephew of the Raja of Onore.[4] The Portuguese intermarry with the inhabitants of Goa, and have lands allotted to them.

TOME I. PART II. CHAP. VI.

Albuquerque sails to the Arabian coast with nineteen vessels manned by eight hundred Portuguese, and *six hundred natives* of Malabar. Goa is left under charge of Rodrigo, with four hundred Europeans in the fort, and Mally Row with *five thousand Hindoos.*

TOME I. PART II. CHAP. VII.

In the year A.D. 1511, Albuquerque proceeds to the eastern archipelago. Is opposed at Malacca by a people *using cannon, who defend their streets by mining with gunpowder.* At sea he finds *them employing floats of wildfire, and many of the implements of modern warfare.* On the island of Java, the King, Mahomed, had brought "*three thousand guns to bear, out of eight*

3. Goa had lately been taken by the King of Beejapoor from Mullik Hashim, the governor, on the part of the Moslems, of Onore. It is right to observe, that these Moslems were the settlers from the Arabian coast, and were always independent of the Mahomedan conquerors from the north, who were chiefly Tartars and Persians.

4. It is highly creditable to the wisdom of Albuquerque, that he so soon intrusted the natives of India with his confidence; for without it the Portuguese could have effected nothing in the way of permanent settlement.

thousand he had to rely on."[5] Albuquerque returns to Goa, which he finds besieged by the troops of the King of Beejapoor. The latter are repulsed. On Feb. 18, twenty ships, manned by one thousand seven hundred Portuguese, and eight hundred Canaras and Malabars, proceed to Aden, and capture thirty seven pieces of cannon. Albuquerque anchors off Diu in the month of August, and obtains permission from the governor, Mullik Eiaz, to establish a mercantile factory.

TOME I. PART II. CHAP. X.

On March 26, A.D. 1514, Albuquerque sails to Ormuz with a fleet of twenty-seven sail, containing fifteen hundred Europeans and six hundred native Canaras and Malabars. Shah Ismael Sofy, King of Persia. Albuquerque is recalled to Lisbon, falls sick, and dies at Goa on Dec. 16, A.D. 1515. Twelve vessels arrive from Lisbon; also thirteen vessels, with fifteen hundred soldiers. The Portuguese *officers* first begin to trade; which De Souza considers the first step to the downfall of the Portuguese power in India. Lope Soarez, governor-general, sails with twenty seven ships, conveying twelve hundred Portuguese soldiers, eight hundred native soldiers, and eight hundred seamen, against Aden on the Arabian coast in the year A.D. 1515. The Portuguese of Goa engage in war with the King of Beejapoor. Ankoos Khan, the Beejapoor general descends into the Concan with a large army. The Portuguese attack the enemy at Ponda. One of the enemy's generals is gained over by the Portuguese. The Beejapoor army retires.

TOME I. PART III. CHAP. II.

In the year A.D. 1517, the Portuguese first reach China. They learn that the people had cannon, and the art of printing,[6] long

5. It is difficult to believe the number of guns here mentioned; but Faria-e-Souza explicitly states that the Portuguese found their enemies in India much better supplied with guns and powder than they were themselves.

6. This circumstance is confirmed by the fact of some ancient works in the language of Thibet, printed from wood-engravings, being now

before it was known in Europe. On Feb. 13, A.D. 1518, a Portuguese fleet of twenty-four sail, manned by eighteen hundred Europeans, and as many native Canaras and Malabars, proceed to the Red Sea. Krishn Ray, Raja of Beejanuggur, invades the territory of the King of Beejapoor, in order to attack Rachore. His army is described to consist of seven hundred and thirty-three thousand infantry,[7] twelve thousand water-carriers, and five hundred and eighty elephants. Forty of the European Portuguese in the service of the King of Beejapoor are killed in one action; in which the Hindoos capture four thousand horses, one hundred elephants, and four hundred pieces of cannon.

TOME I. PART III. CHAP. IV.

In the year A.D. 1520, Ruy De Melo, the governor of Goa, occupies a part of the continent with two hundred and fifty cavalry, and eight hundred Canara infantry.

A Portuguese fleet, consisting of forty-eight vessels, containing three thousand Europeans and eight hundred natives of Malabar, sail to occupy Diu; but the expedition is repulsed, and totally fails.

TOME I. PART III. CHAP. VI.

In the year A.D. 1521, another attempt to take Diu is unsuccessful. The Portuguese fleet is defeated and dispersed by the Guzerat fleet, with the loss of one ship. Permission is obtained by the Portuguese from the King of Ahmudnuggur to build a factory at Choul, for the purpose of importing Arabian and Persian horses. Mullik Eiaz, the Guzerat admiral, falls in with and defeats the Portuguese fleet off Choul, sinking one of its vessels. The Guzerat admiral continues for twenty days off the port, and

preserved in the East-India House, which were sent to Europe among the manuscripts of the late Dr. Leyden.

7. Although the numbers of the Hindoos may probably be much exaggerated, yet the army must have been enormous; and the fact of forty Europeans being killed in one battle leaves room to imagine that there were many others present in the service of the native princes, from whom Faria-e-Souza is likely to have obtained correct information.

interrupts all communication between the persons constructing the factory on shore and the Portuguese fleet.

TOME I. PART III. CHAP. VII.

In the year A.D. 1522, the Portuguese land at Dabul, and levy a contribution on the town. The Guzerat admiral returns to Diu. The King of Beejapoor recovers the territory occupied by the Portuguese on the continent in the neighbourhood of Goa.

TOME I. PART IV. CHAP. II.

In the year A.D. 1527, the King of Guzerat sends a fleet of eighty vessels to attack the Portuguese at Choul, who are assisted by the King of Ahmudnuggur in opposing the enemy. The Guzerat fleet is totally destroyed, losing seventy-three vessels out of the whole number, either burned, sunk, or driven ashore. The Portuguese proceed with the King of Ahmudnuggur's troops and take a fort belonging to Guzerat, which is given over to the Nizam Shahy general. Nagotna is taken, and made over to the Nizam Shahies. The Portuguese proceed northward, and levy contributions on Tanna and Bassein, compelling both places to promise to pay annual tribute to the crown of Portugal.

TOME I. PART IV. CHAP. IV.

In the year A.D. 1529, Faria-e-Souza, the Portuguese historian, arrives in India. Positive instructions are sent from Europe to obtain possession of Diu on any terms. In the year A.D. 1530, Anthony de Silveira, with a fleet of fifty-one vessels of different sizes, crosses the bar of the Tapty river, and proceeds to attack Surat. Surat sacked, and twenty vessels burned. Daman burned by the Portuguese. The Portuguese repulsed with great loss in an attempt to aid the garrison of Choul against the Guzerat troops. In the year A.D. 1531, vast preparations made for attacking Diu. The fleet rendezvous in Bombay harbour. *The expedition consists of four hundred sail of vessels of all descriptions,* including transports, to contain *three thousand six hundred European soldiers, one thousand four hundred European sailors, two thou-*

sand native Malabars and Canaras, and *eight thousand Cafry soldiers, besides five thousand Indian boatmen; making six thousand four hundred sailors, and thirteen thousand six hundred land troops; in all twenty thousand two hundred men.* The fleet besieges and takes Bete on February 7, and captures sixty pieces of cannon. On February 16, the fleet arrives off Diu. Desperate defence by the Mahomedans under Moostufa Khan Roomy, a European Toork. The Portuguese are repulsed, and return to Goa on the 15th of March. Part of the fleet under Anthony de Soldana burns Moozufurabad, lying between Bete and Diu. He lands a body of native troops at Gogo, which is repulsed, and obliged to seek shelter on board the fleet. The Prince Chand Khan, a brother of the King of Gujerat, and a pretender to the throne, joins the Portuguese. Bassein, Tarapoor, Tanna, and Mahim (Bombay), rendered tributary to Portugal. Nuno de Cunha governor-general of India. He enters into a league with Hoomayoon Padshah against Bahadur Shah, King of Guzerat. In the year A.D. 1534, Daman taken by assault. Treaty of Diu concluded between the Portuguese and Bahadur Shah, consisting of the following terms: Bassein to be ceded to the Portuguese. All vessels sailing from India to pay duties at, and to take out port-clearances from, Bassein. The King of Guzerat not to assist the Turkish fleets in the Indian seas. Bahadur Shah has several Portuguese and forty Frenchmen in his service at the siege of Chittoor. He is defeated by Hoomayoon Padshah, and flies to Diu. The Portuguese offer him an asylum. They assist him with *fifty officers and a body of four hundred and fifty European infantry.* Bahadur Shah consents to allow the Portuguese to build a fortified factory. Disputes arise regarding the nature of the fortification. The fort of Diu completed. Bahadur Shah recovers his kingdom, and resolves to wrest the fort of Diu out of the hands of the Portuguese. Invites the governor-general, Nuno de Cunha, from Goa to Diu, for the purpose of seizing him. Bahadur Shah goes on board the governor-general's ship. An affray occurs between the Guzerat party and the Portuguese, in which Emanuel de sa, the governor of Diu, is killed on board of Bahadur Shah's boat. The King leaps overboard, and he is also killed.

TOME I. PART IV. CHAP. IX.

In the year A.D. 1538, celebrated defence of Diu by the Portuguese against the joint forces of Sooliman Agha, the Turkish admiral, with a fleet, and Khwaja Zuffur with an army by land. Nuno de Cunha prepares a fleet of one hundred and sixty sail of ships, carrying one thousand pieces of cannon, and five thousand men, to reinforce Diu. The siege is raised.

TOME II. PART I. CHAP. I.

In the year A.D. 1539, Nuno de Cunha is superseded by Garcia de Noronha.

TOME II. PART I. CHAP. II.

Bassein besieged by Khwaja Jehan of Guzerat, who is repulsed.

TOME II. PART I. CHAP. XIII.

In the year A.D. 1543, Assud Khan of Belgam gives presents to the governor-general, Don Garcia, to induce him to deliver over the Prince Mulloo Khan of Beejapoor into his hands. Ibrahim Adil Shah I., King of Beejapoor, negotiates to obtain the same object. Assud Khan promises to make over the Concan, yielding a million sterling, to gain his purpose. The Portuguese governor-general supports the cause of Mulloo Khan. Assud Khan of Belgam dies. The Portuguese agree to deliver the Prince Mulloo Khan to his brother, in consideration of receiving all the wealth of Assud Khan. It is sent to Goa under the charge of Khwaja Shums-ood-Deen. The Portuguese consider that they only received one-tenth of the whole, which they estimated at ten millions of ducats.

TOME II. PART I. CHAP. XXIV.

In the year A.D. 1545, Mahmood Shah of Guzerat endeavours to recover Diu. He urges all the kings of the Deccan to unite in

expelling the Portuguese from India. The Portuguese delay sending the Prince Mulloo Khan to his brother, the King of Beejapoor, according to agreement.

TOME II. PART II. CHAP. I.

In the year A.D. 1548, Don John de Castro governor-general of India. Second siege of Diu. Several French gunners in the service of the King of Guzerat. Sixty pieces of cannon are mounted on a work raised by the besiegers parallel to the fort. Khwaja Zuffur, the Guzerat general, an Italian renegado of Otranto, is killed during the siege, which is continued by his son Roomy Khan, and Joojhar Khan, an Abyssinian.

TOME II. PART II. CHAP. II.

Joojhar Khan the Abyssinian is killed in one of the assaults on the fort, and his nephew succeeds to his title and estates.

TOME II. PART II. CHAP. III.

Don John de Castro proceeds in person to direct the defence of Goa. Makes a grand sally, and after a desperate resistance takes all the enemy's works. Captures six hundred prisoners and two hundred pieces of cannon, of which forty are battering guns. Roomy Khan and Loor Khan, with about five thousand of the enemy, are killed and wounded. The enemy is pursued to Gogo, where a body of troops from the fleet land and take Joojhar Khan, the Abyssinian general, prisoner. Ibrahim Adil Shah promises to cede Salsette[8] and Bardes to the Portuguese, in consideration of their delivering the Prince Mulloo Khan into his hands. Bardes occupied by the Portuguese. They persist in refusing to deliver up Mulloo Khan.

TOME II. PART II. CHAP. IV.

The King of Beejapoor sends an army to retake Bardes.

8. This is not the island so called near Bombay.

The army is repulsed, and retires to the foot of the Poonda pass. The general-in-chief, Sulabut Khan, is killed. The Portuguese land at every port on the coast between Sreevurdhun (Bankote) and Goa, and burn them.

TOME II. PART II. CHAP. VI.

In the year A.D. 1549, death of Don John de Castro. Garcia de Sa governor-general. Peace concluded with the King of Beejapoor. All the Mahomedan kings of the Deccan send ambassadors to Goa.

TOME II. PART II. CHAP. XI.

In the year A.D. 1554, Mulloo Adil Khan, accompanied by three thousand Portuguese infantry, and two hundred cavalry, proclaims himself King of Beejapoor. He takes the fort of Foonda, wherein he leaves Antony de Noronha with six hundred men. He cedes all the Concan to the Portuguese. Antony de Noronha begins to collect the revenue. Mulloo Khan proceeds towards Beejapoor, is defeated, taken prisoner, and suffers death.

TOME II. PART II. CHAP. XIII.

The King of Beejapoor recovers the Concan out of the hands of the Portuguese. Bardes attacked by the King of Beejapoor's army, which is defeated by an army of three thousand Europeans, one thousand Canaras, and three hundred cavalry. The Beejapoor troops fall back on Poonda.

TOME II. PART II. CHAP. XIV.

In the year A.D. 1558, Daman taken by the Portuguese, of which place James de Noronha is appointed governor, with twelve hundred men to defend the fort. Bulsar taken by the Portuguese. It is attacked by troops from Guzerat. The Portuguese march out on the plain, and are nearly annihilated by the Guzerat troops. Bulsar re-occupied by the Guzerat forces.

TOME II. PART II. CHAP. XVI.

In the year A.D. 1561, the Portuguese fleet sails up the Surat river, and attacks the town. The Portuguese retire. Francis Coutinho viceroy of Goa. In September, he brings with him three thousand European soldiers. John de Mendoza viceroy. In the year A.D. 1564, Battle of Talikote, in which the King of Beejanuggur is taken, and loses his head. In the year A.D. 1568, Antony de Noronha viceroy. Luis de Ataida viceroy.

TOME II. PART III. CHAP. VII.

In Nov., A.D. 1569, the viceroy leaves Goa with a fleet consisting of one hundred and thirty sail of vessels, conveying three thousand Europeans, besides natives, to besiege Onore, which is taken. The Portuguese fleets cruise along the Malabar coast, taking all the vessels they meet, and landing and burning the towns. It is estimated that sixty vessels are destroyed, and one thousand men either killed or made prisoners.

TOME II. PART III. CHAP. VIII.

In Jan., A.D. 1570, the kings of Ahmudnuggur, Beejapoor, and Calicut, resolve to attack the Portuguese in all parts simultaneously. Ally Adil Shah descends into the Concan by the Poonda Ghat with an army of one hundred thousand foot, thirty-five thousand horse, two thousand one hundred and forty elephants, and three hundred and fifty pieces of cannon. He marches without opposition to Goa, and invests in on three sides by land. The Portuguese have only one thousand six hundred soldiers and thirty pieces of cannon to defend the outwork. They make several successful sallies on the enemy's works. Sooliman Agha, at the head of five thousand men, gains footing on the island of Goa. Is attacked and expelled by the Portuguese, and loses his life. The viceroy, Luis de Ataida makes overtures to Noor Khan, a Beejapoor general, to *assassinate* Ally Adil Shah, on promise of his being supported by the Portuguese in ascending the throne. The treachery is discovered and prevented. The Rana of Onore, aided by two thousand Adil Shahy troops, attempts to recover the fort of Onore, but is repulsed. In the year A.D. 1570, Ally

Adil Shah raises the siege of Goa in the month of August, after an attack of ten months' duration; having lost twelve thousand men, three hundred elephants, four thousand horses, and six thousand head of oxen, part by the sword, and part by the weather.

TOME II. PART III. CHAP. IX.

In Dec. A.D. 1569, Furhad Khan, the general of Moortuza Nizam Shah, lays siege to Choul,[9] with an army of eight thousand horse and twenty thousand foot. The main army, under the King of Ahmudnuggur, descends into the Concan. In January, A.D. 1570, the Portuguese estimate it at thirty-four thousand cavalry, one hundred thousand infantry, sixteen thousand pioneers, four thousand masons, smiths, and persons of other trades, inhabitants of Turkey, Persia, Khorassan, and Ethiopia, besides three hundred and sixty elephants, an infinite number of oxen, and forty pieces of cannon of great size. A body of four thousand of the enemy's cavalry proceeds along the Concan to the north, and endeavours to cut off the supplies from Bassein and other places belonging to the Portuguese.

TOME II. PART III. CHAP X.

Moortuza Nizam Shah causes a general assault to be made, in which his troops are repulsed at all points. Two hundred Portuguese desert from the fort. A general action is fought on the plain, in which the King of Ahmudnuggur loses three thousand men. Peace concluded.

TOME II. PART III. CHAP. XI.

In June, A.D. 1570, Chale, near Calicut, belonging to the Portuguese, is attacked by Zamori, with an army of one hundred thousand men. Chale is on the point of being taken, when a reinforcement with supplies arrives in September from Goa. Peace concluded.

9. Ferishta calls it the *fort* of Reevadunda. There are two towns in the harbour, one called Dunda, the other Rajapoor; the district is called Choul.

TOME II. PART III. CHAP. XII.

In Sept., A.D. 1570, Antony de Noronha viceroy. A general peace concluded with all the Indian powers. In December, a vessel belonging to the King of Beejapoor is taken by the Portuguese after a stout resistance. Un Portuguese ambassador at Beejapoor and his suite are confined in Belgam, till reparation is made.

TOME III. PART I. CHAP. I.

In the year A.D. 1581, Don Francis Mascarena viceroy of India. A Mogul force from Surat attacks Daman, but is repulsed. In the year A.D. 1583, five ships arrive from Portugal. Moozuffur Shah, the ex-king of Guzerat, ıeturns to his country, and with the aid of the Jam of Nowanuggur raises an army of thirty thousand men, and recovers great part of his kingdom. He besieges Baroach. The Portuguese send two secret missions, one to the ex-king, the other to his enemy, in order to take advantage of circumstances. The Moguls prevail. The ship of Don John de Castro, the son of the celebrated governor-general of that name, is attacked by two Malabar prows, and blows up during the action. In the year A.D. 1584, Cufocan (perhaps Ghuffoor Khan[10]), the son of the Prince Mulloo Khan at Goa, aspires to the throne of Beejapoor. James Lopez Bayam, a Portuguese in the service of the King of Beejapoor, arrives at Goa, obtains possession of the Prince and puts out his eyes, in conformity with an engagement made by him at Beejapoor.

TOME III. PART I. CHAP III.

In the year A.D. 1585, Don Duarte de Menses viceroy of Goa, Forms an alliance with the King of Beejapoor, in order to attack the Naig of Sungumeśwur, on the Vijiadoorg river: the Portuguese agree to supply a fleet, and Roostoom Khan, from Poonda, is to march with an army by land. The Naig expelled from his country into the woods, whence he sues for peace, and his territory is restored.

10. Ferishta makes no mention of the Prince Mulloo Khan having a son.

TOME III. PART I. CHAP. IV.

In the year A.D. 1586, six ships sail from Lisbon to India. In N. lat. I°30′ they fall in with two English vessels, and attack them. One of the homeward-bound fleet is taken by Sir Francis Drake off the Azores.

TOME III. PART I. CHAP. VI.

In the year A.D. 1588, death of the viceroy, Don Duarte de Menses.

TOME III. PART I. CHAP. VII.

In the year A.D. 1588, Emanuel de Sousa Coutinho viceroy. Five ships arrive from Portugal. The viceroy returns to Lisbon.

TOME III. PART I. CHAP. VIII.

In April, A.D. 1592, Matthias de Albuquerque viceroy. Boorhan Nizam Shah attacks the Portuguese at Choul. Gallant defence made by about one thousand five hundred Europeans and one thousand five hundred natives within the fort. The siege is raised by the garrison, on which occasion five elephants and seventy-five pieces of heavy cannon are taken. The Ahmudnuggur general, Furhad Khan, with his wife and family, are made prisoners. His wife is ransomed, but Furhad Khan and his daughter become converts, and proceed to Lisbon.

TOME III. PART I. CHAP. IX.

In the year A.D. 1595, eight ships come from Lisbon.

TOME III. PART II. CHAP. I.

In the year A.D. 1595, Don Francis de Gama viceroy. The Dutch, the first European rivals to the Portuguese, arrive in India in two vessels. Necessity requires the Portuguese to send two formidable fleets from Goa annually, the one to command the

coast on the north, and the other on the south, as far as Ceylon. The squadron of the north consists of ten large ships. In the year A.D. 1597, the two Dutch vessels fall in with a Portuguese fleet of six sail off Malacca, where, after fighting for EIGHT days, one vessel is abandoned and the other escapes, but is eventually cast away on the coast of Pegu.

TOME III. PART II. CHAP. III.

In the year A.D. 1598, the Dutch send out a fleet of eight ships to India. The fleet quits Amsterdam on the 13th of May, and crosses the line on the 8th of June. They discover the island of Cerne, in lat. 21°S. to which they give the name of Mauricia (Mauritius). The Dutch proceed to the eastern archipelago. They discover Java and Amboyna. In the year A.D. 1600, all the Dutch ships return safe to Holland laden with spices.

TOME III. PART II. CHAP. V.

In the year A.D. 1600, Ayres de Soldana viceroy. Six homewardbound vessels despatched from Goa. They reach St. Helena. One of the fleet encounters two heavy Dutch vessels at anchor. An action ensues, which is not ended, when the other five sail of vessels appear in sight. In the year A.D. 1601, the Dutch quit St. Helena, and make sail. A Portuguese galleon taken at St. Helena by a Dutch fleet of three ships carrying thirty guns each.[11]

TOME III. PART II. CHAP. VI.

In the year A.D. 1604, Don Martin Alfonso de Castro viceroy. The Dutch are assisted by the islanders of the eastern archipelago, who, tired of the insatiable avarice of the Portuguese, unite to expel them from Amboyna. The King of Ternate also assists the Dutch with a fleet. Several desperate engagements take place between the Portuguese and the Dutch and their native allies. In

11. The English East India Company was first established by Queen Elizabeth, A.D. 1600, and the first ships arrived in India in 1601; when they obtained permission to have a factory at Surat.

the year A.D. 1606, death of Don Alfonso de Castro at Malacca. Three Portuguese ships, laden with merchandise, are unable to sail to Europe this season for fear of the Dutch squadron.

TOME III. PART II. CHAP. VII.

In the year A.D. 1607, Alexis de Menses, Archbishop of Goa, assumes the office of viceroy without the title. The Cutch make two attacks on the Portuguese fort on the island of Mozambique. In the year A.D. 1608, gallant defence by the garrison, which succeeds in repelling the Dutch.

TOME III. PART II. CHAP. X.

In the year A.D. 1609, Ruy Lorenço de Tavora viceroy. The Portuguese make war with the King of Candia on Ceylon. Their army consists of seven hundred Europeans and *twenty-five thousand Lascarins* or Chingala (Cingalese) soldiers. The King consents to allow his two sons to be educated as Christians. The provincial governor of Choul, Abdool Kureem, sends out a fleet of thirty prows to cruise against the Portuguese. The viceroy of Goa remonstrates with the Nizam Shahy government, but obtains no satisfaction. Antony Pinto de Fonseca arrives in India with the title of Visitor and Proveditor of the forts in India, and is independent of the viceroy. In the year A.D. 1612, the northern squadron engages an English fleet which arrives at Surat. The English vessels lighter and better equipped than the Portuguese. They repulse the latter.[12]

12. In this year the first English East India Company traded as a joint company.

COMPARATIVE CHRONOLOGY
OF
THE DECCAN KINGDOMS PRINCIPALLY DURING THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

A.D.	BEEJAPOOR	AHMUDNUGGUR	GOLCONDA, OR HYDRABAD
1490	. . . .	MULLIK AHMUD totally defeats the army of the Bahmuny King, and assumes the title of Nizam Shah	
1494	. . . .	— builds the fortress of Ahmudnuggur	
1499	. . . .	— obtains possession of Dowlutabad	
1501	YOOSOOF KHAN assumes the title of Adil Shah		
——	—attempts, without success, to establish the Sheea faith		
1507	. . . .	. . . .	SOOLTAN KOOLLY assumes the title of Kootb Shah
——	. . . .	. . . .	— builds the city of Mahomednuggur at Golconda
1508	. . . .	Death of Ahmud.—BOORHAN I. King	
1509	. . . .	. . . .	War with Beejanuggur—Rajconda, Dewurconda, Pangul, Gunpoora, and Kovilconda, taken
1510	Goa taken by the Portuguese, and retaken by the Mahomedans	War with Berar	War with Tulingana—Wurungole and Cumamet, taken
——	. . . .	. . . .	War with Beejapoor—Sieges of Koheer, Nulgoonda, and Etgeer
——	. . . .	. . . .	War with Guja Ramchundur—Capture of Belumconda and Condapilly

A.D	BEEJAPOOR	AHMUDNUGGUR	GOLCONDA, OR HYDRABAD
1511	The citadel of Beejapoor finished—ISMAEL, King.—Goa recaptured by the Portuguese		
1514	Beejapoor besieged by the kings of the Deccan.—Peace concluded		
1515	War with Golconda	. . . .	Kovilconda besieged by the Beejapoor army
1519	An ambassador arrives from the King of Persia		
1521	War with the Raja of Beejanuggur		
1523	Marriage of the Princess Muryum with the King of Ahmudnuggur—War ensues—Siege of Sholapoor		
1527	. . . .	War with Berar—Siege of Patry	
1528	Peace concluded with the King of Ahmudnuggur	Peace with Beejapoor	
1529	War with Bidur—its capital taken, and its King made prisoner	Bahadur Shah of Guzerat invades the Deccan, and is crowned at Ahmudnuggur	
1530	War with the Raja of Beejanuggur—Rachore and Moodkul taken	. . . .	War with Beejapoor—Koheer and Nulgoonda taken—Siege of Etgeer
1531	. . . .	War with Beejapoor	Condbeer taken from the Hindoos
1533	War with Golconda	War with Berar—Capture of Patry	Second siege of Kovilconda
1542	The kings of Bidur and Ahmudnuggur declare war—Peace concluded		
—	Revolt of the Prince Abdoola, who is supported by the Portuguese		

A.D.	BEEJAPOOR	AHMUDNUGGUR	GOLCONDA, OR HYDRABAD
1543	. . . .	. . . .	Death of Sooltan Koolly—JUMSHEED, King
1545	Coalition of the Kings of	Ahmudnuggur, Golconda, and Ramraj of	Beejanuggur against Beejapoor
1548	The Portuguese join the coalition in support of the Prince Abdoolla		
1549	A general peace concluded		
1550	. . . .	. . . .	Death of Jumsheed—SOOBHAN KOOLLY, King—Jugdew Row supports the claims of the Prince Dowlut Khan—IBRAHIM, King
1553	The Portuguese supply a force to place the Prince Abdoolla on the throne	War with Beejapoor—Death of Boorhan I.—HOOSSEIN I. King	
1554	The Prince is defeated, taken prisoner, and suffers death		
1555	A general league is formed	against Beejapoor, but is dissolved by the	defection of the King of Golconda
1557	Death of Ibrahim I.—ALLY I. KING	. . . .	Rebellion of Jugdew Row, who joins the Raja of Beejanuggur—Strenuous efforts made by the Hindoo princes to retake Pangul, Kovilconda, Gunpoora, Dewurconda, Indraconda, and Condapilly
1558	Union with Ramraj against Ahmudnuggur	Defence of Reevadunda (Choul) against the Portuguese	
1559	Peace concluded		
1560	A coalition of the kings of the	Deccan and Ramraj against Ahmudnuggur	
——	. . . .	First siege of Ahmudnuggur	
1562	. . . .	Second siege of Ahmudnuggur	
1564	A general league of the	Mahomedan kings of the Deccan against	Ramraj, King of Beejanuggur

A.D.	BEEJAPOOR	AHMUDNUGGUR	GOLCONDA, OR HYDRABAD
1565	Battle of Talikote, in which Ramraj	loses his life, and his kingdom is subverted.	Penconda becomes the Hindoo capital
——	. . . .	Death of Hoossein I.—MOORTUZA I. King	
1567	War with Ahmudnuggur		
1568	Ally I. besieges Goa—Capture of Adony		
1569	Peace concluded		
1570	. . . .	War with the King of Berar	Troops sent to aid the King of Berar
1572	. . . .	Berar conquered and annexed to Ahmudnuggur	
1573	Toorkul, Dharwar, and Bunkapoor, taken from the Hindoos	. . . .	Rajmundry, Veeragootum, Gopalpilly, and Cossimcota. taken from the Hindoos
1575	Chundurgooty taken by storm		
1576	The kings of Beejapoor and Ahmudnuggur	besiege Bidur, but afterwards raise the	siege—Aid rendered to the King of Bidur
1578	Siege of Penkonda—Defection of the Marratta cavalry	. . . .	The Raja of Condbeer refuses to pay his tribute
1579	Death of Ally I.—IBRAHIM II. King	. . . .	Condbeer taken, and the country occupied as far as the sea
1580	Chand Beeby, regent—Siege of Beejapoor by the kings of Ahmudnuggur & Golconda	. . . .	Battle of Nuldoorg—Death of Ibrahim—MAHOMED COOLLY, King
——	Peace concluded		
1584	The Princess Royal, Khoodeija, is married to the Prince of Ahmudnuggur		
1586	The King marries the Princess Royal of Golconda	Death of Moortuza—MEERAN HOOSSEIN, King—His death—ISMAEL, King	

A.D.	BEEJAPOOR	AHMUDNUGGUR	GOLCONDA, OR HYDRABAD
1589	. . . .	Ismael deposed—BOORHAN II. King—Arrival of Chand Beeby from Beejapoor	
1590	. . . .	. . . .	Bhagnuggur (since called Hydrabad) built
1593	Rebellion of the Prince Ismael—his death	Reevadunda (Choul) taken by the Portuguese	
1594	War with Ahmudnuggur	Death of Boorhan II.—IBRAHIM, King—he is killed in battle	War with the Raja of Perkonda—Nundial, Gunjicota, Moosulmooroo, & Kurpa, taken
1595	. . . .	Civil war—Several pretenders to the throne—The Moguls from Hindoostan are invited to Ahmudnuggur	
1596	. . . .	Arrival of the Prince Moorad—First siege of Ahmudnuggur—BAHADUR, King	
——	. . . .	Chand Beeby, Regent—Gallant defence—Peace concluded—Berar ceded to the Moguls	The Mahomedans defeated near Pagtoor
1597	General confederacy	against the Moguls — Battle of	Sonput— The Moguls are victorious
1599	. . . .	The Second siege and capture of Ahmudnuggur by the Moguls—Death of the Regent Chand Beeby	Successful operations against the Hindoos along the eastern coast north of Cossimcota
1600	. . . .	MOORTUZA II. King—Purenda becomes his capital	
1601	. . . .	Contests for power between Mullik Ambur and Meean Rajoo	
——	THE FIRST ENGLISH VESSELS	REACH INDIA	
1601	. . . .	. . . .	A Persian ambassador arrives to solicit the hand of the Princess Royal

A.D.	BEEJAPOOR	AHMUDNUGGUR	GOLCONDA, OR HYDRABAD
1607	. . . .	The King unites with Mullik Ambur, and removes his seat of government to Joonere	The Princess marries her cousin, the Prince Mahomed Ameen
1609	. . . .	Dowlutabad taken from Meean Rajoo by Mullik Ambur, and it becomes the capital	
—	. . . .	. . . .	Rebellion of the Prince Khoodabunda
1610	. . . .	. . . .	Unsuccessful attempt to invade the Hindoo principality of Bustar
1611	. . . .	. . . .	Death of Mahomed Koolly Kootb Shah
1612	The first English East India	Company Incorporated, and begins to	trade with Surat

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India

HISTORY OF THE RISE OF THE MAHOMEDAN POWER IN INDIA

TILL THE YEAR A.D. 1612

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL PERSIAN OF
MAHOMED KASIM FERISHTA

by

JOHN BRIGGS, M.R.A.S.
LIEUTENANT-COLONEL IN THE MADRAS ARMY

TO WHICH IS ADDED,
AN ACCOUNT OF THE CONQUEST
BY THE KINGS OF HYDRABAD
OF THOSE PARTS OF THE MADRAS PROVINCES DENOMINATED
THE CEDED DISTRICTS AND NORTHERN CIRCARS

WITH COPIOUS NOTES
In Four Volumes

VOL. IV

LOW PRICE PUBLICATIONS
Delhi-110052

Sales Office :
D.K. Publishers Distributors (P) Ltd.
1, Ansari Road, Darya Ganj
New Delhi - 110002
Phones : 3261465, 3278368
Fax : 091-011-3264368

First Published 1829
Reprinted 1990, 1997

FERISHTA MAHOMED KASIM (b. 1570 - d. 1614)
BRIGGS JOHN (b. 1785 - d. 1875)

ISBN 81-7536-076-3 (Set)
ISBN 81-7536-078-X (Vol. II)

Published By :
LOW PRICE PUBLICATIONS
B-2, Vardhaman Palace,
Nimri Commercial Centre,
Ashok Vihar, Phase - IV, Delhi - 110 052
Tel.: 7401672, Fax : 091-011-7138265

Printed At :
D.K. Fine Art Press (P) Ltd.
Delhi - 110052

PRINTED IN INDIA

CONTENTS

CHAPTER IV

HISTORY OF THE KINGS OF GUZERAT

MOOZUFFUR SHAH I.

AHMUD SHAH I

MAHOMED SHAH

KOOTB SHAH

DAWOOD SHAH

MAHMOOD SHAH I

ENTITLED BEGURRA

MEERAN MAHOMED SHAH FAROOKY

MAHMOOD SHAH III

AHMUD SHAH II

MOOZUFFUR SHAH III

CHAPTER V

HISTORY OF THE KINGS OF MALWA

SOOLTAN DILAWUR GHOORY

SOOLTAN HOOSHUNG GHOORY

GHIZNY KHAN

SURNAMED SOOLTAN MAHOMED GHOORY

SOOLTAN MAHMOOD KHILJY

CONCLUSION OF THE HISTORY OF MALWA

CHAPTER VI

HISTORY OF THE KINGS OF KANDEISH

MULLIK RAJA FAROOKY

MULLIK NUSEER

ENTITLED NUSEER KHAN FAROOKY

RAJA ALLY KHAN FAROOKY

BAHADUR KHAN FAROOKY

CHAPTER VII.

SECTION I

HISTORY OF THE KINGS OF BENGAL AND BEHAR, COMMONLY CALLED POORBY

FUKHR-OOD-DEEN POORBY

ALLA-OOD-DEEN POORBY

HAJY ELIAS

ENTITLED SHUMS-OOD-DEEN POORBY

SIKUNDUR POORBY

GHEIAS-OOD-DEEN POORBY

SOOLTAN-OOS-SULLATEEN POORBY

SHUMS-OOD-DEEN POORBY II

RAJA KANS POORBY

JEETMUL

ENTITLED JULAL-OOD-DEEN

AHMUD POORBY

NASIR-OOD-DEEN GHOLAM POORBY

NASSIR POORBY

BARBIK POORBY

IBRAHIM SHAH SHURKY

MAHMOOD SHAH SHURKY

MAHOMED SHAH SHURKY

HOOSSEIN SHAH SHURKY

CHAPTER VIII.

THE HISTORY OF THE KINGS OF MOOLTAN

SHEIKH YOOSOOF

KOOTB-OOD-DEEN LUNGA

HOOSSEIN LUNGA

MAHMOOD LUNGA

HOOSSEIN LUNGA II

CHAPTER IX

THE HISTORY OF SIND AND TUTTA

MAHOMED KASIM

NASIR-OOD-DEEN KUBBACHA

ACCOUNT OF THE DYNASTY OF SOOMUNA

ENTITLED JAM

SHAH BEG ARGHOON

SHAH HOOSSEIN ARGHOON

MIRZA EESY TURKHAN

MIRZA MAHOMED BAKY TURKHAN

MIRZA JANY BEG TURKHAN

CHAPTER X

THE HISTORY OF KASHMEER

SHUMS-OOD-DEEN

JUMSHEED

ALLA-OOD-DEEN

SHAHAB-OOD-DEEN

KOOTB-OOD-DEEN

SIKUNDUR BOOTSHIKUN

OR

ALEXANDER THE ICONOCLAST

ALLY SHAH

ZEIN-OOL-ABID-DEEN

HEIDUR

HUSSUN

MAHOMED

IBRAHIM

NAZOOK

IBRAHIM II

ISMAEL

HUBEEB

HISTORY

OF THE

MAHOMEDAN POWER IN INDIA

CHAPTER IV

HISTORY OF THE KINGS OF GUZERAT

MOOZUFFUR SHAH I.

In the reign of Feroze Toghluk of Dehly, Furhut-ool-Moolk was nominated to the government of Guzerat, in which office he was confirmed by that monarch's successor, Gheias-ood-Deen Mahomed Toghluk II. Removed at a great distance from the capital, Furhut-ool-Moolk became desirous of establishing his independence; and in order to gain popularity for the furtherance of that object, he encouraged the Hindoo religion, and thus rather promoted than suppressed the worship of idols.

In the year A. H. 793 (A.D. 1391), the learned and orthodox Mahomedans of Guzerat, fearing lest this conduct should be the means of eventually superseding the true faith in those parts, addressed petitions to the throne, pointing out the probable political views of Furhut-ool-Moolk, as well as the danger to the true faith, if he were permitted to retain his government. On receipt of these addresses Mahomed Toghluk II. convened a meeting of the holy men at Dehly, and in conjunction with them appointed Zuffur,[1] the son of Wujee-ool-Moolk, one of the most respectable noblemen of the court, to the office of viceroy of Guzerat; and on the 1st day of Rubee-oos-Sany of the same year A.H. 793 (March 6, A. D. 1391) he received the title of Moozuffur Khan, and was honoured with a dress of instalment. To add to his dignity, also, he was presented with a white canopy, and scarlet pavilion, such as are exclusively used by kings.

Moozuffur Khan was born at Dehly on the 25th of the month of Mohurrum, in the year A.H. 743 (30th of June, A.D. 1342). His family had been elevated from menial stations in the

1. Proselytes are usually the most zealous of all sectarians. Zuffur Khan was born a Hindoo prince, but became a convert.

household of the kings of Dehly[2]; but the subject of the present history ranked among the most accomplished noblemen of the empire. It was on this accuont he received the honour of being appointed viceroy of Guzerat; and after making the necessary preparations for his journey, he left Dehly in the beginning of the year A.H. 794 (A.D. 1391); about which period, the wife of his son, Tartar Khan, was delivered of a son named Ahmud, of whom particular mention will be made hereafter.

On the arrival of Moozuffur Khan at Nagoor, many complaints against Furhut-ool-Moolk reached him from the inhabitants of Cambay, and other places, representing his oppression in the shape of accumulated taxes and imports. Upon this he wrote to that officer, informing him of his approach as governor, and recommending him to repair to court, with the balances of revenue so long withheld from the crown. Furhut-ool-Moolk returned an answer sufficiently indicative of his determination not to yield his authority quietly; and instantly collecting a force, composed chiefly of Hindoos, marched to oppose Moozuffur Khan. The new governor advanced to Yeessavul, and having ascertained that his rival's army consisted of from ten to twelve thousand men, which he had collected with the intention of disputing his advance, he deputed an officer to him at Nehrwala (since called Puttun), warning him against opposing the legal authority, as in that case he must be considered, and would be treated, as a rebel.

Furhut-ool-Moolk not only insulted this officer, but returned an insolent answer to Moozuffur Khan, who at length being compelled to raise an army, in order to support his commission, he enlisted a body of four thousand cavalry, with which he made rapid marches to Nehrwala. Furhut-ool-Moolk with ten thousand of his troops, to whom he made liberal donations, marched as far as Sidpoor[3] situated within twenty four miles of Puttun,

2. The author of the Mirut-Iskundry says, that Zuffur Khan was the wine-distiller at the court of Feroze Toghluk; that he was subsequently ennobled, as well as his brother, who received the title of Shums Khan; but that Tartar Khan, the son of Zuffur Khan, was detained at court about the King's person when his father was appointed viceroy of Guzerat.

3. The author of the Mirut-Iskundry states, he built a town on the spot where the battle took place, which he called Jeetpoor, "the Town of Victory"; probably the Chitpoor of our maps.

where the armies met. An engagement ensued, in which the rebels were routed, and Furhut-ool-Moolk lost his life; after which Moozuffur Khan continued his march to Nehrwala.

In the year A.H. 796 (A.D. 1393), the Ray of Idur having refused to pay the customary tribute, Moozuffur Khan marched to enforce it. Several skirmishes ensued, in which the new governor was generally victorious, until he arrived before the town of Idur, which he closely invested. The siege being protracted, the garrison became so distressed for provisions, that it is said they consumed cats and dogs, not before these animals had begun to feed on each other. The Ray at length sent out his son to prostrate himself before Moozuffur Khan, and to beg the lives of the inhabitants; a boon which was granted on condition of the payment of a quantity of jewels, and a large sum in specie.

Moozuffur Khan intended to have marched thence immediately to the city of Somnat, situated near the island of Diu; but he received information that Mullik Raja, entitled Adil Khan, not content with occupying that portion of the territory of Kandeish which lies contiguous to Talnere and Kuronde, had now extended his rapacity towards certain districts belonging to Guzerat, such as Sooltanpoor and Nundoorbar.

Moozuffur Khan accordingly deemed it proper, in the first instance, to turn his arms towards Kandeish; but Adil Khan retreated to Talnere, and sent a person to negotiate with Moozuffur Khan, and so completely succeeded in appeasing him, that a treaty of alliance was formed in consequence. On the return of Moozuffur Khan to Guzerat, he learnt that in the western Puttun district the Ray of Jehrend, an idolater, refused allegiance to the Mahomedan authority. To this place Moozuffur Khan accordingly marched, and exacted tribute. He then proceeded to Somnat, where having destroyed all the Hindoo temples which he found standing, he built mosques in their stead; and leaving learned men for the propagation of the faith, and his own officers to govern the country, returned to Puttun in the year A.H. 798 (A.D. 1395).

During the government of Furhut-ool-Moolk, the Rajpoots of Mundulgur acquired such strength as to expel the Mahomedans from their territories, refusing, also, to pay the usual tribute to the state. Moozuffur Khan accordingly moved in that direction. He besieged Mundulgur with battering rams and catapultas, and caused subterraneous passages to be dug, in order to enter the

fort by that means; but all his endeavours would have proved futile had it not been for a pestilence which broke out in the town, and which induced the besieged Ray, whose name was Doorga,[4] to send out deputies to treat for a surrender. These persons came with shrouds on their shoulders and swords suspended from their necks; at the same time, several women and children exposed themselves almost naked on the works, begging for mercy. The Khan agreed, at length, to raise the siege, on the payment of a large sum in gold and jewels. From Mundulgur Moozuffur Khan marched to Ajmeer, to pay his devotions at the shrine of Khwaja Moyin-ood-Deen Hussun Sunjury, from the whence he went towards Guzerat. On reaching Julwara, he destroyed the temples; and after exacting heavy contributions, and establishing his authority, he returned to Puttun. It is related in the Tareekh-i-Alfy, that after his return from Julwara, in the year A.H. 799 (A.D. 1396), Moozuffur Khan caused himself to be proclaimed King, under the title of Moozuffur Shah, and directed coin to be struck in his name.

In the Dehly histories we are informed, that Tartar Khan, the son of Moozuffur Shah, became prime minister to Gheias-ood-Deen Mahomed Toghluk II. of Dehly, and that he afterwards raised a force and rebelled. Mulloo Yekbal Khan, an officer of that government, was sent to oppose him, and proceeded to Paniput, where Tartar Khan was encamped. The latter, by a forced march, avoided a battle and reached Dehly; but being unsuccessful in his attempt on that city he was obliged to relinquish his plans, and to fly precipitately to his father in Guzerat. Moozuffur Shah was induced, in consequence, in the year A.H. 800 (A.D. 1397), to take the field in person, in support of his son; but hearing that Mirza Peer Mahomed Jehangeer, the grandson of Ameer Teimoor, had already advanced into Hindoostan, and occupied Mooltan, he suspended his intentions for the present; and we find him, in the year A.H. 801 (A.D. 1398), engaged in another attack on Ray Runmul, Raja of Idur. The Ray was obliged, as on the former occasion, to purchase forbearance by the payment of tribute; and as the court of Dehly was now in a state of the utmost confusion, and many rivals were

4. Mundulgur was a dependency of the Rana of Chittoor. Ferishta, like the Portuguese and other historians, sometimes (as in this distance) mistakes a lieutenant for a principal.

contending for the crown, Moozuffur Khan and Tartar Khan declined at present making any attempt in that quarter, but returned quietly to Puttun. In the year A.H. 803 (A.D. 1401), Mahomed Toghluk, who had now been driven from his throne, fled to Guzerat; but Moozuffur Shah, conceiving it impolitic to allow him to remain in his dominions, obliged him to quit them, and he took refuge in Malwa.

Moozuffur Shah, in the same year, again marched to levy the tribute of Idur; but the Raja fled, on his approach, to Beesulnuggur, leaving the King to occupy Idur with his own troops. In the following year A.H. 804 (A.D. 1402), he marched to Somnat, and after a bloody action, in which the Mahomedans were victorious, the Ray fled to Diu. Moozuffur Shah having arrived before Diu laid siege to it, but it opened its gates without offering resistance. The garrison was, however, nearly all cut to pieces, while the Ray, with the rest of the members of his court, were trod to death by elephants. One large temple in the town was rased to the ground, and a mosque built on its site; after which, leaving his own troops in the place, Moozuffur Shah returned to Puttun.

One author relates that in the year A.H. 807 (A.D. 1404), Moozuffur Shah projected the reduction of Dehly, and the placing of his son Tartar Khan on the throne; that he actually conferred on him the titles of Gheias-ood-Dowla-ood-Deen Mahomed Shah; and that to this end he marched his army as far as the town of Suntpoor, where Tartar Khan, being taken dangerously ill, died.[5] Other historians state, with more probability, that Tartar Khan, taking advantage of the age and infirmities of his father, seized and imprisoned him in the town of Yessavul, since called Ahmudabad; that he dignified his uncle Shums Khan with the title of Noosrut Khan, and causing himself to be proclaimed King, coined money under the name of Mahomed Shah Guzeratty, and then collecting an army, marched towards Dehly, for the purpose of assuming the title of King of Hindoostan; he, however, only reached the town of Suntpoor, when Moozuffur Shah procured a letter to be written to his own brother Shums Khan, entitled Noosrut Khan, pointing out the wickedness of

5. The author of the Moontukhib-oot-Towareekh states, that Moozuffur Shah abdicated his throne in favour of his son Tartar Khan, but afterwards repented of having done so, and caused him to be poisoned.

Tartar Khan, in having deposed him, and the futility of his enterprise on the throne of Dehly. He concluded his letter by instigating his brother to put Tartar Khan, the usurpur, to death, and to return to Yessavul. In consequence of this, Noosrut Khan is said to have poisoned his nephew that very night at supper, and on the following day marched back and replaced his brother on the throne.

About this period (A.H. 810, A.D. 1407), Dilawur Khan, the ruler of Malwa, died, and it was generally believed that his son Hooshung, who succeeded him, had poisoned him. A close alliance having subsisted between Moozuffur Shah and Dilawur Khan, the former marched with a force to D'har to avenge his untimely death, where he was opposed by Hooshung, who, after a severe action, was taken prisoner. Moozuffur Shah left his brother Shums Khan, entitled Noosrut Khan, in the government of Malwa. On the return of the army to Guzerat, Hooshung was delivered over to the Prince Ahmud, grandson of Moozuffur, and son of Tartar Khan, to be retained by him in a hill-fort. Hooshung had the address to gain the esteem of the young prince, his keeper, and sometime afterwards, when Noosrut Khan was obliged to fly from Malwa, the Prince Ahmud was prevailed on to write petitions in favour of Hooshung, which were graciously received at court, and he was permitted to accompany Hooshung, and reinstate him in his authority. At the same time he was directed to confer on him, in the name of Moozuffur Shah, the title of Sooltan, and the white canopy and scarlet pavilion.

On the return of the Prince Ahmud to Guzerat, Moozuffur Shah was taken dangerously ill, and seeing his own end fast approaching, nominated his grandson to succeed him on the throne of Guzerat.[6] He shortly afterwards died, on the 6th day of Rubee-oos-Sany, in the year A.H. 814 (July 27, A.D. 1411), in the seventy-first year of his age, after a reign of nearly twenty years.

AHMUD SHAH I.

AHMUD SHAH was born at Dehly, A.H. 793 (A.D. 1390), and ascended the throne at the early age of twenty-one. During the

6. The author of the Moontukhib-oot-Towareekh states, that the King placed his grandson, Ahmud, on the throne during his lifetime, and that he survived that measure five months and sixteen days.

year A.H. 815 (A.D. 1412), Feroze[7] Khan, the eldest of the sons of the late Moozuffur Shah, hearing of the accession of his nephew Ahmud Shah, collected together some of the discontented nobles, such as Hissam-ool-Moolk, Mullik Sheer, Mullik Kureem, Mullik Khoosrow, Jeevundas, and Vinaikdas Kuhtry,[8] and through their means raised a force and marched to Cambay, where they formed a junction with Ameer Mahmood Toork and the Prince Heibut Khan, who had also formed an army at that spot. Upon this intelligence being made known to the other brothers, the Princes Sadut Khan and Sheer Khan also joined; and a council being held, it was resolved to march, in the first instance, with their army (consisting of between seven thousand and eight thousand men) to Baroach, where they encamped on the Nerbudda. Feroze Khan was proclaimed king, and assumed the white canopy and scarlet pavilion. He invited Sooltan Hooshung of Malwa to march to his assistance; but the latter required a promise from him that in case of success the confederates should pay him one hundred thousand tunkas[9] for every march that his army made.

Ahmud Shah, however, took timely precautions for the security of his crown. In the first place, he sent deputations to his uncles, and at the same time caused a small force to advance and keep the confederates in check; but this detachment was attacked and defeated by Raja Vinaikdas. Dissenions, however, shortly after arising among the pretenders, an affray ensued, in which Vinaikdas lost his life, and many of the troops went over

7. The authors of the Moontukhib-oot-Towareekh and Mirut-Iskundry distinctly state, that Feroze was the *nephew* of Moozuffur Shah, and son of his brother Shums Khan Dundany, and that he afterwards fell in action against the Rana of Chittoor.

8. The mention of these Hindoo names at this period proves that this class of people had now been associated in the offices of the government; a measure to which the Moslems were long averse.

9. The tunka of this part of India differs from one-half to two-thirds of a rupee; so that the sum would be in the one case 50,000, in the other 66,666 rupees. This practice of paying a certain sum for each march seems to be of ancient date, and it prevailed till a very late period. On the occasion of the defeat of Shooja-ood-Dowla, Nabob of Lucknow, by the British troops at the battle of Buxar, in 1764, he called on Mulhar Row, the grandfather of the present Holkar, to aid him, and agreed to pay his army at the rate of a lack of rupees for each march, and half a lack for every halting-day during the campaign.

to the King's army, so that Feroze Khan was obliged to break up his camp on the Nerbudda, and to take post in the fort of Baroach.

Ahmud Shah, respecting the ties of blood which subsisted between him and the pretender, sent people into Baroach, urging Feroze Khan and his brothers to desist from further hostility, and they, finding themselves daily deserted by their troops, and that their finances were much reduced, submitted to the King's clemency. Ahmud Shah received them kindly, and restored them to the respective estates which they had held under the late king. Sooltan Hooshung of Malwa, however, who had not yet effected a junction with the army of the insurgents, was employed in devastating the eastern provinces of Guzerat; and Ahmud Shah sent Imad-ool-Moolk to expel him, an object which was not effected without difficulty.

The King, who had always professed himself extremely partial to the air and situation of the town of Yessavul, situated on the banks of the Saburmutty, in the latter end of this year (being 815) laid the foundation of a new city, which he caused to be called Ahmudabad; and the town of Yessavul formed one of the mohullas or parishes in the suburbs of that city, which afterwards became the capital of the kings of Guzerat. The houses of Ahmudabad are in general built of brick and mortar, and the roofs tiled. There are three hundred and sixty different mohullas, each mohulla having a wall surrounding it. The principal streets are sufficiently wide to admit of ten carriages abreast. It is hardly necessary to add that this is, on the whole, the handsomest city in Hindoostan, and perhaps in the world. Feroze Khan, in the latter end of this year, having again set up his pretensions to the crown, was joined by Rookn Khan, the governor of Mahrasa,[10] with a considerable force, and he even promised to reinstate Raja Runmul in his possessions at Idur, on condition of his joining his standard with five or six thousand horse, and a number of foot. In the mean time, Ahmud Shah having collected a large force, marched to Mahrasa, where the rebels had taken post. Futteh Khan, the younger brother of the pretender, was sent in advance against him, but he treacherously

10. Ferishta always spells this word مهراسه and I have felt myself bound to follow his orthography: Mowrasa, I believe, is more correct.

deserted with his whole party to Feroze Khan, who having left Mullik Budr and Rookn Khan to defend Mahrasa, marched with Ray Runmul to Rungpoor, a town situated at the distance of ten miles. Meanwhile Ahmud Shah employed persons to induce Rookn Khan and Mullik Budr to abandon the cause of the pretender; but finding his remonstrances of no avail, the King quitted Mahrasa, and invested Rungpoor. On the following day, Rookn Khan, Mullik Budr, Zungy Khan, and Seif Khan, made a sally on the King's troops, but were repulsed.

Ahmud Shah continued during the siege to send messengers to the fort, dissuading his uncle, in vain, from further resistance; till at length Mullik Budr and Zungy Khan, having stated that they were empowered to enter into negotiations with certain officers of the royal army whom they named, and who were sent for that purpose; on approaching the fort-gate near the ditch, a party sallied and succeeded in taking some of the King s deputies prisoners. Notwithstanding this act of treachery, Rungpoor was carried by storm two days afterwards, and both Rookn Khan and Mullik Budr fell in the assault, while Feroze Khan and Ray Runmul fled for refuge to the hills.

These circumstances are otherwise related by different historians; but I have selected the authorities which I consider best entitled to credit. It is said that soon after Ray Runmul and Feroze Khan had some disagreement, and the former seized the horses, elephants, and other effects of the latter; and in order to gain favour with the King he sent them to him. Feroze Khan fled to Nagoor, where he was put to death by the governor.

In the following year (A.H. 816, A.D. 1413), Ahmud Shan proceeded to attack the Raja of Julwara. The latter solicited the assistance of Sooltan Hooshung of Malwa, who accordingly marched and plundered some of the eastern provinces of Guzerat; in which direction Ahmud Shah no sooner moved, than his attention was distracted by commotions in another quarter. Ahmud Sheer Kutchy,[11] and Sheer Mullik, the son of Sheikh Mullik Adum of Bhukkur, officers of the late court, taking advantage of the King's absence, committed depredations on Guzerat; and though Ahmud Shah had actually marched towards Malwa, he was compelled on arriving in the district of Champanere, to make two detachments from his army: the one under

11. An inhabitant of Kutch or Cutch.

the command of Mullik Imad-ool-Moolk Samarkandy, to attack Sooltan Hooshung, and the other under the command of his younger brother, the Prince Luteef Khan, whom he appointed, under Nizam-ool-Moolk, to attack Ahmud Sheer Kutchy and Sheer Mullik.

Sooltan Hooshung, too well acquainted with the troops of Guzerat in the time of Moozuffur Shah, fled on the approach of the detachment, without halting till he arrived at the fort of D'har; while the other detachment under the Prince Luteef Khan defeated and pursued the rebels so closely as to take all their baggage. The author from whom I write states, that Sheer Mullik having escaped, found refuge with the Raja of Girnal.[12]

Ahmud Shah having a great curiosity to see the hill-fort of Girnal pursued the rebel in that direction; and as none of the former rajas had yet bent their necks to the Mahomedan yoke, he took advantage of the circumstance of the Raja having afforded an asylum to sheer Mullik to make it a plea for invading his country. On his arrival at the hills in its vicinity, the King was opposed by the Hindoo prince, who, unaccustomed to the brunt of Mahomedan warfare, was defeated, and pursued to the fortress of Girnal, now called Joonagur. After a short time, the Raja, having consented to pay an annual tribute, made a large offering on the spot. Ahmud Shah left officers to collect the stipulated amount, and returned to Ahmudabad; on the road to which place he destroyed the temple of Somapoor, wherein were found many valuable jewels, and other property.

In the year A.H. 817 (A.D. 1414), Mullik Tohfa, one of the officers of the King's government, was ennobled by the title of Taj-ool-Moolk, and received a special commission to destroy all idolatrous temples, and establish the Mahomedan authority throughout Guzerat; a duty which he executed with such diligence, that the names of Mawass and Girass[13] were hereafter unheard of in the whole kingdom.

In the year A.H. 819 (A.D. 1416), Ahmud Shah marched

12. Properly Girnar.

13. The Mawassy and Girassy chiefs appear to have been much like the zemindars of Hindoostan, and the poligars of the south. They only acknowledged Mahomedan supremacy when it was enforced by the presence of troops; and they have, till within the latest period, felt themselves bound in honour to withhold tribute till a body of soldiers appeared against them, even under the British government.

against Nagoor; on the road to which place he plundered the country, and destroyed the temples. After his arrival there, he attacked the fort, and carried it by storm; but hearing that Khizr Khan, who had at this time assumed the government of Dehly, was on his march towards it, he retreated, and passing along the confines of Malwa, returned towards Ahmudabad.

In the year A.H. 821 (A.D. 1418), the King learned that Mullik Nuseer of Aseer and Sooltan Hooshung of Malwa had united and committed depredations on the districts of Sooltanpoor and Nundoorbar. He in consequence marched in that direction; whence he proceeded to the fort of Tumbole,[14] and compelled the Raja to pay a considerable sum of money.

The rains having set in, Ahmud Shah was desirous of retiring to his capital, but he obtained information which induced him to prepare for war in another quarter. During his absence in Buglana, the rajas of Idur, Champanere, Mundulgur, and Nadoot, had written petitions to Sooltan Hooshung, inviting him to the invasion of Guzerat. This intelligence was confirmed by a letter which the King received about the same time from his cousin Feroze Khan, the son of his uncle Shums Khan, which was brought in nine days from Nagoor to Nundoorbar; in which he stated positively, that Sooltan Hooshung, taking advantage of the King's absence, contemplated the conquest of Guzerat; that he had made overtures to him for that purpose, setting forth, that he had been invited by frequent applications from the zemindars to invade the kingdom, and that he had now absolutely commenced his march. Feroze Khan[15] also adds, "The King of Malwa, calculating on my not being on good terms with your Majesty, proposes to add the district of Nehrwala to my

14. Tumbole, a small hill-fort in the district of Buglana. This district, from its local position, naturally belongs to Kandeish; but it had, from a very early period, rajas independent of that province.

15. In the early part of this reign, Feroze Khan, who is denominated the son of Moozuffur Shah, sets up pretensions to the throne. He is defeated, but escapes, and no other mention is made of him. Here we have a Feroze Khan, the son of Shums Khan, the King's uncle, who holds the government of Nagoor. It appears to me probable they are one and the same person, especially from the remarkable concluding sentence of his letter to Ahmud Shah. Feroze, therefore, instead of being the son of Moozuffur Shah, appears to me to be the son of Shums Khan, entitled Noozrut Khan, the brother of Moozuffur Shah, of whom mention has already been made in his reign.

estates." The movements of Sooltan Hooshung confirmed this information; so that the King, notwithstanding the rains, crossed the Nerbudda, and encamped his army on the banks of the Mehndry; from whence, having selected a small force, he made rapid marches towards Ahmudabad, and thence to Mhowrasso. The Raja of Sorut[16] having heard of the projected invasion by Sooltan Hooshung, refused to pay the usual tribute. Mullik Nuseer, also, taking advantage of the moment, attacked his brother Mullik Iftikhar in the fort of Talnere, with whom he had previously consented to divide the province of Kandeish, and to whose aid Sooltan Hooshung had detached his son Ghizny Khan. These confederates now invaded the district of Sooltanpoor.

Such was the state of affairs when Ahmud Shah returned to Guzerat. He therefore deputed Mahmood Toork to levy the tribute from the Raja of Sorut, and Mahomed Toork and Mokhlis-ool-Moolk to disperse the forces of Mullik Nuseer and Ghizny Khan. These officers succeeded in effecting the object on which they were employed; but the King reserved the punishment of Sooltan Hooshung of Malwa till the following year, when he marched in person against that prince, leaving Nizam-ool-Moolk in charge of the affairs of his government, with orders to attack the Raja of Mundulgur.

Having thus provided for his absence, Ahmud Shah marched by the route of Mahrasa into Malwa, and found Sooltan Hooshung with a large army posted in a strong position, with his rear thrown back on the village of Kaliada, having a number of low prickly hedges partly protecting his front. Ahmud Shah, after reconnoitring his position, made immediate dispositions to attack the enemy. Mahomed Toork commanded the right wing, and Mullik Fureed, the son of Imad-ool-Moolk, the left. The action commenced by the Guzeratties skirmishing, in order to draw the enemy from his strong position, a manœuvre which only partially succeeded, till one of the Guzerat elephants becoming furious, charged the enemy's line, broke through it, and opened a passage to the cavalry. On this occasion, Ghizny Khan, Prince of Malwa, received an arrow-wound which obliged

16. The western peninsula of Guzerat is called Sorut or Sowrashtra; but this province must not be confounded with the city and district of Surat, on the sea-coast.

him to fall back with his elephants; and this circumstance having caused some confusion, was taken advantage of by Mullik Fureed, who galloping round the village fell upon the rear of the Malwites, and completed the defeat. Sooltan Hooshung fled to Mando, and the Guzerat troops pursued the flying enemy till within a few miles of that place. The rainy season having set in, Ahmud Shah returned to Guzerat, and rewarded in the most liberal manner all those officers who had distinguished themselves in the late action.

After the rains, the King having caused the fortress of Soangur to be repaired, proceeded in person to Idur, from whence he detached a force into Malwa to lay waste that country. On the following year (A.H. 822, A.D. 1419) an envoy arrived from Sooltan Hooshung, and a peace was concluded between the Malwa and Guzerat sovereigns; but the latter resolved to punish the Ray of Champanere, one of the confederates, who had originally invited Sooltan Hooshung to the invasion of Guzerat. He therefore marched and invested that place, and the Ray consented to pay an annual tribute.

Notwithstanding the recent treaty which had been formed, such was the restless character of Sooltan Hooshung, that in the course of two years Ahmud Shah was again compelled to take the field against him. He marched a force directly to Mando, without meeting opposition; and having encamped opposite the Sarungpoor gate of the fort, he commenced the siege by regular approaches.

Sooltan Hooshung, confident in the strength of the fortress, left Mando, and taking six thousand horse with him, went to Jajnuggur,[17] where he intended to obtain some elephants, in order to make a stand in the field against Ahmud Shah. For this reason he left the place in charge of a confidential officer, and returned at the expiration of six months, during which time the siege continued; but it is most extraordinary, that he marched out and came back without the besiegers being aware he had left the garrison. The first intimation which Ahmud Shah received of the circumstance was on the return of Sooltan Hooshung, which was announced by flags being hoisted on the bastions, accompanied with the sound of drums and trumpets.

17. A city situated on the Mahanuda river, which empties itself into the sea in the province of Orissa. The forests of which have always been famous for wild elephants.

Ahmud Shah, ashamed and vexed, raised the siege, and vented his rage in plundering the country. In this warfare he was frequently opposed by the Malwites, but the Guzeratties were, in general, victorious. The following is an extract from the Tareekh Alfy of Moolla Ahmud, which appears to give a clear and more probable account of the whole campaign, and the cause of its commencement :—

"In the year A.H. 825 (A.D. 1422)," says Moolla Ahmud, "Sooltan Hooshung having assumed the dress of a horse-merchant, went to Jajnuggur in order to procure elephants. Ahmud Shah of Guzerat having heard that he had left his kingdom, and that his officers had divided it among themselves, took advantage of this state of affairs to invade Malwa. In the first place, he reduced the fort of Maheswur, and thence marched to Mando, detaching, at the same time, small bodies of cavalry to plunder the country. He continued the siege of Mando but a short period, when the rains setting in, he proceeded to Oojein, leaving detachments in the several districts of Malwa, to assist in collecting the revenues of the khurreef or autumnal crop. Meanwhile, he ordered battering rams and engines to be brought from Guzerat, for the purpose of besieging Mando; which having arrived under Mullik Mokurrib from Ahmudabad, he renewed the siege, detaching Mullik Mokurrib to secure the approach by the Tarapoor gate.[18]

At this period intelligence was received that Sooltan Hooshung was on his return to Malwa; Ahmud Shah therefore raised the siege of Mando, and calling in his different detachments, marched with the whole army towards Sarungpoor. Sooltan Hooshung, having timely intimation of Ahmud Shah's movement, made rapid marches, and reached Sarungpoor before him. Whence he deputed messengers to Ahmud Shah, to endeavour to detain him by negotiation, till he should have time to repair the ditch and the boundary hedge[19] of Sarungpoor.

"Ahmud Shah, however, marched on; but he had no sooner reached the place than Sooltan Hooshung made a night-attack on his camp, though his ambassador was still with him. The

18. The southern entrance.

19. It is usual to form strong hedges either of the cactus or aloe around fortified towns, at the distance of two or three hundred yards, to prevent the enemy bringing their approaches closer to the works; which answer all the purposes of an abatis

Guzeratties being surprised, were many of them cut to pieces, and Ahmud Shah made his escape with difficulty, attended by only one domestic. When he had got clear of the camp he halted, and ordered his attendant to go and bring him information how the Malwites were engaged. The messenger returned, and reported that they were chiefly employed in plunder. On which, collecting his scattered army during the night, he was enabled to muster one thousand horse. With this small body, he anxiously waited on the confines of the camp till daybreak, when he attacked it. The Malwa troops, fatigued with the former night's work, had, for the most part, given themselves up to sleep, while some few were still engaged in plundering; they consequently made but feeble resistance, and the slaughter among them was severe. Ahmud Shah not only recovered on this occasion all the elephants he had formerly lost, but he acquired seven other large ones, which had been brought from Jajnuggur.

Sooltan Hooshung fled to the fort of Sarungpoor, to which Ahmud Shah laid siege; but he was obliged, in consequence of an epidemic that raged in the camp, to abandon his purpose, and commence his retreat; in which he was closely pursued by Sooltan Hooshung, who hung upon his flanks, and harassed him on the line of march. At length Ahmud Shah halting, brought on a general action, in which Sooltan Hooshung was defeated with the loss of four thousand nine hundred men; which enabled Ahmud Shah, though not without much difficulty, to bring off his army; and, in consideration of what his troops had suffered during this campaign, he abstained from any foreign attacks for some years."

In the year A.H. 829 (A.D. 1426), he marched to retake Idur. On the banks of the river Hatmutty,[20] in the vicinity of Idur, he constructed a fort, which he called Ahmudnuggur, and then returned to his capital. On this occasion the Raja Poonja Ray made some defence; but being defeated, fled to the hills of Beesulnuggur.

In the year A.H. 830 (A.D. 1427), the King was induced to return to the country of Idur, having heard that Poonja Ray had collected a force in that neighbourhood. The two armies

20. Ferishta writes Hatmutty; it should evidently be Saburmutty, the same river that flows through Ahmudabad.

meeting, a severe conflict ensued, in which the Ray's army was defeated, and himself killed; when Ahmud Shah ordered a detachment to lay waste the country of Beesulnuggur. Meanwhile the son of Poonja Ray promised to pay into the treasury of Guzerat an annual tribute of three lacks of tunkas of silver. From Idur the King marched into the district of Gilwara. In the year 832 he marched again to Idur; and on the sixth of Suffur, A.H. 832 (Nov. 14, A.D. 1428) carried by storm one of the principal forts in that province, wherein he built a magnificent mosque. In the following year, Kanha Ray, the Raja of Jhalode, perceiving the system which Ahmud Shah pursued towards the Hindoos, fled with his family and property to Aseer, and presented Nuseer Khan, the Prince of Kandeish, with two elephants, which he had succeeded in bringing away with him when he escaped from a detachment sent in pursuit by Ahmud Shah.

The Ray having thus secured the interest of Nuseer Khan (who was connected with Sooltan Ahmud Shah Bahmuny), that chief prevailed on the King of the Deccan to furnish a small body of troops to accompany the Ray, in order to recover his country. Instead of marching towards Jhalode, however, the Raja plundered the districts of Sooltanpoor and Nundoorbar, on which Ahmud Shah sent a force under Mullik Mokurrib, with his son the Prince Mahomed Khan, to punish the invaders. The armies met near Sooltanpoor : the Deccany troops were defeated, and the few who escaped fled to Dowlutabad.

This intelligence reaching the ears of Ahmud Shah Bahmuny, he appointed his son Alla-ood-Deen, accompanied by a force commanded by Khan Jehan and Kuddur Khan, to retrieve the character of the Deccany arms. This force assembled under the walls of Dowlutabad, where it was joined by the Raja of Jhalode and by Nuseer Khan Farooky of Aseer, whose daughter was married to the Prince Alla-ood-Deen. It moved several marches in the direction of the Guzerat troops, and encountered them on the top of the Manukpoonj pass, where an action ensued, in which the two commanders-in-chief, Mullik Mokurrib of Guzerat and Kuddur Khan of Deccan, were personally opposed to each other. The latter being unhorsed was killed in the fall; but the Deccanies, who were retreating, rallied, and forming into a solid body, made a desperate charge on the Guzeratties. They were, however, so steadily opposed that they fell back, and became subsequently completely routed. The Prince of the Deccan

fled to Dowlutabad, and the Raja of Jhalode and Nuseer Khan took refuge in the hills of Kandeish; after which the Prince Mahomed Khan returned to Ahmudabad.

In the same year, Kootb Khan, the governor of Mahim,[21] dying, Sooltan Ahmud Shah Bahmuny thought this a favourable opportunity to obtain possession of that island, which he effected without loss. Ahmud Shah instantly deputed his youngest son, Zuffur Khan, with a force commanded by Mullik Iftikhar Khan, to retake it. For this purpose, orders were sent to Diu, Gogo, and Cambay, to collect shipping; and a fleet was formed, consisting of seventeen sail, on which part of the army embarked, while the remainder marched to Tanna by land, which had now also fallen into the hands of the Deccanies.

In the first place, Tanna was invested by Mullik Iftikhar, and the fleet anchoring off the port, all communication was cut off both by sea and land. The officer commanding the garrison made two or three vigorous sallies; but being always repulsed with loss, and finding himself incapable of making any effectual defence, and despairing of succour, he fell back on Mahim. The fort of Tanna capitulated next day, and Mullik Iftikhar marched on to the attack of Mahim. On his arrival, he found that Mullik-oot-Toojar, the Deccany general, had formed a very strong wattled breast-work on that face of the island by which the Guzeratties must necessarily approach; and though this barrier proved a very serious obstacle, it was by no means insuperable. The Guzerat troops stormed and carried the stockade with great gallantry, but not without considerable loss. They now found themselves opposed to the whole of the Deccan line. A severe action ensued, which was undecided at night-fall; on which occasion, the heroes on both sides lay down on the variegated carpet, deeply tinged with each other's blood. During

21. Bombay. This island seems, at this time, to have consisted of two parts; the one denominated Mahim, from the village of that name in the N. E. corner, and the other Mumby from an idol to which a temple is still dedicated, and is known by the appellation of Mumbydevy, or the Goddess Mumby, which by Europeans has been corrupted into *Bombay*. The separation of the two islands would be again complete, if the dam called Breach Kandy were removed, which keeps out the sea on the west face of the island. Colonel Tod is of opinion, that Mumbydevy is also a corruption from Mama Devy, "Mater Dea", the Divine Mother, or Alma Mater.

the night, Mullik-oot-Toojar retreated to the contiguous island;[22] which being closely blockaded by the fleet and by the troops which were also landed, he escaped to the continent, where he effected a junction with a body of Deccanies, consisting of ten thousand horse and sixty elephants, under the command of Khwaja Jehan, accompanied by the Bahmuny Prince Mahomed Khan. This force had been sent in consequence of Mullik-oot-Toojar's requisition for reinforcements, even before the attack on Mahim.

With this army the Deccany prince marched to retake Tanna; but the Guzerat prince having intimation of his movement, proceeded in person with a strong detachment to intercept the Deccanies. Both armies arrived before Tanna on the same day; and another action ensued, which lasted from break of day till sunset, when the Deccanies were ultimately defeated, and dispersed. Mullik-oot-Toojar took refuge in Chakun, while the Prince and Khwaja Jehan did not halt till they reached Dowlutabad. Among the articles taken on the island of Mahim were some beautiful gold and silver embroidered muslins, with which vessels were laden and sent to Ahmudabad.

In the year A.H. 835 (A.D. 1431), Ahmud Shah, leaving his eldest son at the capital, marched in person to Champanere; and Ahmud Shah Bahmuny, in order to have his revenge, also marched at the head of an army to Buglana, a district contiguous to Surat, which he completely devastated. The King receiving information of this attack countermarched from Champanere to Nundoorbar, destroying Nadout on his march.

Ahmud Shah Bahmuny, who was at this period engaged in the siege of Tumbole, retreated to his capital, and Ahmud Shah of Guzerat returned towards Ahmudabad; but he had scarcely reached the river Tapty, when he received intimation that Ahmud Shah Bahmuny had returned to the attack of Tumbole, a measure occasioned, it seems, by the King of the Deccan mistaking for pusillanimity the offers made by Ahmud Shah to negotiate a peace. Ahmud Shah of Guzerat now returned towards the enemy, and arrived within a few miles of the town of Tumbole, when Ahmud Shah Bahmuny resolved to make an

22. That part of the present island then separate, and called Mumbydevy.

attempt to carry the place by escalade that night. A few Naigs were in consequence selected for this service; some of whom succeeded in gaining a footing on the ramparts before they were discovered; but the alarm being once given, the commandant of the garrison, Mullik Sadut Sooltany, having collected a small party, attacked the assailants, and nearly destroyed the whole. A few threw themselves over the works. At the same time the garrison made a sally on the enemy's camp, by which the besiegers suffered severely before they could oppose the attacking party, which escaped back to the fort under cover of the night, without loss.

On the next morning the Guzerat army arrived; and Ahmud Shah Bahmuny, stung with vexation at the repeated defeats his arms had suffered during the late campaign, seemed determined to retrieve the character of the Deccanies in a general action. When the two lines were drawn out opposite to each other, Ajdur Khan, a young Deccany nobleman, galloped forth and challenged any of the nobles of Guzerat to meet him singly. The offer was accepted by Azd-ool-Moolk of Guzerat, and they both fought as the opposing armies advanced. Ajdur Khan was severely wounded, and taken prisoner, soon after which the action became general. It was severe on both sides, and continued till sunset, when the retreat was mutually sounded; and this would have been considered a drawn battle, but the King of the Deccan having experienced a very heavy loss in killed and wounded, commenced his retreat during the night.

Ahmud Shah on the next day went into the fort of Tumbole, and with his own hands conferred donations and titles on Mullik Sadut and his brave garrison, which he reinforced, and then marched to Talnere; whence he proceeded to Nadout; and having left Ein-ool-Moolk in charge of that district, returned to Ahmudabad.

In the Siraj-oot-Tareekh Bahmuny, the account of the siege of Tumbole is somewhat differently related; but I think the Deccan historian is not so clear in his account as the Guzerat author, to whose text I have adhered, though God only knows which authority is most to be relied on.

In the year A.H. 836 (A.D. 1432), Ahmud Shah having contracted his son Futteh Khan in marriage with the daughter of the Ray of Mahim, marched towards Nagoor and Mewat. On his arrival at Dongurpoor, he received large presents, and exacted

tribute from the Raja; thence entering the country of the Kolies and Bheels, subject to Rana Mokul of Chittoor, he laid it waste; and proceeding into the district of Meywar, he levied contributions from the Rays of Kota, Boondy, and Nowlaye. During this campaign he was joined by Feroze Khan of Nagoor, who made an offering of several lacks of tunkas, which, however, were not accepted by Ahmud Shah. He now returned to Ahmudabad.

In the year A.H. 839 (A.D. 1435), Mahmood Khan Khiljy, one of the officers of the Malwa government, having rebelled, drove Musaood (the grandson of Sooltan Hooshung Ghoory) from the throne, who sought protection at the court of Guzerat. In the following year (A.H. 840, A.D. 1436), Ahmud Shah felt himself bound to march an army in order to reinstate him. On his arrival at Basowda he detached part of the force in advance towards Mando to intercept Khan Jehan,[23] the father of the usurper, then on his march from Chundery; but when the latter heard of the movement of Ahmud Shah, he made forced marches to the capital and reinforced his son, now styling himself Sooltan Mahmood Khiljy.

Ahmud Shah at length arrived before Mando, and the Malwites made several trifling sallies; but in a night-attack, of which Ahmud Shah obtained previous information, they were so completely repulsed that they almost all fell victims to their temerity. On the following morning Ahmud Shah detached his son Mahomed Khan, with a body of five thousand horse, to plunder the country of Sarungpoor, with orders to join Oomr Khan, a son of the late King of Malwa, who, having raised a force, was also on his march from Chundery to the capital. Sooltan Mahmood Khiljy, in spite of these disadvantages, was enabled to hold out in the fort; for he had laid in store a large quantity of ammunition and provisions, while the besiegers found it difficult to subsist. In this state of affairs he made a sally from the Tarapoor gate, leaving his father in charge of the fort, and marched to Sarungpoor. On the road, having encountered Mullik Hajy Ally of Guzerat, who was posted to guard a ford on the Chumbul, he attacked and completely defeated him, compelling him to seek refuge in Ahmud Shah's camp. Sooltan Mahmood, following up his success, attacked the Prince Oomr Khan, whom he also defeated

23. His real name is Mullik Moghels Khiljy, and he is much distinguished in the history of Malwa under that name.

and slew, and eventually established himself on the throne of Malwa. At this time the plague (a disease very unusual in India[24]) broke out in the army of Ahmud Shah, so that many of the dead remained unburied. The King of Guzerat was, therefore, induced to quit Malwa, and to retreat to Ahmudabad, where he eventually died, on the 4th of Rubbee-ool-Awul, in the year A.H. 847 (July 4, A.D. 1443), after a reign of nearly thirty-three years.

MAHOMED SHAH

THE Prince Mahomed, the eldest son of the late king, succeeded his father, under the appellation of Mahomed Shah, and immediately after, having marched to Idur, espoused the daughter of the Ray, to whom he restored his ancient rights in that district. Thence proceeding to Dongurpur, he exacted tribute from the Raja, and returned to Ahmudabad.

In the year A.H. 853 (A.D. 1449), he marched towards the fort of Champanere, where being opposed by the Raja Gungadas, he defeated and compelled him to seek refuge in his capital. Gungadas, thus situated, wrote to Sooltan Mahmood Khiljy of Malwa, stipulating for the payment of a lack of tunkas of silver to his army for every march. Sooltan Mahmood, in consideration of the pecuniary subsidy, and smarting with resentment under the treatment he had experienced in the beginnnig of his reign from the late king of Guzerat, assented, and in the end of the same year marched towards Champanere.

Mahomed Shah, having lost many of the carriage-cattle of his army during the campaign, no sooner heard of the advance of Sooltan Mahmood than he set fire to the greater part of his heavy baggage, and commenced his retreat to Ahmudabad, in spite of the earnest remonstrances of his officers. Some time afterwards (in the year A.H. 855, A.D. 1451), when Sooltan Mahmood of Malwa, perceiving the timidity of the present sovereign

24. As this is the only instance, I believe, on record, of the disease known to Europeans by the name of the plague having made its appearance in India, notwithstanding the constant intercourse between its coasts and Egypt, I think the author from whom Ferishta quotes must be mistaken. The word is written طاعون

of Guzerat, advanced with a force of one hundred thousand men, with the resolution to conquer and annex it to the kingdom of Malwa, Mahomed Shah, so far from opposing him, endeavoured to retreat to the island of Diu; but the Guzerat officers, feeling for their character, resolved to cut him off, and instigated his own wife to administer poison to him.[25]

Mahomed Shah reigned eight years, nine months, and four days, having obtained, during that period, the name of Kurreem, or the Merciful, an appellation to which, from his mild nature, he seems to have been entitled.

KOOTB SHAH

On the death of Mahomed Shah he was succeeded by his son Kootb Khan, under the title of Kootb Shah. This prince was born at Nundoorbar, on the night of Monday the 8th of Jumad-oos-Sany, in the year 855, (8th of August, A.D. 1451), and ascended the throne in the forty-ninth year of his age. The King of Malwa, Sooltan Mahmood Khiljy, in prosecution of the war, obtained possession of the town of Sooltanpoor, by gaining over the governor Mullik Alla-ood-Deen Sohrab Toork. He appointed that officer commander of his troops, and made rapid marches to the capital of Guzerat. Kootb Shah was advised by some of his courtiers to retreat to Sorut,[26] and allow the King of Malwa to occupy for the present the eastern provinces; when it was proposed, that, after his return to Mando, Kootb Shah should attack the Malwa troops, and recover his losses. This advice was so entirely in unison with the Knig's feelings, that he actually suggested it to the officers of the army; who, with one voice, protested against a measure so fraught with disgrace and inevitable ruin.[27] They reminded the King of the deeds of

25. This event, according to the Moontukhib-oot-Towareekh, occurred on the 10th of Mohurrum, A.H. 855, which answers to the 12th February, 1451.

26. Western Guzerat, called also Kattywar.

27. The spirited conduct of the nobles on this occasion must not be mistaken for patriotism. They had each considerable landed estates for the maintenance of troops, which they must have lost in the event of the King of Malwa succeeding in sub-duing Guzerat. Their motives for fighting, therefore, appear quite natural; so that, although this mode

his warlike grandsire and ancestors, and used every means in their power to induce him to lead his army to oppose the invader; a measure to which he reluctantly assented, and made one march towards the enemy.

Mullik Alla-ood-Deen, the Guzerat officer who had betrayed the fort of Sooltanpoor to the enemy, and who now held the high post of commander-in-chief of the Malwa army, on finding that Kootb Shah was actually on his march to resist the invasion, returned to his allegiance, and went over to his king, who received him with such marks of favour, that during one levee he bestowed upon him seven different khiluts, and conferred on him the title of Alla-ool-Moolk.

When the two armies were within six miles of each other, the Guzeratties at the village of Surkech, and the Malwites at Butwa, Sooltan Mahmood addressed some verses, conceived in taunting language, to Kootb Shah, who returned for answer that the present generation had not forgotten the conquest of Malwa by Moozuffur Shah, the capture of Sooltan Hooshung, and the restoration of his kingdom at the hands of his grandfather, Ahmud Shah.

On the night of the 1st of Suffur, A.H. 856 (Feb. 10, A.D. 1453), Sooltan Mahmood mounted at dusk, with the intention of surprising the Guzerat army, but lost his way in the night among some ruined walls near his own camp. Kootb Shah, hearing of his failure, ordered out his line, and at day-break attacked the Malwa forces, who were also by this time under arms. In this action, the left wing of the Guzerat army was repulsed, and fled to Ahmudabad, but the right wing succeeded in defeating the body of the enemy to which it was opposed. Notwithstanding this circumstance, Sooltan Mahmood of Malwa, although deserted by all his army excepting thirteen troopers, charged with this small party as far as the royal tents of Guzerat. From which he brought away the crown, the King's girdle, and many other valuable jewels, to his own camp. On his arrival, he caused a report to be circulated, that he intended to attack the Guzerat army again on the same night; which becoming known to the enemy, as he intended, induced the Guzeratties to remain on the alert. This enabled Sooltan Mahmood, whose troops had been severely handled to retreat without molestation.

of paying the army seems, in some respects, exceptionable, yet it tended greatly to promote union in cases of invasion by a foreign enemy.

if we except the opposition he experienced from the Kolies and Bheels. Kootb Shah, congratulating himself sincerely on having got rid of the Malwa forces with such facility, returned to the city of Ahmudabad with his spoils, consisting, among other articles, of sixty elephants. A considerable detachment was now sent to retake Sooltanpoor; which being effected, a peace was concluded between the two sovereigns, by which it was agreed each should retain whatever places his troops now occupied; and one article enjoined the parties to wage perpetual war against Hindoos, whose destruction was solemnly agreed on.

In the year A.H. 860 (A.D. 1455), Feroze Khan, the occupant of Nagoor, died, and his brother Mujahid Khan, having expelled Shums Khan, the son of Feroze Khan, kept possession of the estate. Shums Khan immediately applied to Rana Koombho of Chittoor for aid; and as the Rana's family had long wished for an opportunity to humble the chief of Nagoor, he marched against him. The garrison, without offering resistance, agreed to receive Shums Khan; and he was formally re-instated with the understanding that was to dilapidate part of the battlements,[28] in token of submission to the Rana, after which he returned. So far from doing this, however, Shums Khan improved the fortifications, and set the Rana at defiance; who, enraged at this conduct, returned to Chittoor, only to collect a large force, and then marched against Nagoor. Shums Khan, unable to cope with him, left the place, undercharge of one of his best officers, and proceeded to Ahmudabad to obtain reinforcements.

Kootb Shah became so well pleased with Shums Khan, that he not only required him to reside at his court, but he even married his daughter, and ordered an army, under the command of Ray Ramchundur and Mullik Gudday, to reinforce the garrison of Nagoor. These troops no sooner arrived than an action ensued with the Rana, who completely defeated the Guzeratties, and killed many brave officers and men. Kootb Shah, hearing of this disaster, marched in person; but despairing of reducing Chitoor, he proceeded in the direction of Sirohy, the Raja of which was closely connected with the Rana of Chittoor. He was opposed by the Rajpoots of Sirohy, whom he defeated; and afterwards entering the hills, he reached Koombulmere. Here

28. It was usual to require refractory chiefs to allow part of the battlements of their castles to be broken, in token of submission. The act of repairing them, without permission, was the signal of rebellion.

the Rana attacked the Moslems, but was defeated in several engagements, and sued for peace, consenting to pay a large sum in specie, and a quantity of jewels; after which Kootb Shah returned to Ahmudabad.

On his road to Guzerat he was met by Taj Khan, an ambassador from the court of Malwa, who had been sent to propose an offensive alliance against Rana Koombho of Chittoor, whose country it was agreed should be divided between the allies. All the towns to the southward, and lying contiguous to Guzerat, were to be attached to the kingdom of Kootb Shah, while the districts of Mewar[29] and Aheerwara should be reduced and retained by the Malwa forces. This treaty was solemnly signed by the respective envoys at the town of Champanere, in the latter end of the year A.H. 860 (A.D. 1456).

On the following year (A.H. 861, A.D. 1457), pursuant to the treaty of Champanere, Kootb Shah marched towards Chittoor, and on the road stormed and carried the fortress of Aboo, where having left a garrison, he pursued his march. At the same time Sooltan Mahmood Khiljy also commenced his attack on the side of Malwa. The Rana was desirous of opposing the Malwa army first; but Kootb Shah's approaches were so rapid, that he reached Sirohy, and entered the hills, compelling the Rana to come to a general action, in which the Rajpoot army was entirely defeated. Kootb Shah followed up his success, and shortly after brought the Rana again to action: he was defeated a second time, and fled to the hills, whence he deputed an ambassador, and purchased the retreat of the King of Guzerat by the payment of fourteen maunds[30] weight of solid gold, and two elephants which conveyed the treasure. A seasonable donation was at the same time made to Sooltan Mahmood Khiljy, who was also induced to retreat to Malwa.

On the following year, A.H. 862 (A.D. 1458), the Rana broke the treaty, and marched to attack Nagoor with fifty thousand horse and foot; intimation of which the governor immediately despatched by a messenger to the King at Ahmudabad. Kootb Shah was at the time engaged in a course of debauchery, from which he could not be recalled; notwithstanding which, the

29. The entire dominions of the Rana constitute according to Colonel Tod, Mewar, or properly Med-war, the midland or central region of India.

30. A maund of Chittoor is equal to eighty-four pounds: the whole amount would weigh one thousand one hundred and seventy-six pounds.

prime minister, Imad-ool-Moolk, collecting part of the army, made one march from the capital, but was obliged to halt for a whole month, before the equipments could be prepared. The Rana, hearing that the troops had actually moved, retired to Chittoor; and the King returning to Ahmudabad, continued to spend his time in licentious excess.

In the latter end of the same year he marched to Sirohy; the Raja of which place being related to Rana Koombho, and apprehensive of the Mahomedan arms, fled to the hills of Koombulmere, while the Guzeratties laid waste his country; a simultaneous movement was also made by the Malwa forces against Chittoor. Kootb Shah having pursued the Rana to the fort of Koombulmere, found that he was unable to take it, and contented himself, therefore, after plundering the country, with retreating to Ahmudabad. Shortly after his return to which city, he was taken dangerously ill, and died on the 23d of Rujub, A.H. 863 (May 25, A.D. 1459). He was buried in the vault of Mahomed Shah. It was generally believed at the time of his death that the King had been poisoned by Shums Khan of Nagoor, whose daughter he had married; and that chief suffered death in consequence, but it was afterwards proved he was perfectly innocent.[31] Kootb Shah is entitled Ghazy (the Champion of the Faith), and reigned seven years and seven months, during which period many scenes of the most wanton cruelty took place. He was of a violent and capricious temper, and of a sanguinary disposition, often putting to death, without the slighetst cause, some of his most confidential servants and favourites, who usually suffered during the time of his disgraceful debauches.

DAWOOD SHAH

After the death of Kootb Shah, his uncle Dawood, at the instance of Imad-ool-Moolk and the rest of the nobility, was elevated to the throne; but shortly after his accession, he ennobled one of the common sweepers of the household, and conferred on him the title of Imad-ool-Moolk. This and other

31. The author of the Moontukhib-oot-Towareekh says, that Kootb Shah's mother, suspecting the Queen, her son's wife, made her over to the of her eunuchs, who literally tore her in pieces.

acts of imbecility induced the same nobles who raised him to power to depose him on the seventh day, and to place his nephew Mahmood, a youth of only fourteen years of age, on the throne of his elder brother.

MAHMOOD SHAH I.

ENTITLED BEGURRA

SHORTLY after the accession of Mahmood Shah, the affairs of the state, which had been so much neglected during the reign of Kootb Shah, began to assume a form of regularity. Five or six months after, however, four nobles, who held small governments at a distance from the capital, jealous of the increasing influence of the minister, Imad-ool-Moolk, formed a conspiracy against him, and insisted on his removal; they even went so far as to threaten, if he were not instantly disgraced, to dethrone the present king, and to place his younger brother Hoossein on the musnud. The names of these officers were,—

Boorhan-ool-Moolk,
Azd-ool-Moolk,
Hissam-ool-Moolk,
Suffy-ool-Moolk.

In the history of Nizam-ood-Deen Ahmud it is related that these officers represented to Mahmood Shah that Imad-ool-Moolk projected to dethrone him, and intended to place the crown on the head of his own son, Shahab-ood-Deen. Notwithstanding the nature of this accusation, so likely to poison the mind of this young prince, he had sufficient discretion to see the matter in its true light, and at the same time too much prudence openly to avow his sentiments. He, therefore, dissembled his feelings, and determined to avail himself of the first favourable opportunity to expose the accusers. In the first place, he caused Imad-ool-Moolk to be confined in chains, thanked the informers for their loyalty and attachment, and assured them, that he would punish the traitor by putting him to death with his own hands.

This conduct, while it elated the four conspirators with hopes of placing the Prince Hoossein on the throne, lulled them into security from any apprehension of a discovery of their plot.

On the following day the King having taken his measures

ordered the accused minister to be conveyed into the palace-yard, opposite the hall of audience. Upon his arrival, he desired him to be brought into his presence, in order that he might put some questions to him before his death, when he suddenly caused his fetters to be removed. Some of the conspirators observing this, and concluding they were discovered, threw themselves from the palace, on the pavement below, while others falling on their faces prostrated themselves at the King's feet, and begged his mercy. In order that the triumph of the minister over his enemies might be complete, the King allowed him to stand on the right hand of the throne, where he received the congratulations of the court.

Hajy Mahomed Kandahary relates, that when the four conspirators heard of the enlargement of Imad-ool-Moolk they proceeded with a body of thirty thousand men towards the palace, where the King remained with three hundred attendants only. On this occasion, some resolved to shut the palace-gates, and defend themselves behind the walls; while others proposed to collect the crown jewels, and make their escape. Mahmood Shah, however, in spite of the inequality of numbers, and though merely a boy, slung his quiver at his back, and with a bow in his hand sallied forth, attended only by three hundred horsemen, and accompanied by all the royal elephants, which did not amount to two hundred. On quitting the palace, he caused the approaches leading to it to be occupied by elephants, proceeding himself through the main street in slow procession, with the royal music playing before him. By this coolness and intrepidity, several of his nobles were enabled to join him; and in a short time they formed a very considerable force, though infinitely inferior to that of the insurgents.

The rebel troops having no room to oppose a large front dispersed among the streets, and plundered the inhabitants; while the conspirators themselves, being in a very short time deserted, fled, and were pursued. Boorhan-ool-Moolk, being of an unwidely bulk, threw himself for temporary safety into a ditch which runs into the Saburmutty, in the village of Surkech, where he was taken, and, by the King's orders, trod to death by elephants. Azd-ool-Moolk fled among the Girasias, who, recognising him to be the same person that had on a former occasion plundered them, put him to death. Hissam-ool-Moolk took refuge with his brother Rookn-ood-Deen, the chief magistrate of

Puttun, from whence both fled to Malwa; and Suffy-ool-Moolk was taken prisoner; but, as he was not considered so guilty as his confederates, the King spared his life, causing him to be confined in the fort of Diu, where he died. Order being restored, Imad-ool-Moolk requested permission to resign the seals of office, and spend the rest of his days in retirement and devotion; and the King (to convince the world of his attachment to his old minister) appointed his son, Shahab-ood-Deen, to his situation, with the title of Mullik Ashruf.

In the year A.H. 866 (A.D. 1462), Ahmud Nizam Shah Bahmuny of the Deccan, attacked on all sides by his enemies, particularly by Sooltan Mahmood of Malwa, who had marched towards his capital, solicited the aid of Mahmood Shah. The King no sooner received this communication than he determined immediately to march to his assistance; but his officers and nobles recommended that he should send an army, and himself remain at home, in order to provide against any contingences which might occur during his absence. With an ardent disposition, and ambitious of glory, he could not be averted from his resolution; and he assumed command of the army in person, consisting of a large body of cavalry and infantry, besides five hundred elephants. With this force he marched to Nundoorbar, where he was joined by Khwaja Jehan of Gavulgur, and proceeded to make a diversion by attacking the territory of the King of Malwa. This circumstance compelled Sooltan Mahmood Khiljy to retreat from Ahmudabad Bidur, to which place he had penetrated, in order to return and protect his own country; but the passes on his direct route being occupied, he was reduced to the alternative of marching by Elichpoor, from whence, penetrating through the Gondwana woods, he arrived in Malwa.[32] Such was the end of this campaign.

In the following year, Sooltan Mahmood Khiljy renewed his attack on the Deccan; and the King of Guzerat, at the entreaties of Ahmud Nizam Shah Bahmuny, marched to his relief, but did not arrive in sufficient time to prevent Sooltan Mahmood laying waste all the fertile country in the vicinity of Dowlutabad, and carrying off many prisoners. The King of the Deccan on this occasion paid a large sum for the assistance of the Guzerat troops to Mahmood Shah, who, on returning to Ahmudabad,

32. The Moontukhib-oot-Towareekh states, that Sooltan Mahmood of Malwa lost one thousand men, who perished by thirst in this retreat.

addressed a letter of remonstrance to Sooltan Mahmood Khiljy to this effect:—"It is surely far from the principles of the faith for you to wage war with true believers. On the other hand, it is as discreditable to refuse to meet your enemy in the field. Desist, therefore, from these invasions, or you may rely on it that the moment you commence your march again towards the Deccan, we will make a predatory incurson into Malwa." This letter was answered by a promise of refraining in future from any other invasion of the Deccan.

Two years afterwards (A.H. 869, A.D. 1465), Mahmood Shah marched with a large army towards Bavur, an extraordinary hill-fort, considered impregnable by the inhabitants. From thence he proceeded to Doora[33] and Purnalla, places situated between Concan[34] and Guzerat, and defeated the infields in several actions; and the Raja was obliged to give up his forts, and to throw himself on the mercy of the Mahomedan conqueror, who, after having obtained from him a large sum of money, restored his country into his hands.

As an instance of the impartial justice of Mahmood Shah it is related, that in the year A.H. 870 (A.D. 1466), while on a hunting party near Ahmudnuggur, Baha-ool-Moolk, the son of Aluf Khan, one of his principal nobles, in a fit of passion put to death a trooper, and for fear of being taken fled to Idur. The King immediately sent Mullik Hajy and Imad-ool-Moolk, two of the secretaries of the government, to seize him; but they, in order to screen the real murderer, on account of his rank, gave a sum of money to two of Baha-ool-Moolk's servants, to acknowledge that they perpetrated the deed; and the secretaries promised to save their lives, by using their influence with the King. These unfortunate men, allured by the largeness of the bribe, and relying on the fair promises of the two officers, avowed the commission of the crime, and being delivered over to the court of justice, were tried, condemned, and executed. Sometime after, when the King discovered the real state of the case, he caused the heads of the secretaries to be struck off, notwithstanding they were men of noble family, and in high favour at

33. Probably Durampoor.

34. The country lying below the western range of mountains of the peninsula of India north of Goa is denominated Concan, and is divided into northern and southern Concan by the Panwell river, which into the harbour of Bombay.

the time. After their execution their skins were stuffed with straw, and hung over the gates of the town, as public examples, to the rest of the nobles of the court.

The author of the history of Mahmood Shah relates, that in the year A.H. 872 (A.D. 1468), the King saw the holy Prophet (Mahomed) in a dream, who presented before him a magnificent banquet of the most delicate viands. This dream was interpreted by the wise men as a sign that he would soon accomplish a conquest by which he would obtain great treasures; which prediction was soon after verified in the capture of Girnal.

In the year A.H. 873 (A.D. 1469), Mahmood Shah marched towards the country of Girnal, the capital of which bears the same name. This place is situated on a mountain, on which is constructed the strongest fortress in that part of India. Its reduction had been frequently in the contemplation of the kings both of Dehly and Guzerat, but they had not yet been able to effect it, and many of the ancient rajas of India had in vain attempted to seize that formidable fortification. The accomplishment of this object was reserved for Mahmood Shah Begurra. The mountain on which the fortress stands is surrounded by lower hills situated at some distance, and ravines and broken ground surround its approaches on all sides, which lead through narrow defiles. One of these, the Dumodry G'hat has a strong outwork at the entrance, called at the present day Joonagur. There are, besides, two other works, called Mohabilla. Nearly nineteen hundred years had elapsed since this fortress first came into possession of the family of Mandulik[35] Raja, who held it when Mahmood Shah marched to attack it; and excepting Mahomed Toghluk and Ahmud Shah of Guzerat, no foreign prince had penetrated into that country.

35. This is the first time that Ferishta speaks of a Mandulik raja. The title implies Petty Chieftain, and it is generally supposed they were originally Hindoo military chiefs, frequently near relatives of the superior king,-entitled Sarwabhoom, "Lords of the whole Country." As the power of the Sarwabhooms declined, or passed into other hands, the Mandulik rajas became independent. They have the same description of authority as dessayes, natgowrs, reddywars, zemindars, and poligars, so called in different parts of India; under which appellations they have, at various times, become known to the British government. Viewed abstractedly, they are the officers of some greater state; but circumstances frequently render them entitled to be treated as independent princes. The Moontukhib-oot-Towareekh gives this petty prince the name of Humbur Ray.

Mahmood Shah, relying on the interpretation of his dream, marched towards Girnal with perfect confidence of reducing it to his subjection. On his arrival within eighty miles, he detached a force of one thousand seven hundred men, under his uncle Toghluk Khan, in advance; and presenting every man of the party with a dirk in a scabbard mounted with gold, ordered that the works called Mohabilla should be occupied at all hazards before his arrival. As the approach of this force was unexpected, the Rajpoots, who bear the name of Row, and who were intrusted with the charge of the post, were attacked by surprise, and cut off.

Mahmood Shah with the main body following soon after, passed the defile without opposition. The Ray of Girnal, hearing of the occupation of the Mohabilla post, descended from the hill-fort, and attacked Toghluk Khan, and might have repulsed him, but for the arrival of the King with the main body, when the Ray sustained a total defeat, being himself severely wounded. The victorious army, without attacking the fort of Girnal, destroyed all the temples in the vicinity; and the King sending out foraging parties procured abundance of provisions for the camp. The Ray, rather than sustain a siege, purchased a cessation of hostilities by present submission, and by the payment of a large amount in jewels and in specie; after which, the army returned to Ahmudabad.

In the year A.H. 874 (A.D. 1470), the King, who only wanted some excuse to invade Girnal a second time, urged, as a cause of complaint against the Raja, his habit of assuming the ensigns of royalty. He, therefore, ordered an army of forty thousand horse to march to Girnal, and to exact a fine from him on this account. The Ray, who was neither able nor willing to oppose the Mahomedan arms, paid the sum required; and Nizam-ood-Deen Ahmud states in his history, that Mahmood Shah distributed the money produced by this expedition, in one night, amongst a set of female dancers.

About this period a curious incident occurred, and the anecdote will serve to illustrate the character of Mahmood. He was engaged on a hunting excursion, when a *must* elephant, running towards him, attacked that on which the King was seated. All the rest of the party instantly took to flight, and the King was left alone. The circumstance by no means disconcerted him; but with a presence of mind which never deserted

him, he received the animal with undaunted bravery, and with a spear assisted his own elephant and driver in such a manner, that the infuriated beast became so severely wounded as to give up the contest and fly.

In the latter end of the year 874, the King again marched by way of Sorut to Girnal. The Ray declared his willingness to pay any sum of money he could produce, to protect his subjects from the oppression and horrors of war. Mahmood insisted on his abdicating the throne and government in his favour. The Ray made no answer, but shut himself up in the fort of Joonagur, to which the King laid siege. Shortly after, having evacuated Joonagur, in the beginning of the year 875, the Raja again retired to Girnal; but seeing no end to his misfortunes, he at length consented to become a proselyte to the Mahomedan faith, when he was dignified with the title of Khan Jehan; and his descendants have ever since occupied one of the most respectable stations at the Guzerat court. The author of the Mirut-Iskundry relates the circumstance of the conversion of the Ray of Girnal in the following words:—

"The Mandulik Raja," says that author, "being taken prisoner, was sent to Ahmudabad. One day, perceiving a grand procession going towards the residence of the holy Shah Alum at Russoolabad, the Ray enquired who Shah Alum was, and in whose service. He was told that this holy person acknowledged no master, but the Supreme Being. Struck with admiration at the reply, he resolved to visit him, and was afterwards persuaded by him to become a proselyte to the faith."

The King, being desirous that the tenets of Islam should be propagated throughout the country of Girnal, caused a city to be built, which he called Moostufabad, for the purpose of establishing an honourable residence for the venerable personages of the Mahomedan religion deputed to disseminate its principles; Mahmood Shah also took up his residence in that city. Having by this measure withdrawn his court into a corner of the Kingdom, the greater part of his dominions was left to the bad management of his officers, who during his absence neglected their duty, the evil effects of which soon became apparent. The public roads were so infested by robbers, that it was dangerous for single travellers, or small parties, to pass to and fro in Guzerat, so that the King found it necessary to establish a more active police. Accordingly Jumal Khan, the son of

Sheikh Mullik, ennobled with the title of Mohafiz Khan, was appointed to this duty, with orders to reside at Ahmudabad, and he was authorised to increase the police establishment. In a short time, five hundred thieves were publicly executed; and some idea may be formed of the number of the police retainers when it is known, that Mohafiz Khan had, at one time, in attendance one thousand seven hundred bargeer-i-khass, or persons equipped by him, and riding his own stable horses. His power was, in fact, so little within control, that his son Mullik Khizr, in the absence of the King, marched without orders, and obliged the Rays of Idur, Wagur, and Serohy, to pay him tribute.

The King, who was still at Moostufabad superintending the building of the new city, now heard that the inhabitants of Kutch, far removed from Dehly, had long thrown off all allegiance from that government. This people having but little to subsist on, were in the habit of plundering their neighbours, and had lately invaded Guzerat. Mahmood Shah, who only wanted an object to excite him to action, readily seized this opportunity of gratifying his ambition, enriching himself, and of propagating the faith. Accordingly, in the year A.H. 877 (A.D. 1472), he proceeded towards Kutch, and by forced marches came suddenly upon the enemy's encampment at Sheèvur with only three hundred cavalry, the rest of his troops having been left behind during a march of sixty coss[36] without a halt. The Kutchies consisted of four thousand archers, who drew up in good order. Mahmood Shah dismounted to put on his armour, and with his small party charged the enemy, which, notwithstanding the disparity of numbers, was (by the assistance of God) defeated; and numbers of them slain; after which, the remainder came forward with their weapons slung round their necks, to implore mercy. Mahmood Shah, wishing to ascertain if they had any knowledge of the principles of the true faith, questioned them as to their religion. They replied, they were men of the desert, without teachers: they knew there was a sky, earth, and water, and fire; that they had no wants but the necessary articles of food; but begged his Majesty to send teachers among them, in order that they might become true Mahomedans.[37] The Kutchies

36. According to ordinary computation, not much less than ninety —.

37. It would appear from the original that the Kutchies were, at this time, Mahomedans. They are no longer so.

are a large, tall, robust race, extremely active, and notoriously good archers. Many of the chiefs of the tribe accompanied the King on his return to Moostufabad, where they imbibed the true principles of the faith; after which, a constant intercourse was kept up between that city and these people. From them the King learned, that beyond the country of Sheevur, in the province called Sind, were four thousand inhabitants of the Jutt and Buloch tribes, who also excelled in the use of the bow to that degree, that it was said of them that they could split a hair with an arrow. These Bulochies, as well as their neighbours the Bulochies of Persia, are of the Sheea persuasion, and live by depredations, sometimes penetrating as far as the Guzerat provinces.

In the end of the same year, Mahmood Shah marched towards Sind. On arriving at Sheevur, he selected a detachment of one thousand cavalry, each trooper leading a second horse with a week's provender; and by making forced marches accross the desert, he reached the frontier of that country. On the evening of his arrival he halted, in order that his men and horses might be effective on the following day, when he attacked the enemy's camp. This delay, however, enabled some persons who were tending their camels to give intimation of this sudden inroad, so that many of the Bulochies made their escape in consequence, and the King found the tents deserted, except by a few persons who had concealed themselves. These were dragged out on being discovered by the soldiery, and put to death; and their camp was delivered up to plunder; after which the King retreated to Moostufabad, having penetrated on this occasion as far as the Indus.

Mahmood Shah's next effort was against the port of Jugut, with a view of making converts of the infidels, an object from which he had been hitherto deterred by the reports he received of the approaches to it. The cause of making the attempt at this time arose from the capture of Mowlana Mahmood Samarkandy by the people of Jugut. This holy man was one of the most learned philosophers of his age. He had spent the greater part of his life in the service of the Bahmuny kings, and being in the decline of life was returning to his native country. Having embarked in a vessel bound to Ormuz, it was driven into the port of Jugut, where the inhabitants, at the instigation of the bramins, boarded the ship, and having taken the Mowlana and family prisoners, plundered him of all he possessed, permitting

him with his two children to go, but detaining his wife.[38] The holy man brought his complaint to Mahmood Shah at Moostufabad; stating that his wife had been seized and detained by Raja Bheem of Jugut; and he persuaded the King that he was bound in duty to attack these infidels, who had thus dared to lay hands on the faithful. Mahmood Shah, having harangued his army, stated the necessity of making another campaign against the infidels of Jugut, to which, although the troops had been sadly harassed during the last three or four years, by severe marches, they cheerfully consented.

The King, after an arduous march, at length arrived before the fort of Jugut, a place filled with infidels, misled by the infernal minded bramins. They were terrified at the appearance of the Mahomedans, and fled in confusion to the island of Bete. The spot on which the King encamped was full of wild beasts, such as lions, leopards, and wolves. Snakes, also, were so numerous, that within the enclosure occupied by the royal tents no fewer than seventy[39] were killed in one day. The army was employed in destroying the temple at Jugut, and in building a mosque in its stead; while measures, which occupied three or four months in completing, were in progress for equipping a fleet to attack the island of Bete. During this time the enemy attacked the King's flotilla on twenty-two different occasions. At length the Mahomedans reached the island, and landed, and having got into the town, put to death a vast number of Rajpoots. Raja Bheem effected his escape in a small boat during the attack, though he was overtaken and made prisoner by some vessels sent in chase; and being put in fetters was carried in the train of the King to Moostufabad, where he was delivered over to the holy man on

38. The pirates of Jugut and Bete have been notorious for many ages, and they are little less infamous, I fear, in the present day than they were several centuries ago. Local circumstances account for their propensity and for their success.

39. This number of venomous reptiles being killed within an area of two or three acres may appear to the European reader incredible; but it will not surprise those persons who have had occasion to move about much in Asia, and may be thus accounted for: When the royal tents, occupying an area of two or three acres of land are pitched, and the spot enclosed by screens, the whole superficies is levelled, and rendered smooth to walk on: in doing this, snakes' nests are frequently turned up, and vast numbers of those venomous reptiles are disturbed.

whose account the war had been undertaken, to whom also his wife and property were restored. The Raja was, subsequently, at the instigation of Mowlana Mahmood, dragged around the city of Ahmudabad, and put to death, in order to deter others from similar conduct.

Mahmood Shah, conceiving his dominions too extensive for his own immediate management, divided Guzerat into separate provinces, appointing governors to each, himself residing at Moostufabad.

Bete and Jugut,—Furhut-ool-Moolk,
Songier,—Imad-ool-Moolk,
Godra,—Kowam-ool-Moolk,
Tanna,—Nizam-ool-Moolk,
Ahmudabad,—Khoodabunda Khan.

The latter individual was the preceptor of the Prince Moozuffur Khan.

A short time after this arrangement took place, Khoodabunda Khan, in conjunction with Ray Rayan, and some other officers, concerted a plan to dethrone Mahmood, and to place his son, the Prince Moozuffur, on his throne, and proposed taking advantage of the Rumzan fast to carry their project into effect. Among others to whom they communicated their plan was Imad-ool-Moolk, governor of Songier, whom they swore to secresy. The force which he commanded being at that time at the seat of his government, he had not the power, even had he wished it, to oppose the conspirators; he therefore pretended to enter into their project, and in the mean time sent messengers to order his troops to Ahmudabad.

On the last day of the Rumzan,[40] Imad-ool-Moolk went to the Prince's court, accompanied by his troops, and attended him, as usual, to read prayers at the Eedgah, and he returned without making any attempt to place him on the throne, as was expected. The conspirators, though disappointed, were overawed by the force of Imad-ool-Moolk, and looked on the plot as having failed. In the mean time, Keisur Khan, an officer of the household, mentioned

40. The month of Rumzan is kept as a fast throughout all Mahomedan countries. On the last day of which, the whole of the people proceed to a building erected for the purpose, and say their prayers. This spot is called the Eedgah, "the Place of Rejoicing," after the month's mourning and fasting. The edifice consists of a stone platform, on one side of which is built a single wall several feet high facing Mecca.

the affair privately to the King, who proceeded forthwith to Gogo, and embarking in a vessel sailed to Cambay. On his arrival there, he was met by most of the confederates, who came to welcome him. On the first court-day, in order to discover how they were disposed towards him, he addressed his courtiers, saying, that as his son Moozuffur had now arrived at years of discretion, and as he understood that some of the nobles looked up to the Prince in preference to him, he had come to the resolution of abdicating the throne in the Prince's favour, and proceeding to Mecca to pay his devotions at the holy shrine. Imad-ool-Moolk of Songier entreated the King, in the first place, to proceed to Ahmudabad. This observation from Imad-ool-Moolk at once convinced him that he had nothing to apprehend from that quarter, he therefore marched to Ahmudabad, declaring, that, after his arrival, he would not eat till the nobles consented to his visiting Mecca. The chiefs, having by this time discovered that the King only wanted to try their fidelity, forbore to urge him; and Nizam-ool-Moolk recommended him to proceed and subdue the fort of Champanere, from the plunder of which the expenses of the pilgrimage might be defrayed. The King replied, "Good willing, let it be even so." For some days after he avoided conversing with Imad-ool-Moolk, whom he knew to be loyal; but although acquainted with the whole plot, he had yet communicated nothing to the King. An explanation, however, at length took place, when the King disgraced the minister Khoodabunda Khan, and caused the person employed in the meanest office of his household to be called by his name, in order to show that the minister was worthy of no higher station. Mahmood Shah, after remaining for some time at Ahmudabad, proceeded to Puttun, from whence he deputed Imad-ool-Moolk and Keisur Khan to levy tribute on the rajas of Julwara and Aboogur. During the first march, while encamped at the shrine of Sheikh Hajy, Mujahid Khan, the son of the late degraded minister, took the opportunity of revenging himself on Keisur Khan, who had given the first information of his father's defection, and entering his tent at night, put that nobleman to death. The King's suspicions of the murder fell first on Ajdud Khan, who was known to be hostile to Keisur Khan, and he was placed in fetters; but the real murderer and his accomplices having fled from camp the next night, the King caused Khoodabunda Khan to be imprisoned, and Ajdur Khan

to be released. The King now returned to Ahmudabad, and then proceeded to Moostufabad, where he remained for some years. In the year A.H. 887 (A.D. 1482), he prepared an army to move towards Champanere; but about that period, hearing that the Bulsar pirates had gained such an ascendency at sea as to threaten the invasion of his dominions, and had already intercepted the trade, he collected a fleet, on board of which he embarked a force consisting of gunners, musketeers,[41] and archers, with which he sailed from Cambay. After some days the fleet fell in with the enemy and gave chase; a running fight was sustained for some hours, during which several of the piratical vessels were captured. The fleet returned to Cambay, and the King repaired to Ahmudabad.

During this year, in consequence of an unusual drought, famine prevailed in Guzerat, of which many thousands of inhabitants perished. On the 1st of Zeekad, A.H. 887 (Dec. 3, A.D. 1482), the King commenced his preparations for marching against Champanere. This fortress,[42] situate on a high hill, was surrounded by strong works of solid masonry, and was in possession of Beny Ray, a chief of the Rajpoot tribe. It is so ancient that no tradition even exists of the time of its foundation. The princes of Champanere had possessed the government from time immemorial; and sixty thousand Rajpoots formed the army of the Raja, who were devoted to his person with an enthusiastic attachment. It is by no means, therefore, to be wondered at, that this fort had not yet been subdued, or that its rulers had never bent their necks to the Mahomedan yoke.[43]

When the Ray heard of the determination of Mahmood Shah, he began to lay waste the country contiguous to Rusoolabad, and put to death many of the faithful. On the King's

41. This is the first mention of artillery and musketry in the Guzerat history. They were probably introduced by the Arabs and Turks from the Red Sea and Gulf of Persia.

42. It is now called Pawrungur, or the Stormy Rock, owing, it is said, to the violent winds which prevail on its summit. The appellation may be modern, but it seems to have superseded that of the Mahomedan historian.

43. The Raja of Champanere was a Chowhan by descent, of the tribe of Keechy, and nearly allied to the head of the family who then occupied Gagrone as his capital; but on being dispossessed by the race of Hara, he built the fort of Ragoghur-Tod.

arrival at Baroda, repenting of his conduct, the Ray sent ambassadors to solicit forgiveness; but Mahmood Shah, enraged at the devastation committed on Rusoolabad, refused to listen to any accommodation.

It was in the beginning of the year A.H. 888 (A.D. 1483), before all the preparations were ready, that Taj Khan, Beiram Khan, Etibar Khan and Azd-ool-Moolk, were sent in advance, and arrived at the foot of the hill on the 7th of Suffur, A.H. 888 (March 17, A.D. 1483). After this the enemy repeatedly attacked these troops without much effect, till at length the King having reached the fort, he encamped at Girnary on the Malwa road. Beny Ray deputed ambassadors, offering to pay two elephant loads of gold if Mahmood Shah would desist from his purpose; but finding neither his entreaties nor offers of any avail, he collected his troops, consisting of sixty thousand men, beside the auxiliaries furnished by the neighbouring rajas. With these troop the Rajpoots made frequent attacks on the besiegers; till at length they compelled them too raise the siege; and the Raja drew up his army to engage the King, who now appeared at the head of his forces. The action which ensued was sanguinary, and obstinately contested on both sides: and the Hindoos, though repulsed, retreated in good order, with a compact body of twelve thousand men. The King having followed the enemy to the foot of the hill-fort, renewed his disposition for the prosecution of the siege, and returned in person to Girnary. Shortly after, a convoy of provisions and stores, under Syud Mudun Lung, was attacked by the Rajpoots, and the whole convoy seized. In consequence of this, the King repaired to the camp, and superintended in person the operations of the siege, both in constructing the trenches and carrying on mines. The flower of the Rajpoot army had been destroyed in the late action; and the Raja, beginning to despair of saving his capital, or of appeasing Mahmood's rage, sent his minister Shew Ray to Mando, promising Sooltan Gheias-ood-Deen Khiljy of Malwa to pay him a lack of tunkas of silver for every march he should make in coming to his assistance. Gheias-ood-Deen assembled his army for this purpose at the town of Nalcha; when Mahmood Shah, leaving orders for the continuation of the siege, marched to attack him. On arriving at D'har, Mahmood Shah heard that Sooltan Gheias-ood-Deen, on being reproached by his nobles and

officers for entertaining an intention of marching to the assistance of an infidel, had disbanded his army and returned to Mando. Mahmood Shah, in consequence, countermarched to Champanere, and caused a mosque to be built in the lines, in order to convince his troops that it was his resolution not to desist from the siege of the fort till it was reduced. The mines were now carried on with increased exertion, and the approaches brought within a short distance, so much so that the besiegers discovered that the Rajpoots left the place through a sally-port every morning in order to perform their ablutions. The King, taking advantage of this circumstance, ordered a party on the morning of the 2d of Zeekad, A.H. 889 (Nov. 17, A.D. 1484), to be close to the walls at daylight, and as the besieged quitted them, many of the Mahomedans rushed into the place, and penetrated as far as the second gate, while Mullik Eiaz Sooltany,[44] with a small party, escaladed the western wall, where a breach had been made a few days before by one of the batteries, and got possession of the main gate. The Rajpoots seeing no chance of escape, and finding that the King rejected all overtures for surrender, made a funeral pile within the walls, and having brought their property, their wives, and their children, set fire to it, and consumed them to ashes; after which, they resolutely awaited the storm. Meanwhile they made every effort to expel Mullik Eiaz Sooltany from the position he had gained but a shell[45] falling on the palace of the Raja, it was deemed unlucky. Mahmood Shah, who was ready in the lines, sent more troops to support Mullik Eiaz, who opened the gates, and admitted the Mahomedans. With this reinforcement the King arrived in person; and having planted the colours on the works, obtained entire possession of the ramparts. The Hindoos, thus situated, collected in a body, and running to some water near the spot, bathed, with their naked swords and spears in their hands, and then rushed on the Mahomedans. The Rajpoots were for the most part killed in this assault, though the victors also suffered severely, both in killed and wounded.

44. This is the celebrated admiral who engaged the Portuguese fleet off Choul, and who commanded for many years at Diu.

45. The word is *hooka*. The use of shells at this early period is remarkable, although it is mentioned that the Moslems employed *grenadoes* in their ships at the time the Portuguese reached India.

The Raja Beny Ray, and his prime minister Dongursy, were both wounded, and fell into the hands of the King's troops.

After this victory, Mahmood Shah caused public prayers to be read, and directed the wounds of the prisoners to be attended to. Having sent for Beny Ray, he asked him what could induce him to hold out so long, before so large a force. The Ray replied, with undaunted firmness, "I hold this territory by hereditary right, and being descended from a line of noble ancestors, have been taught to respect that name which they handed down to me. I determined, therefore, not to act in way so as to disgrace my family." Mahmood, admiring this spirited and manly conduct, ordered every attention to be paid to the Raja's wants and comforts.

During the time the King was detained by his sick and wounded at Champanere, he laid the foundation of the city of Mahmoodabad, and also of a beautiful mosque, in which was a pulpit with this sentence inscribed upon it commemorating the date of its completion :—

خطبه و منبر

"Prayers and the pulpit."

Beny Ray having recovered from his wounds, the King used every effort to persuade both him and his minister to embrace the Mahomedan faith. They, however, persisted in refusing, swearing that they preferred death to abjuring their religion. Mahmood Shah was in hopes of shaking their constancy by confining them separately, and treating them harshly. This conduct only tended to support their resolution, till at length the King, at the instigation of some holy men about his person, ordered them to be put to death.

At this period, he caused the city of Ahmudabad to be surrounded by a wall and bastions; and on its completion had the following sentence, commemorative of the date of that event, inscribed on one face of the fortification :—

من دخله كان امنا

"Whosoever is within is safe."

In the year A.H. 892 (A.D. 1486), some merchants travelling from Dehly with horses for Guzerat were plundered in passing

the territories of a Hindoo chief.[46] The King immediately sent a person to demand restitution of the property; and such was the awe Mahmood Shah had inspired, that the merchants were not only well reimbursed, but the messenger was handsomely entertained, and magnificent presents sent back with him to the King. In the year A.H. 900 (A.D. 1494), one Bahadur Geelany, an officer of the Deccan government, having revolted from his master, collected a force consisting of from ten to twelve thousand men, and also a fleet, with which he not only seized on the ports of Goa and Dabul, but went so far as to lay hands on some Guzerat vessels trading along the coast. He afterwards landed, and took possession of the island of Mahim,[47] giving up the town to plunder. On information of this event, the admiral, Sufdur-ool-Moolk, was sent to Mahim by sea, and Kowam-ool-Moolk marched with a force by land. The fleet experienced a heavy gale off the port, in which most of the vessels were stranded; on which occasion the enemy came down to the beach, and massacred the crews as they were washed ashore. The admiral himself was taken prisoner, and all the fleet fell into the enemy's hands. Kowam-ool-Moolk hearing of this disaster, on his arrival near Mahim, sent a messenger to the King, and halted till further orders. Mahmood Shah now deputed an envoy to the King of the Deccan, complaining of the outrage committed by Bahadur Geelany: and that monarch marching against the rebel (notwithstanding a disaffection of the nobles of his court), seized[48] his person, and caused him to be executed; and Sufdur-ool-Moolk, the Guzerat admiral, was released from prison, and the fleet of the late Bahadur Geelany, which fell into the hands of the King of the Deccan, was delivered over to the admiral's charge. After the necessary equipments, Sufdur-ool-Moolk sailed from Mahim to the northward, taking with him some valuable presents from the King of the Deccan, and also a letter, requesting the interference of Mahmood Shah with the officers of his army, and the nobles of his court, who were in a state of actual revolt. Mahmood Shah, perceiving that

46. The name and country of this chief is omitted in the original.

47. Bombay.

48. Bahadur Geelany was killed in action, fighting against a detachment of the Deccan army in the vicinity of Kolapoor. Vide vol. ii. p. 334.

matters had gone too far to be enabled to render him any aid, declined engaging in the affairs of his court.

In the year A.H. 901 (A.D. 1495), Mahmood Shah marched towards the countries of Wagur and Idur, from the rajas of which places he exacted large offerings, and returned laden with treasure to Mahomedabad Champanere. Three years afterwards (A.H. 904, A.D. 1498), having heard that Aluf Khan had raised the standard of revolt, the King ordered Sheikh Burra Deccany, the Kazy-ool-Koozat[49] of Ahmudabad, to march against him; upon which the rebel fled to Malwa, where he shortly afterwards died by poison. On the following year (A.H. 905, A.D. 1499), Adil Khan Farooky, ruler of Kandeish, following the example of Aluf Khan and the officers of the Deccan, raised the standard of revolt, and refused to pay the usual tribute. Sheikh Burra was also sent against him; but Adil Khan coming in person to Mahomedabad Champanere, threw himself on the King's mercy, bringing with him the arrears of tribute, as a peace offering. Some historians state that Mahmood Shah marched in person against Adil Khan, and having arrived on the river Tapty, received his submission there.[50]

About this period Mullik Ashruf,[51] the governor of Dowlutabad, wrote to Mahmood Shah, stating that he had possession of that strong fortress, and was besieged by the Deccan army under Ahmud Nizam Shah Bheiry; offering, at the same time, if the Guzerat monarch would march to his assistance, to give him possession, and hold it as his tributary. Mahmood Shah, in consequence, marched to the south, and Ahmud Nizam Shah raised the siege, and retreated to Ambur. The King of Guzerat did not halt till he reached Dowlutabad; where having received handsome presents from Mullik Ashruf, he returned to Mahomedabad Champanere.

In the year A.H. 906 (A.D. 1500), the King having discovered a conspiracy among some of the nobles of Ahmudabad, for the

49. Chief judge.

50. It is difficult to fancy a more wanton exertion of power than that of the Mahomedan King of Guzerat demanding tribute from the independent Mahomedan principality of Kandeish, whose rulers derived their titles and authority from the very same sovereign as did the kings of Guzerat.

51. The history of Mullik Ashruf is fully detailed in that of the Nizam Shahy kings of Ahmudnuggur. Vide vol. iii p. 125.

purpose of dethroning him, went thither, and by strong measures dictated by policy as well as by necessity, removed some from their offices, and caused others to be executed.

In the year A.H. 913 (A.D. 1507), the infidel Europeans,[52] who had of late years usurped the dominion of the ocean, endeavoured to occupy for themselves some port on the Guzerat coast, on which they wished to settle; and the Grand Seignior of Constantinople, desireous of opposing this measure, deputed Ameer Hossein[53] with a flet from the Red Sea to engage them in this quarter. Ameer Hoossein arrived off the Guzerat coast in this year; and Mahmood Shah, also, anxious to aid in the expulsion of these strangers, sailed with a fleet first to Daman, and then to Mahim. On his arrival at the former port, he ordered Mullik Eiaz Sooltany, the Ameer-ool-Omra, with a large fleet, to sail from Diu to attack the enemy in concert with the Turkish fleet, whose ships were of a larger description than those of Guzerat.[54]

The combined fleets fell in with the Portuguese off the port of Choul, where an engagement took place, in which the flag-ship of the enemy (valued at a crore of rupees[55]) was sunk, and every man on board perished. Mullik Eiaz, having thus defeated the Portuguese fleet, returned victoriously; for "although four hundred Turks were honoured with the crown of martyrdom, no fewer than three thousand or four thousand Portuguese infidels were, at the same time, sent to the infernal regions."[56] After this event, the King having placed the Guzerat ports in security from

52. This is the first mention made of the Portuguese in the Guzerat history.

53. This is the same person the Portuguese call Meer Hashim.

54. The Portuguese historian states, that the Turks in Arabia, having no means of constructing ships there, procured timber to be sent from the mountains of Dalmatia to Alexandria, whence it was conveyed to Cairo, and over the desert of Suez on camels. The fleet consisted of twelve sail, and carried one thousand five hundred men, under the command of Ameer Hoossein, who, with Mullik Eiaz, the admiral of Guzerat, united and attacked the Portuguese in Choul harbour; on which occasion the latter took two of the Turkish vessels, and lost one of their own, which was blown up. Faria-e-Souza, tome i. part ii. chap. ii.

55. A million pounds sterling. This affords some notion of the estimation in which they held the European vessels.

56. Faria-e-Souza states the Portuguese to have lost eighty-one men, and estimates the enemy's loss at six hundred.

the enemy's attacks, returned to Mahomedabad Champanere. Shortly after, news arrived that Dawood Khan Farooky, ruler of Kandeish, was dead, and that a revolution had taken place in that country. Adil Khan Farooky (the grandson of Mahmood Shah) deputed a person to the King, asserting his right to the government, and claiming assistance from him on the score of relationship. In the year A.H. 913 (A.D. 1507), therefore, Mahmood Shah marched with a small force towards Aseer. On the road thither he halted to celebrate the Rumzan at the town of Chikly, on the banks of the Nerbudda; where he learned that Alum Khan Farooky, being invited by one Hissam-ood-Deen of Kandeish, and supported by Ahmud Nizam Shah Bheiry, and Imad-ool-Moolk ruler of Berar, had assumed the reins of government in Aseer. On Mahmood Shah reaching Talnere, he was met by Adil Khan, and thence he sent a Guzerat detachment in advance to Boorhanpoor. In consequence of which, the united forces of Berar and Ahmudnuggur retreated, and Adil Khan was placed at the head of the government. Larun Khan Khiljy, one of the pretenders to Kandeish, was gratified by receiving the title of Khan Jehan; and he obtained the district of Ahwas in jageer. Mahmood Shah, on this occasion, conferred titles also on many other of the Aseer officers attached to Adil Khan, and left a body of Guzerat troops to support his authority. In order to deter Hissam-ood-Deen from making any future attempt on the government, he conferred on him the town of Dhoor, in the district of Sooltanpoor. Notwithstanding these arrangements, internal commotions occurred at Aseer during the following year, which were amicably adjusted through the agency of Mahomood Shah, who sent his own son to carry into effect his orders, and to confirm the authority of Adil Khan.

It is worthy of remark, that an embassy, accompanied by valuable presents, was sent on the following year (A.H. 915, A.D. 1509) from Sikundur Lody of Dehly to Mahmood Shah of Guzerat, thereby acknowledging, for the first time, the independence of that kingdom.[57] In the latter end of the same year, Mahmood Shah made a tour of his kingdom; proceeding, first to Nehrwala

57. The Guzerat historian, who prides himself much on this event, seems to forget that the empire of Dehly had also changed its master, and that the power of the Toghluks had passed into the hands of the Afghans since the establishment of the kings of Guzerat.

Puttun, where he solicited the prayers of the holy men dwelling in that place; and subsequently to Ahmudabad, when he paid his devotion at the shrine of Sheikh Ahmud Geesoo-Duraz, and returned thence to Mahomedabad Champanere; where falling dangerously ill, he sent for his son the Prince Moozuffur, the heir apparent, from Baroda. Shortly afterwards, recovering sufficiently to transact business, he permitted him to return to his government; but in a few weeks after, having a relapse of his complaint, he again sent for the Prince. At this period, Yadgar Beg Kuzilbash[58] arrived as ambassador from Shah Ismael, King of Persia; but before he could obtain an audience, Mahmood Shah died, on the 2d of Rumzan, A.H. 917 (Nov. 23, A.D. 1511), in the seventieth year of his age, and the fifty-fifth of his reign.[59]

He was surnamed Begra, or Be Gurra. Historians differ with regard to the origin of this appellation : some assert it was given to him because bègra signifies curled, as the horns of a cow, alluding to the shape which his mustachios assumed.

Shah Jumal-ood-Deen Hoossein, however, in his history, gives his opinion in these words :— "The word bè, in the Guzeratty language, signifies two, and gurra a hill-fort, from whence the name Bè Gurra, derived from Mahmood Shah having reduced two hill-forts on the opposite sides of his dominions, before deemed impregnable; viz. Girnal on the west, and Champanere on the east." This derivation appears to me sufficiently rational and probable.

MOOZUFFUR SHAH II.

MAHMOOD SHAH was succeeded by his son Moozuffur, who was born on Thursday, the 20th of Shuval, A.H. 875, (10th April, 1470), and ascended the throne in the forty-first year of his age; immediately after which he nominated Mullik Khoosh Kuddum, entitled Imad-ool-Moolk, and Mullik Rusheed, entitled Khodawund Khan, his two ministers. On the following month, Yadgar Beg, the Persian ambassador, reached the capital, and all the

58. Kuzilbash, or Red-head, is an appellation given to the Toorks settled in Persia, owing to their wearing red caps. Vide p. 48.

59. He is buried at Surkech, near Ahmudabad, in the shrine of Sheikh Ahmud Kutloo.

principal officers and heads of departments were deputed to meet him at some distance from the city, in order to welcome him in the King's name, and to escort him to a handsome palace fitted up for his reception. At his first audience, the ambassador delivered his credentials and some of the rarities of Persia, when he and the rest of his suite were honoured with robes.

Sometime afterwards the King went to Baroda, the name of which town he caused to be changed to Dowlatabad.[60] Upon his arrival there, he found Sahib Khan[61] (a prince of the blood-royal of Malwa), who had fled from the persecution of his brother. Moozuffur Shah received him with attention, and treated him with the consideration due to his rank. The King then proceeding to Mahomedabad Champanere, directed Keisur Khan to go to Dohud, in order to ascertain the state of affairs in Malwa. This measure was adopted previously to sending any troops in aid of the fugitive prince, Shaib Khan, whose impatience he restrained by telling him that at present the rains had set in, and it would be imprudent to commence a campaign; but that when the season was more favourable he would, God willing, restore to him his just rights.

During his residence at court, Sahib Khan unfortunately contracted a close intimacy with the Persian ambassador, who, together with his suite, had become extremely obnoxious to all classes, and were called by the inhabitants Soorkh Koolla, in allusion to the name of their tribe, Kuzilbash signifying in the Toorky language Red-head. The result of this intimacy, on the part of Sahib Khan, at length ended in a scuffle between the Kuzilbashes and his people in the ambassador's palace. Swords were drawn on both sides; and the Indians being routed, the Kuzilbashes pursued them into the street armed with bows and arrows, and wounded several persons wholly unconnected with the affray. A rumour immediately spread through the town that the Toorkmans (that is to say, the Kuzilbashes), had seized the person of Sahib Khan, and it was some time before peace was restored. The Malwa prince, who felt himself to blame, was so ashamed of his conduct, that he quitted the court without taking leave, went to Aseer and Boorhanpoor, and ultimately to Berar, where he

60. It is no longer known by the latter appellation.

61. The adventures of Sahib Khan will be found in the Malwa history.

solicited the assistance of Imad-ool-Moolk. A more full account of Sahib Khan's adventures will be found in the Malwa history.

The departure of Sahib Khan was followed by intelligence that the Poorby Rajpoots had completely defeated Sooltan Mahmood Khiljy of Malwa, an event which induced the King to go to Godra in order to make arrangements for a campaign in Malwa. Ein-ool-Moolk, governor of Puttun, was directed to bring his division to Ahmudabad, when Bheem Ray of Idur, taking advantage of his absence, plundered and laid waste the surrounding country as far as the Saburmutty. In consequence of this proceeding, Ein-ool-Moolk was ordered to proceed to Mahrasa, where he was attacked and defeated by the Idur Raja; and Abdool Mullik, an officer of distinction, with two hundred men, were left dead on the field.

The King, hearing of this disaster, instantly marched towards Idur. On reaching Mahrasa he caused the whole of the Idur district to be laid waste. Bheem Ray took refuge in the Beesulnuggur mountains; but the garrison of Idur, consisting of only ten Rajpoots, defended it against the whole of the King's army with obstinacy; they were, however, eventually put to death on the capture of the place; and the temples, palaces, and garden houses, were levelled with the dust. Meanwhile the Ray deputed one Mudun Gopal, a bramin, as envoy to the King; stating that Ein-ool-Moolk had wantonly devastated his country, and that the action which had been fought occurred in consequence of his outrages. Bheem Ray expressed his regret at the circumstance, and sent one hundred horses and two hundred thousand tunkas, as an offering, which, in consideration of the projected campaign in Malwa, the King accepted, and overlooking the conduct of Ray Bheem, gave the money to Ein-ool-Moolk to raise troops, with orders to join the army. On the King's return to Godra, having left his son Sikundur Khan in charge of Mahomedabad Champanere, he marched to Dohud, from whence he directed Keisur Khan to occupy the town of Dydla; but having heard there was good hunting ground in the vicinity of D'har, he left the army under Kowam-ool-Moolk, and proceeded, with an escort of two thousand cavalry and one hundred and fifty elephants, to that place, where he was for some time engaged in the amusement of the chase. At this period, Nizam-ool-Moolk, who had been sent with a foraging party to Nalcha, was attacked by a body

of Poorby Rajpoots of Malwa, but succeeded in repulsing them without loss. Intelligence was now received, which compelled the King to return to Guzerat; and this partial skirmish led to no other event. The information alluded to was that of the death of Bheem Ray of Idur, who had been succeeded by his son Bharmul; but the latter was shortly afterwards deposed by Rana Sanka[62] of Chittoor, who placed his son-in-law Raymul, the son of Soorijmul, at the head of the government. In the year A.H. 921 (A.D. 1515), Bharmul deputed persons to wait on Moozuffur Shah, soliciting his aid; and the King ordered Nizam-ool-Moolk, with a detachment, to restore to him the country of Idur. Having succeeded in this object, Nizam-ool-Moolk took upon himself to pursue Raymul the usurper into the Beesulnuggur territory, where an action ensued, in which the Mahomedan general was defeated, and many of his best officers and soldiers slain. The King, who had by this time returned to Ahmudabad, reproved Nizam-ool-Moolk severely for acting beyond his instructions, and recalled him; but on his arrival in the King's camp he was appointed governor of Ahmudnuggur.

In the year A.H. 923 (A.D. 1517), Raymul again appeared in the Idur district, and Zeheer-ool-Moolk marched against him, but was killed at the head of the cavalry; on which occasion two hundred and seven men fell, and the Guzeratties were defeated. Mullik Noosrut-ool-Moolk was now directed to march to Beesulnuggur, and to plunder and lay waste the whole of that country, which the King, in his orders, calls "the receptacle of renegadoes, and the asylum of rebels."

In the same year, Sheikh Humeed of Bhilsa, and Hubeeb Khan the Kazy of Choly Meheswur,[63] fled from the persecution of the Rajpoots, and arrived at the Guzerat court. They had also succeeded in expelling the King of Malwa from his capital, and had obliged him to seek safety in Dohud,[64] where he was received by the governor, who made a representation to court, reporting the circumstance. Moozuffur Shah immediately sent

62. Sanga, and not Sanka, is the true pronunciation; but as the same person is mentioned (vol. ii.) in the histories of Babur and Hoomayoon, and the name is there spelled Sanka, it has not been altered in this place.

63. Properly Maha-Iswur.

64. This town is considered the boundary between Malwa and Guzerat.

to the King of Malwa the white canopy and scarlet pavilion, and a respectable body of troops, with which he marched against the Rajpoots. Moozuffur Shah soon followed with his own army, and defeated the Hindoos in several actions, but not without considerable bloodshed on both sides. The Rajpoot chief, Bhew Ray, was at length compelled to take refuge in the fort of Mando, wherein he was closely besieged.

At this period Medny Ray, the late minister of the King of Malwa, wrote a letter to his son Bhew Ray, desiring him to hold out in the fort for one month only, by which time Rana Sanka of Chittoor would be able to collect the Marwar Rajpoots, and march to his assistance. Upon this Bhew Ray made overtures to the King; and stipulated, that if he would raise the siege for one month (during which period all the Rajpoot women and children would be enabled to quit the fort), the place should be evacuated, when he would submit himself to the King's mercy. Although Moozuffur Shah placed little reliance on the promises of this perfidious infidel, he withdrew his army six miles from the place, where he remained twenty days; a measure he adopted out of consideration for the royal family of Malwa, who were still in the fort, hoping to save them, by obtaining the place by capitulation. On observing, however, that elephants were frequently passing towards the fort, the King became suspicious of treachery, more particularly as he heard that Rana Sanka of Chittoor had arrived, with a large force, within a few miles of Oojein. In this state of affairs, Moozuffur Shah directed Adil Khan, the ruler of Kandeish (who had lately joined the army), accompanied by Kowam-ool-Moolk and a Guzerat force, to march against the Rana of Chittoor, while the King himself again proceeded to invest Mando. From that day the Mahomedans made false attacks four nights successively, as if they intended to escalade; a manoeuvre which succeeded in wearing out the garrison with fatigue, and on the fifth night, ladders being applied, Mando fell, but not without much slaughter; for the Rajpoots, finding that their enemies had succeeded in gaining a footing on the ramparts, according to custom, set fire to their property, their women, and children, and collecting in bodies, charged the assailants with fury. On this occasion, no fewer than nineteen thousand Rajpoots lost their lives.

After the fall of Mando, Sooltan Mahmood asked what was to be his fate; on which the King of Guzerat, with a magnanimity

and generousity which along belongs to the brave, said, "It is true I have fought hard, but I have fought for you; and I am happy to be now enabled not only to confirm to you the white canopy and scarlet pavilion, but to restore you to the capital of your kingdom, which I trust God will long preserve to you.'

On the following day, Moozuffur Shah marched against Rana Sanka, who received the information of the fall of Mando from one of the Rajpoot officers who had been wounded in the assault, and had made his escape. This man was so agitated in describing the scene he had witnessed, that his wounds burst during the relation, and he bled to death in open durbar. On hearing of the approach of Moozuffur Shah, Rana Sanka retreated to Chittoor; and Adil Khan Farooky, with a small body of light cavalry, went in pursuit. He succeeded in daily cutting off some of the Rajpoot stragglers, but did not overtake the Rana before he received orders of recall from Moozuffur Shah.

At this time, Sooltan Mahmood of Malwa invited the King to a grand entertainment at Mando, whither he repaired, attended by the Princes Bahadur Khan and Luteef Khan, as also by Adil Khan Farooky. When the King of Guzerat arrived, his host treated him in every respect as his superior, seating him upon the throne of Malwa, and standing himseif at the foot of it. So far was this humility carried, that the King of Malwa waited on Moozuffur Shah at the entertainment, in the capacity of a menial servant. Magnificent presents were then offered to him and to his sons; after which, Moozuffur Shah, having left Mando, was accompanied by Sooltan Mahmood Khiljy as far as D'har, when the King wished Sooltan Mahmood to return, and ordered Asuf Khan, with two thousand cavalry, to remain with him in Malwa as an auxiliary force. Sooltan Mahmood however, persisted in accompanying Moozuffur Shah as far as Dydla, whence he repaired to Mando, and Moozuffur Shah proceeded to Champanere.

Scarcely had the King of Guzerat reached his capital, when re received intelligence that Raymul, having sallied from the Beesulnuggur hills, had devastated the country of Puttun, and sacked the town of Gilwara but that he had been compelled to fall back again by Mullik Noosrut-ool-Moolk, who commanded at Idur. This information determined the King to make arrangements for seizing the person of Raymul after the rains; and in the year A.H. 925 (A.D. 1519) he marched towards Beesulnuggur,

and laid waste the country, but returned to Mahomedabad Champanere without having gained any other object.

Shortly after his arrival, news were brought that Sooltan Mahmood Khiljy, accompanied by the Guzerat auxiliaries under Asuf Khan, having attacked the combined forces of Medny Ray and Rana Sanka, had sustained a defeat, and that many valuable officers of the Malwa forces had been killed. Among the Guzeratties, the son of Asuf Khan lost his life, Sooltan Mahmood himself was severely wounded, and fell into the enemy's hands, and Rana Sanka proceeded to Mando. Moozuffur Shah lost no time in sending reinforcements to the remainder of the Malwa army. At this time, Noosrut-ool-Moolk was removed from the government of Idur, and Moobariz-ool-Moolk nominated to that office. Shortly after his arrival at Idur, some person ventured to extol the bravery of Rana Sanka,[65] on which the governor was much incensed, and an altercation ensued. Moobariz-ool-Moolk, to show the contempt he had for the Rana, caused a common cur[66] to be tied up at the fort-gate, directing it to be called Rana Sanka. The Rana, hearing of this insult, was so incensed, that he immediately marched towards Idur, and pillaged the country as far as Serohy.

The King, having left Kowam-ool Moolk at Ahmudabad to act against the Girasia chiefs in that vicinity, marched to Champanere on his way to Malwa. Rana Sanka arrived at Bagry, where he was joined by the raja of that province, who owed allegiance to the crown of Guzerat. Both the Hindoo princes proceeded to Dongurpoor, when Moorbariz-ool-Moolk thought it necessary to write to court for reinforcements. Some individuals about the King inimical to Moobariz-ool-Moolk represented that he had wantonly drawn upon himself the vengeance of

65. It will be recollected he had just defeated the King of Malwa and the Guzerat auxiliary troops, a subject on which the Guzerat officers would naturally be very sore.

66. This mode of evincing contempt is not confined to the Mahomedans. Many persons must recollect the time when it was the custom to call black dogs in England by the name of Tippoo. The practice in the East, however, is particularly offensive. An officer in a high diplomatic situation with Lord Lake's army in the field,' in 1805, discovered, by accident, that he had given great offence to his Mahomedan friends by calling a young lioness Fatima, the name of the daughter of their prophet, which he instantly changed; a compliment that, no doubt, smoothed his future diplomatic communications.

Rana Sanka, and that he was now so alarmed as to apply for aid even before he was attacked. The King in consequence suspended the march of any troops to assist him till after the rains; and Moobariz-ool-Moolk, having called a council of war, evacuated Idur, and retreated to Ahmudnuggur. On the next day Rana Sanka arrived, and was joined by several Girasia chiefs who had fled from Kowam-ool-Moolk. These assured him that Moobariz-ool-Moolk was not a person likely to fly without opposition; but that his own opinion had been overruled by his officers, who recommended him to fall back on Ahmudnuggur, where he expected to obtain reinforcements; on which the Rana marched towards that place. Moobariz-ool-Moolk, hearing that he was in pursuit, and had sworn he would not take rest till his horse drank out of the ditch of Ahmudnuggur, resolved to make a desperate stand, and, undaunted by the superiority of the enemy's numbers, drew his small party out in front of the walls of the town, on the opposite bank of the river. The Rana's army, which exceeded that of the Mahomedans as ten to one, not only received the Guzeratties with great steadiness, but charged in the most gallant manner. Assud Khan and many other officers of distinction were killed; and Sufdur Khan and Moobariz-ool-Moolk being severely wounded, the King's army was compelled to retreat to Ahmudabad, leaving Rana Sanka to plunder the surrounding country. At Burnuggur, the Rana finding the inhabitants to be chiefly bramins, exempted them from pecuniary exactions. The Rana then proceeded to Beesulnuggur, where he was gallantly opposed by the governor, Mullik Hatim, who lost his life in its defence. Having thus successfully plundered the the country, the Rana returned, unopposed, to Chittoor. The King, during this time, was on the Malwa frontier; but Kowam-ool-Moolk, the viceroy of Guzerat, placed a respectable force at the disposal of Moobariz-ool-Moolk, and enabled him to return to Ahmudnuggur. On the march thither, he was opposed by a body of Kolies and Girasias from the Idur district, who were defeated, and sixty-one Girasias killed; but on his arrival at Ahmudnuggur, finding the country destitute of provisions and inhabitants, owing to the late ravages, he was compelled to fall back on Puranty. The King, hearing of these circumstances, directed Imad-ool-Moolk and Keisur Khan to proceed to Ahmudnuggar; but the famine which prevailed obliged them also to retreat. Determined, however, not to allow Ahmudnuggur to

be abandoned, the King remanded them back at all hazards during the rains, resolving after that season to march in person against Rana Sanka.

Mullik Eiaz Sooltany, originally a slave born in the King's family, offered to march with the Surat division, consisting of twenty thousand horse and a quantity of artillery and rockets, to reduce Rana Sanka; representing that it was beneath the King's dignity to proceed in person against a common marauder. The King gave no answer; but in the month of Mohurrum, in the year A.H. 927 (Dec., A.D. 1520), marched to Ahmudnuggur, where he directed his army to assemble. Mullik Eiaz now repeating his request, the Guzerat army, composed of one hundred thousand cavalry and one hundred elephants, were placed under his orders, of which the reserve, consisting of twenty thousand men, followed, under the command of Kowam-ool-Moolk. On the arrival of the army at Mahrasa, Taj Khan and Nizam-ool-Moolk also joined with their divisions. Mullik Eiaz representing that so large a force was quite unnecessary, left behind him nearly the whole of the elephants, and the greater part of the cavalry, which had lately joined. Sufdur Khan, in command of the advance, plundered the district of Mahrasa on his route, putting many Rajpoots to death, and also taking many prisoners; and Mullik Eiaz, proceeding by Dongurpoor and Banswala, reduced those towns to ashes, and thence marched on to Chittoor. One day Mullik Shooja-ool-Moolk and Sufdur Khan, the officers in advance, obtained intimation that Oody Sing the Ray of Poloh, and Oogur Sein Poorby, were lying in wait at the back of some hills, near which they were encamped, intending to make a night-attack upon them. The Guzerat officers anticipated the measure, and leaving their tents standing, fell upon the Rajpoots with only two hundred men; on which occasion the Rajpoots were defeated with the loss of eighty men killed, and Oogur Sein Poorby was severely wounded. Mullik Eiaz, hearing of the attack, ordered the line under arms, and galloped towards the scene of action; but he was too late to witness even the defeat. The success of the Mahomedans had been complete; and Mullik Eiaz publicly applauded the gallantry of this daring little party. On the following day Kowam-ool-Moolk was ordered to pursue the fugitives; and although he did not come up with them, he so laid waste the country of Banswala that he did not leave even a blade of grass. Mullik Eiaz now marched on to the attack

of Mundsoor, while Rana Sanka also moved in the same direction, and encamped within twelve coss.[67] Here Rana Sanka proposed sending an envoy to the King, consenting, as a preliminary, to acknowledge fealty to the crown of Guzerat; connected with this overture, however, there were certain conditions so extravagant that Mullik Eiaz determined to prosecute the seize of Mundsoor. The attack was in much forwardness, and the mines in progress, when an officer arrived in camp, stating that Sooltan Mahmood, King of Malwa, was in full march to co-operate with the Guzerat army; shortly after which he arrived. In a very few days Kowam-ool-Moolk had brought the approaches so close as to be capable of effecting a breach; but Mullik Eiaz, jealous lest the former should gain all the credit of the siege, ordered him back to the lines, a circumstance which gave general offence in the army. On the following morning, Moobariz-ool-Moolk, with a party of Guzerat horse, marched without orders to attack Rana Sanka; but Mullik Eiaz, leaving the camp, intercepted and brought him back to the lines. The object of Mullik Eiaz was to wait till the springing of one of the mines, and then to head the assault, and ensure to himself the honour of the capture. The mine was at length exploded, and a practicable breach effected; but the Rajpoots, having discovered the point to which it was directed, had already cut off the breach, and the attack failed in consequence. On this event Rana Sanka made further overtures to Mullik Eiaz; the preliminary of which was an acknowledgment of allegiance to Guzerat; promising, besides, to return all the elephants taken in the battle of Ahmudnuggur. Mullik Eiaz availed himself of this second oppôrtunity of putting an end to the war, foreseeing that no co-operation could take place between him and the other Guzerat officers. A suspension of hostilities was accordingly agreed on, until communications could be received from the King. In spite of this agreement, some of the junior officers formed a plan, in concert with Sooltan Mahmood of Malwa, to attack the Rana's camp on the ensuing Wednesday. Mullik Eiaz, having obtained information of their intention, deputed a confidential officer to wait upon the King of Malwa, informing him that the King of Guzerat had been pleased to appoint him commander-in-chief of the forces in the province of Chittoor, with discretionary powers to conclude the

67. Twenty-four miles.

war; but having heard that part of the Guzerat army had resolved to march in concert with a body of his troops against Rana Sanka, he thought it his duty to protest against the measure, saying, that there was every reason to dread that so disgraceful a breach of faith would end in defeat. No reply being received to this message, Mullik Eiaz ordered the Guzerat line under arms on the day appointed for the attack; and instead of marching against Rana Sanka he moved to Khiljipoor, where he conferred honorary dresses on the Rana's agents, and gave their dismissal. On this Sooltan Mahmood Khiljy returned to Mando, and Mullik Eiaz to Champanere, where he was honoured with a title, and was created governor of Diu. Moozuffur Shah, at the same time, made up his mind to march in person against Rana Sanka on the following year. Mullik Eiaz, having learned the King's intentions, despatched a confidential person secretly to the Rana, saying, "As we have contracted a friendship during the late negotiations, it is but fair that we should assist each other by advice. I think it my duty, therefore, to inform you that the King is highly displeased that the army returned without having effected any object of importance, and he, in consequence, intends in a few months more to march in person to plunder your country I therefore advise you to send, as soon as possible, your eldest son as ambassador to this court with a number of valuable presents, regretting the differences which exist, and begging to considered as a vassal of this crown. This appears to me to be the only mode by which you can secure your own safety, or avert the evil of a war."

In the year A.H. 928 (A.D. 1521), the King proceeded from Champanere to Ahmudabad; but while collecting his army at Kakreea, in order to attack Chittoor, he heard that Rana Sanka had deputed his son with large presents to intercede for him, and that the young Rana had already reached Mahrasa on his way to Ahmudabad. Moozuffur Shah accordingly halted and received the embassy, ordering an honorary dress to be [illegible] to the Rana's son, with assurances of reconciliation. The King then broke up the army and came to Ahmudabad: when he heard of the death of Mullik Eiaz, on whose son he conferred his father's government and honorary titles.

In the year A.H. 929 (A.D. 1522), the King marched in person to Champanere, to quell an insurrection in that quarter, and he

subsequently caused the town of Mahrasa to be repaired. It was about this time that the Prince Julal Khan, the son of Sikundur Lody of Dehly, who had, in a fit of rage, put to death one of the principal nobles of his brother's government, reached the court of Guzerat. Julal Khan had previously applied repeatedly for the aid of Guzerat troops to assist in dethroning his brother Ibrahim; and on the present occasion Moozuffur Shah ordered a force to accompany him to Dehly for the purpose; but a full account of the transactions connected with this event has already been given in the history of Dehly.[68]

In the year A.H. 931 (A.D. 1524), the King marched towards Idur; on which occasion the Prince Bahadur Khan complained that his allowances were insufficient to maintain the establishment due to his rank, and requested that they might be made equal to those of his elder brother, Sikundur Khan. Moozuffur Shah, for political reasons, gave no decisive answer to this request, but promised to consider the subject. Meanwhile the Prince, impatient of delay, left the King's camp without taking leave, and returning first to Ahmudabad, proceeded, eventually, to the country of Oody Sing, the Raja of Poloh, by whom he was received with marks of attention. From Poloh he went on to Chittoor, where he was received by Rana Sanka, who presented him with splendid offerings; thence he went by Ajmeer to Mewatt, where the governor, Hussun Khan, marched several stages to meet him. After remaining some time there, he went on to Dehly, and was favourably received by Ibrahim Lody, who was at that time preparing to repel the invasion of Babur. Bahadur Khan having on one occasion defeated a detachment of Moguls with a small body of Guzeratties, the Afghan chiefs of Dehly, disgusted with Ibrahim, proposed elevating the Guzerat prince to the throne of Dehly. Ibrahim Lody, however, taking the necessary precautions, the Prince found it necessary to fly for safety to Joonpoor.

Moozuffur Shah, hearing of the conduct of his son, wrote to Khoodabunda Khan, who had accompanied him, to entreat the Prince to return to Guzerat, promising to overlook all the events connected with his sudden departure. Shortly after this the King was taken dangerously ill; and his disease daily increasing, factions began to be formed in the army, one party espousing the cause

68. Vide vol. I. p. 225. The Guzerat historian has committed an anachronism in fixing arrival of Julal Khan so late as 1522

of the Prince Sikundur, and another that of the youngest prince, Luteef Khan. The King was observed to be very anxious to hear of Bahadur Khan's return, and it was generally supposed that he intended to declare him his successor; but on Friday, the 2d of Jumad-ool-Awul, in the year A.H. 932 (Feb. 17, A.D. 1526), having sent for his eldest son, the Prince Sikundur, he gave him blessing, and proclaimed him his heir. On the following day he departed this life, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and in the fifteenth of his reign. Moozuffur Shah was considered a just and upright prince, strictly adhering on all occasions to the tenets of the faith. Among his accomplishments was that of writing a beautiful hand, in which he employed many of his leisure hours. During his lifetime he transcribed several copies of the Koran, which he sent to Mecca to be placed near the holy shrine. He also greatly promoted learning; so that men of letters from Persia, Arabia, and Turkey, found it worth their while to settle in Guzerat during his liberal and auspicious reign.

SIKUNDUR SHAH

DURING the painful and protracted illness of Moozuffur Shah, each of the two factions in the army took a decided part to favour its respective leader; but the late King having expressly nominated Sikundur Khan, the eldest son, to the throne of Guzerat, the youngest, Prince Luteef, marched with his adherents towards Nundoorbar and Sooltanpoor. Sikundur Shah, after having buried the late King at Surkech, proceeded to Champanere. Here he learnt that one Shah Sheikhjee, the son of the celebrated Boorhan-ood-Deen Owlia, considered the most holy man of the age, had foretold that his brother, the Prince Bahadur, would eventually succeed to the throne. Sikundur Shah, incensed at this prediction, condescended to vent his indignation in abusing that holy personage in the most gross and indecent terms; he was also so imprudent as to treat with indignity the different nobles of his government, the supporters of his father's throne, and to confer honours and estates on the companions of his youthful follies and excesses. Among those who resented this conduct, by withdrawing from court, was Imad-ool-Moolk Sooltany, an Abyssinian slave of the mother of Sikundur Shah, and a great favourite of

the late king. At the same time, also, it became known, that the Prince Luteef Khan had raised a considerable force in the neighbourhood of Nundoorbar and Sooltanpoor, and appeared only to wait for an opportunity of declaring his pretensions to the throne. Under these circumstances, Sikundur Shah deputed one Mullik Luteef, with the title of Shirza Khan, to oppose him; but hearing that the Prince Luteef Khan had gone to Chittoor, the troops were directed to march in that direction, where they sustained a complete defeat. On which occasion the general, with many other officers of distinction, fell, and the remainder of the force was cut off in detail by the Kolies and Rajpoots, having lost no less a number than one thousand seven hundred men.

The inhabitants of Guzerat deeming this an inauspicious omen of the new reign, the nobles of the old government persuaded Imad-ool-Moolk that the King designed to put him to death. Conscious of being ill-disposed towards him, Imad-ool-Moolk readily gave ear to these assertions, and determined to anticipate Sikundur Shah's intentions, by placing another descendant of the house of Moozuffur on the throne, hoping to ensure to himself the superintendence of the affairs of the state. Imad-ool-Moolk therefore prepared a party to attack and put to death the King, in one of his usual rides; but the opportunity passed without the plan succeeding. The King, although warned of the danger, treated it lightly in public; but the circumstance dwelt on his mind so much, that on that very night he dreamed that he was visited by the holy Syud Julal Bokhary, Shah Alum, and Shah Sheikhjee, and also by his father, Moozuffur Shah, who addressed him, saying, "Sikundur, Sikundur, descend from the throne, for it is the lot of another." This dream weighed heavily on his spirits. He arose early next morning, rode out, and played chowgan; after which he returned, breakfasted, and endeavoured to forget his cares, and drown his thoughts in sleep. Although the plot for the King's death had failed on the preceding day, Imad-ool-Moolk had by no means relinquished it; so that, after the King had lain down, that officer, together with Baha-ool-Moolk, Dar-ool-Moolk, Seif Khan, two Turkish slaves, and one Abyssinian, entered the palace with arms. Sikundur Shah, awakened by the noise made by the opposition of his guards, rushed out to ascertain the cause, when the assassins meeting him put him to death. Thus ended the life of Sikundur Shah, on the 19th of

Shaban, in the year A.H. 932 (May 30, A.D. 1526), after a short reign of three months and seventeen days.

MAHMOOD SHAH II.

After the death of Sikundur Shah, his corpse was conveyed to Halole, in the Champanere district, where it was interred, and Nuseer Khan, the King's younger brother, was raised to the throne by Imad-ool-Moolk, under the title of Mahmood Shah. All the officers went through the usual forms of congratulations to the new monarch, and received honorary dresses from Imad-ool-Moolk, who became regent, and who conferred titles in the King's name on one hundred and eighty persons on the day of the coronation. The complete ascendency obtained by the minister excited the envy of the rest of the nobles, and induced them to write to the Prince Bahadur Khan, who was absent in Hindoostan, to return to Guzerat, and assert his claims to the throne. These letters were despatched by Khoodabunda Khan and Taj Khan, and had the effect of expediting the march of Bahadur, who was already on his journey, having commenced it on the first intelligence of his father's death. Imad-ool-Moolk, hearing of his approach, deputed an officer of rank, charged with presents of jewels and money, to Boorhan Nizam Shah of Ammudnuggur, inviting him to march to his aid. The latter accepted the offerings, but took no measures to assist the Guzerat minister. Letters were also written to the Raja of Poloh to occupy the road leading to Champanere, and to the Mogul Emperor Babur of Dehly, promising a crore of rupees if he would lend his aid, by sending a force down the Indus to land at Diu, and co-operate with the Guzeratties. The latter communication never reached its destiny, having been intercepted by the ruler of Dongurpoor.

Bahadur Khan was near Dehly when the letters from Khoodabunda Khan, intimating the death of Moozuffur Shah, reached him; and at the same time he received a deputation from the Afghans of Joonpoor, entreating him to assume the government of that country. In order to satisfy both parties, he promised to pursue whatever direction his horse might take, and throwing the reins upon the animal's neck it took the road to Guzerat. On his arrival at Chittoor he was joined by his two brothers, Chand Khan and Ibrahim Khan, who gave him the first infor-

tion of the assassination of the late King, Sikundur Shah after which event they had fled, and taken refuge with the Rana. Chand Khan preferred remaining at Chittoor, but subsequently went to Malwa, while Ibrahim accompanied Bahadur Khan. At Poloh he was joined by the Raja Oody Sing, and also by a few of the personal adherents of the late King, among whom were Mullik Survur and Yoosoof Khan.

Bahadur Khan, having now assumed the title of Shah, sent a confidential officer in advance, with a conciliatory and moderate proclamation to Taj Khan, mentioning that he was thus far on his road to Ahmudabad. The officer, who commanded a force under Imad-ool-Moolk, was absent at Dundooka; but hearing of Bahadur Shah's arrival on the frontier, instantly joined his standard. The Prince Luteef Khan, the second son of Moozuffur Shah, then at Dundooka, raised a sum of money there for his expenses, and marched to join his cousin Futteh Khan. On his arrival at Dongurpoor, Bahadur Shah was joined by Khoorum Khan and many of the Guzerat officers, so that Imad-ool-Moolk, finding himself deserted by most of his adherents, began to lavish the royal treasures in raising troops. He succeeded by this means in bringing together a great concourse of people, few of whom were soldiers; and he ordered Azd-ool-Moolk, accompanied by fifty elephants, to march to Mahrasa, and cut off the communication between Bahadur Shah and the Guzeratties. On reaching Mahomednuggur, many officers who were afraid to join him before now went over to Bahadur Shah; and Azd-ool-Moolk was compelled to fall back on Champanere, and to join Imad-ool-Moolk. Bahadur Shah, continuing his march to Mahrasa, received at that place from Taj Khan the royal jewels; after which, proceeding to Nehrwala Puttun, Bahadur Shah was formally crowned on the 26th of Rumzan, A.H. 932 (August 3, A.D. 1526), and reached Ahmudabad on the 28th. Imad-ool-Moolk having been joined by the Prince Luteef, attempted to reach Ahmudabad before Bahadur Shah; but finding that the latter was every where acknowledged king, there was an end to further competition. The reign of Mahmood Shah did not exceed four months.

BAHADUR SHAH

On the first day of the following month Bahadur Shah marched to Champanere, at which place Imad-ool-Moolk still continued.

He was, however, much impeded by the heavy rain which fell at that season, and was obliged to halt on the Saburmutty; but very soon after continuing his march, he arrived on the banks of the Mehindry, at the Khanpoor ferry. Imad-ool-Moolk, hearing of the King's approach, dispersed his force over the Baroda district, to distract his attention; but this manœuvre had not the effect of diverting Bahadur Shah from his march on Champanere, where Imad-ool-Moolk and the confederates were eventually seized by Taj Khan. Imad-ool-Moolk, his son, and Seif Khan, together with the other regicides taken, were hanged, and their property confiscated; while Rufut-ool-Moolk, an old servant of Moozuffur Shah, received the title of Imad-ool-Moolk. Azd-ool-Moolk, hearing of the fate of his party, fled from Baroda, leaving his property to be plundered by a party of Kolies. Shumsheer-ool-Moolk was despatched in pursuit of Azd-ool-Moolk, and Nizam-ool-Moolk in pursuit of Mohafiz Khan. Both these chiefs sought refuge with Oody Sing, Raja of Poloh; but they were so closely followed, that the little property they had with them fell into the hands of the King's troops. Most of the officers who adhered to the fortunes of Imad-ool-Moolk were in the end seized, and suffered death: some were hanged, and others blown from guns, while the property of all was confiscated. The Prince Luteef Khan, after having remained for some time concealed in the city of Champanere, fled to the country of Poloh, and Azd-ool-Moolk and Mahafiz Khan to Mutwar.[69]

After having gotten rid of all his enemies, Bahadur Shah, on the 15th of Zeekad, A.H. 932 (August 20, A.D. 1526), went through the form of being again crowned at Champanere, that city having been considered, during the few last reigns, the capital of the kingdom. The Prince Luteef Khan, who had taken post in the Ahwas hills, was joined by several of the discontented nobles; and Alugh Khan was appointed to the command of an army sent against him. Shortly after the departure of these troops, Alugh Khan was represented as being one of the assassins of the late Sikundur Shah. Bahadur Shah was no less enraged than astonished at this information; and having made strict enquiries, and ascertaining that the accusation was false, he ordered

69. Mutwar is the tract of country lying between the Nerbudda and Tapty rivers, north and south, and little Oodipoor and Choly Meheswur, east and west.

the calumniators to be severely punished. In the commencement of the following year, A.H. 933 (A.D. 1526), a very serious mutiny broke out among the cavalry; and a large party, headed by nearly two thousand officers, marched to the mosque, and prevented the performance of public worship till they received their arrears of pay. Bahadur Shah, though he could ill brook this conduct, was induced, from motives of policy, to comply with their demands, having good reason for supposing that violent measures would induce them to join the Prince Luteef Khan. Shortly after this event, information arrived, that, in consequence of the advance of the Prince towards Sooltanpoor, the governor Ghazy Khan had marched, attacked, and defeated him, and that although his friends Azd-ool-Moolk and Mohafiz Khan had made their escape, Ray Bheem and his brothers had fallen in the action, and the Prince, being severely wounded, had been taken prisoner. On this news the King deputed Mohib-ool-Moolk and some other noblemen to wait on his brother, in order to see that his wounds were properly attended to, and to administer every comfort to him, till he could be removed to the capital. The Prince Luteef, however, never recovered, but shortly after died, and was buried at Halole, near Champanere, by the side of the late Sikundur Shah. During this year, Nuseer Khan, who had formerely assumed the title of Mahmood Shah, also died; and a suitable establishment of holy men was maintained to say daily prayers for the souls of these departed princes.

Meanwhile, Oody Sing, Ray of Poloh, with a band of marauders, marched and laid waste the country of Dohud; and most of the public property fell into their hands. This inroad so much incensed the King, that he ordered Taj Khan, with all the cavalry, consisting of nearly one hundred thousand men, to attack and annihilate these bands. The devastation committed by Taj Khan's army induced the Ray to send ambassadors to sue for mercy on any terms. Taj Khan resolved to act up strictly to his orders, and seemed determined to destroy the whole race. Driven to desperation, the Ray at last took up a strong position, and bore the brunt of an action, in which his troops were defeated and himself killed; but it is a remarkable fact, that on this occasion only one Mahomedan of Taj Khan's army is said to have fallen. His force was shortly after recalled, and himself deputed to Cambay, inorder to assume the government

of that district, as the inhabitants had frequently made complaints against the present governor.

On the following year, A.H. 934 (A.D. 1528), Bahadur Shah marched towards the countries of Idur and Wagur, from whence he returned by Champanere to Baroach, for the purpose of superintending the repairs of that fortress; after which he went in person to Cambay, where having heard that a European vessel had been taken and the crew made prisoners off Diu, he repaired to that place, and was met by Kowam-ool-Moolk. All the Europeans taken on this occasion were circumcised, and became Mahomedans.[70] On his return to his capital, Bahadur Shah received a letter from his nephew, Meeran Mahomed Khan, ruler of Kandeish, stating that Ameer Bereed Shah of Bidur and Boorhan Nizam Shah Bheiry of Ahmudnuggur, having entered into a confederacy, had marched to attack Berar; that in consequence Meeran Mahomed Khan had lent his aid to Imad Shah, King of Berar, and opposed them. He stated also that a severe engagement took place, in which the latter had been drawn into an ambuscade by Boorhan Nizam Shah, and his troops defeated; and moreover, that a number of Meeran Mahomed Khan's elephants had fallen into the hands of the Deccanies on this occasion; and, lastly, that they had taken the fort of Mahoor by assault, from Imad Shah, so that he begged the aid of Bahadur Shah. Upon this Bahadur Shah desired an answer to be written, stating that during the last year he had sent the governor of Nehrwala to the Deccan, in order to accommodate the differences which existed, in conformity with the wishes of Imad Shah, in which he happily succeeded; but that as it now appeared the Deccanies had become the aggressors, he should proceed to that quarter in person.

In conformity with the intention expressed in this letter, Bahadur Shah moved, in the month of Mohurrum, of the year A.H. 935 (September, A.D. 1528), with a large force towards the Deccan. On reaching Baroda he was overtaken by Jam Feroze,

70. The Portuguese historian states, that they resisted becoming converts, and were eventually released James de Mesquita was the name of the officer, and his whole crew only consisted of sixteen men in a boat. It is certain that James de Mesquita was with Bahadur Shah afterwards, at the siege of Chittoor, and was employed by him as his envoy to Nuno de Cunha in the year that Bahadur Shah lost his life.

ruler of Tutta, in Sind, who stated that the Arghoons had made a descent upon his country, and taken it. Bahadur Shah gave to the Jam twelve lacks of rupees[71] for the present, pledging himself to march hereafter and recover his territory from Arghoons.

The fame of Bahadur Shah by this act of generosity spread far and near. He was welcomed by the inhabitants of all the countries through which he passed in proceeding to the Deccan; and he was joined by the nephew[72] of the Raja of Gualiar with a body of Rajpoots, as also by Sreeputty Ray, the nephew of Rana Sanka, with many chiefs of distinction, as well as by some some of the nobles of the Deccan. The movements of this immense army being very slow, and a large portion having halted for some time at Champanere, Imad Shah, King of Berar, became impatient of the delay, and sent his son Jafur Khan to Bahadur Shah, informing him that Boorhan Nizam Shah had shut the doors of negotiation, and that nothing could be effected without the King's presence. Bahadur Shah therefore instantly marched on to the Nerbudda, on the banks of which river he was met by Meeran Mahomed Khan, who entreated him to visit Boorhanpoor, where he entertained him in a sumptuous manner, presenting him with elephants, horses, etc. At this place he was joined by Imad Shah, from Gavulgur. The combined armies of Guzerat, Kandeish, and Berar, under Bahadur Shah, now commenced their march through Berar towards Mahoor, against Boorhan Nizam Shah, who gradually retreating, drew the allies after him as far as Jalna, where the King having manifested intentions of occupying the country of Berar for himself, a secret communication was opened with the enemy, and Boorhan Nizam Shah agreed to restore some of the captured elephants, and also consented to read the Khootba in the name of the King of Guzerat, and even promised to pay tribute, if he would return to his own country. Bahadur Shah continued his march till he reached Dowlutabad, and encamped at the Howz Kootloo, where he halted for some time, in order to refresh his army. The enemy, however, contrived to intercept the supplies from the northward and westward, which caused great distress to his followers and cattle, and occasioned a famine in his camp. Notwithstanding which, Bahadur Shah compelled Boorhan Nizam Shah to acknow-

71. 144,000*l.* sterling.
72. Nursing, the nephew of Man-Sing.—Mirut-Iskundry.

ledge him King of Ahmudnuggur and Guzerat; in the former of which places proclamations were made, and public prayers read in his name. In the beginning of the year A.H. 937 (A.D. 1530), he returned to Guzerat, and remained during the rainy season at Ahmudabad. After the monsoon he marched towards Idur, and despatched Khoodabunda Khan and Imad-ool-Moolk with a large force to Wagur, himself marching to Cambay. Thence he embarked in a vessel, and sailed to Diu; after which he proceeded to Dongurpoor and Banswara, levied the usual contributions, and returned eventually to Mahomedabad Champanere.

At this period Oomr Khan, Kootb Khan, and many nobles of the Dehly court, having fled from the Emperor Babur, sought protection with Bahadur Shah. The King now went to Mahrasa, where he was met by Khoodabunda Khan, and many other officers; he then marched to Wagur, and having reduced that province, placed civil and military officers in the different towns to collect the tribute. Pursaram, Raja of Wagur, submitted to the King, while his son became a convert to the Mahomedan faith, and was received into the King's household; but Jugut Ray, the brother of the Raja, first fled to the hills, and then joined Rana Ruttun, the son of the late Rana Sanka of Chittoor, with whom he found a temporary asylum. Shortly afterwards, a messenger arrived in camp at Banswara from Rana Ruttun, begging terms for Jugut Ray. The King having caused a mosque to be built at a village on the larky G'hat, gave it over in perpetuity to Jugut Ray. While the Guzerat army remained encamped there, Bahadur Shah received information that Sooltan Mahmood Khiljy (not withstanding the obligations he had received at the hands of Moozuffur Shah) had sent Shirza Khan, the governor of Mando, to plunder some villages belonging to his ally the Rana of Chittoor, and had proceeded through Oojein to Sarungpoor. At the same time advices were received direct from Rana Ruttun, complaining of the outrage, and requesting the King to take measures to assist him. At this period, also, Silhuddy Rajpoot, and Moyin Khan the son of Sikundur Khan Mewatty, officers of the Malwa court, having intimation of their master's intention upon their lives, fled to Chittoor, and shortly after Bhowput, the son of Silhuddy, arrived in Bahadur Shah's camp. Bhowput was honourably received; and seven horses were presented to him, besides seven hundred gold embroiderd dresses to be distributed among his adherents. While the disaffected officers of the King

of Malwa sought refuge at the Guzerat court, Sooltan Mahmood himself deputed Duria Khan as envoy to Bahadur Shah; stating, that he had it long in contemplation to pay his respects, but that unforseen events had occurred to prevent it; that he therefore deputed Duria Khan to ascertain if a visit at present would be agreeable. The King returned a polite answer, saying, that he should halt at Banswara for his arrival. A few days only elapsed before Ruttum, Rana of Chittoor, and Silhuddy Poorby arrived in the Guzerat camp, where being favourably received, they were presented with thirty elephants, and fifteen hundred gold embroidered dresses, when they returned to Chittoor; but most of the Malwa refugees remained with the King. Bahadur Shah now moved to Tandla, where he had agreed to receive the visit of Sooltan Mahmood, after which he intended to have accompanied him as far as the Dydla pass, on his return to Malwa. At Tandla, the King's nephew, Meeran Mahomed Khan ruler of Kandeish, arrived; and Duria Khan, the Malwa envoy, came to say, that Sooltan Mahmood, having broken his arm by a fall from his horse, was unable to visit Bahadur Shah. The latter, doubting the truth of this assertion, flatly told the envoy that he did not believe him, and obliged him at length to confess the real truth, that the King of Malwa was unwilling to come, owing to his having harboured the Prince Chand Khan of Guzerat, who was living under his protection. Bahadur Shah observed, that he had no enmity towards Chand Khan, and therefore that need not be adduced as a reason, and that he therefore expected Sooltan Mahmood would come to his camp and pay his respects. The King continued his march to Depalpoor, when he learned that Sooltan Mahmood only now waited to place his son in charge of the government of Mando during his absence. The delay which this arrangement involved gave the Guzerat courtiers an opportunity of again misrepresenting the conduct of Sooltan Mahmood Khiljy; so that Bahadur Shah marched forth with to Mando, to which he laid siege. To Meeran Mahomed Khan of Kandeish was intrusted the post of Shahpoor, on the west face of the fort. Lowmun Sing was ordered to occupy Seetulpoor, and the rest of the Poorbies were sent to Julwara. The head-quarters of the army occupied Mahomedpoor. On the night of the 9th of Shaban, in the year A.H. 937 (Feb. 26, A.D. 1531), Bahadur Shah in person, with a small party of select men, escaladed the fort undiscovered, and was soon followed by a con-

siderable body of Guzeratties. Having met with no resistance, the troops, rather than remain quiet till daylight, as had been concerted, proceeded towards Sooltan Mahmood's palace, where the King of Malwa disputed the passage for a time, till being obliged to give way, he was eventually taken prisoner and sent to Champanere, but he died on the road,[73] while Chand Khan, the Guzerat prince, made his escape during the confusion. The country of Malwa was now partitioned out into districts, and Bahadur Shah occupied Mando. On the following year, the King was prevailed on by his nephew to visit Aseer and Boorhanpoor, where he was met by Boorhan Nizam Shah of Ahmudnuggur, who had not as yet received the royal insignia or title from a sovereign prince.[74] Bahadur Shah at that period conferred on him the white canopy and scarlet pavilion, and addressed him with the title of Shah, which he henceforth assumed, under the name of Boorhan Nizam Shah Bheiry.[75] Bahadur Shah's object in courting the King of Ahmudnuggur had reference to the aid he expected from him in the attack he then meditated on the kingdom of Dehly. He was, however, disappointed; for Boorhan Nizam Shah not only withheld his assistance in the subsequent war with Hoomayoon Padshah, but, on the contrary, deputed a secret agent to the Mogul court, long before the war in question took place, to obtain assistance, for the purpose of attacking Guzerat. During this interchange of civilities at Boorhanpoor, Bahadur Shah became so pleased with Shah Tahir Jooneidy, the minister of Boorhan Nizam Shah, that he used every means in his power to induce him to quit Boorhan Nizam Shah, and reside in Guzerat, but without effect. Some years afterwards, Shah Tahir succeeded in converting Boorhan Nizam Shah II. to the Sheea persuasion, and induced him to exchange the white canopy and scarlet pavilion for the green standard assumed by the followers of Ally. Bahadur Shah, having returned to Mando, appointed

73. The circumstances of the death of Sooltan Mahmood of Malwa will be found fully detailed in the history of that kingdom.

74. The order of sovereignty, like that of nobility, appears only to have been considered valid when conferred by the hand of some superior legitimate prince.

75. This is the language of the Guzerat historian, in order to gratify the vanity of his master: for, in reality, the kings of Ahmudnuggur assumed the royal titles and insignia several generations anterior to the period in question.

Mokbil Khan to command the fortress of Champanere, and Yekhtiar Khan being sent with the guns and military stores to deposit them in that garrison, he turned to Mando on the 21st of Rubbee-oos-Sany A.H. 938 (Dec. 3, A.D. 1531), of which place he was appointed governor. Silhuddy Poorby, the late prime minister of Sooltan Gheias-ood-Deen, within late years had occupied Oojein as his own; and the King wanting some excuse to wrest it out of his hands, charged him with maintaining in his seraglio a number of Mahomedan women. On the 5th of Jumad-ool-Awul (Dec. 18), the king moved from Mando to Nalcha, when Bhowput the son of Silhuddy, then in Bahadur Shah's service, supposing the king to be on his return to Guzerat, requested permission to go to Oojein and see his father, and to bring him to the presence to pay his respects. The King assented without hesitation, conceiving that Silhuddy could have no intimation of his design. On the 19th of the same month (Jan. 5), the King encamped at D'har, where having left the army, he proceeded, as if on a hunting-party, towards Bensrode and Shoojalpoor: at the latter place he was met by Silhuddy, who had left his son Bhowput with his family in Ooojein. Ameer Nuseer, the chief who had been sent to accompany Silhuddy, assured the King that the fidelity of the Hindoo chief was not to be depended on, and that, before he could be persuaded to come at all, Ameer Nuseer had ventured to promise him the government of the district of Cambay and a crore of tunkas, previously to which, Silhuddy had made preparations to fly to Seevas. On the King's return to D'har, having consulted his nobles, he caused Silhuddy to be seized and confined with two of his domestics, one of whom made some resistance; but finding it of no avail, he slew himself with his dagger, and fell dead at his master's feet, after declaring he could not live to witness his disgrace. When this circumstance became known at Oojein, Bhowput, the son of Silhuddy, fled, accompanied by many of his tribe, leaving Oojein to be plundered by the Mahomedans. On the following day Bahadur Shah marched to that city, and having placed Duria Khan, one of the officers of the late Malwa government, in charge, he proceeded to Sarungpoor, the command of which was given to Mullo Khan, a Guzerat noble, and Hubeeb Khan was made governor of Ashta, which district he soon reduced to subjection. On the King's arrival at Bhilsa, having ascertained that the Mahomedan worship had been discontinued for the last ten years, he caused mosques

to be rebuilt, and the exercise of the religion of the true faith to be restored. During his stay at Bhilsa he learned that Bhowput, resolving to resent the disgrace inflicted on his father, had collected troops on the frontier, and had entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with the Rana of Chittoor. The King, anticipating the march of the Rajpoots, deputed Imad-ool-Moolk to attack Bhowput, while himself marched to Raiseen to oppose Lokmun Sing, the brother of Silhuddy, who having raised men in that quarter was waiting the junction of Bhowput and the Rana of Chittoor. On approaching within sight of Raiseen the Rajpoots descended from the hill to attack the King's troops. The advanced guard, consisting of a small body of cavalry, charged the Hindoos without hesitation, and Bahadur Shah with his own hand slew ten men. The main body of the cavalry soon after coming up, the Rajpoots were defeated with heavy loss, and sought safety in flight within the walls of the fort, which was immediately invested, and a regular siege commenced. The Mahomedans, carrying their approaches close to the walls, effected a practicable breach, by means of mines, on the curtain of one face of the fort, and two of the bastions were also levelled by the fire from the batteries. Silhuddy, who was a prisoner in the King's camp, perceiving that it was impossible for the fort to make any longer resistance, offered to become a proselyte to the Mahomedan faith, and then to go to the fort in order to persuade his brother to surrender. The King acceding to the proposal, Silhuddy formally renounced his religion, and being clothed with a dress of honour ate at the royal table, and subsequently accompanied the King with a flag of truce to the walls of the fort, recommending his brother to give up the place. He acquainted him, also, at the same time, of his having become a Mahomedan. Lokmun, the brother of Silhuddy, addressing him in their own provincial dialect, desired him, to obtain a respite for a few days, and to make some excuse for not giving up the fort immediately, acquainting him that the Rana of Chittoor and Bhowput, with forty thousand men, were in full march to raise the siege. Silhuddy, in consequence, made some pretext for allowing the garrison to retain possession of the fort till the next day. This time was granted; but when the period for its surrender arrived further delay was again required; and Silhuddy being permitted to go under the walls in order to enquire the cause, addressed the Rajpoots, saying, that if they remained so blind to their interest,

the Mahomedans would, by entering the breaches, put them all to death. This speech was made in the presence of the King's officers, but conveyed a covert reason for holding out, which was sufficiently understood by Lokmun Sing, who, repeating the last words of Silhuddy, showed his countrymen how little they ought to rely on the Mahomedans. He prevailed so far on the troops that, by their exertions, the breaches were repaired during the night; and a party of two thousand men, under Silhuddy's youngest son, then in the fort, marched out to hasten the reinforcements under Bhowput and the Rana of Chittoor. This party being intercepted by the besieged was almost entirely cut off, including the son of Silhuddy who commanded it. The few who escaped death were taken prisoners, and brought in the morning before the King. On the failure of this enterprise, and the death of his son, being related to Silhuddy, he fainted; and the King, now beginning to suspect him, remanded him into confinement under charge of Yekhtiar Khan, to be sent to the fort of Mando.

The force under Bhowput was now approaching rapidly to Raiseen, under the impression that the King had but few troops with him. Bahadur Shah directed Imad-ool-Moolk and Meeran Mahomed Khan of Kandeish to march and attack the enemy. They had not proceeded far when the Mahomedans were met by Poorunmul, another son of Silhuddy, who commanded the advance, consisting of ten thousand cavalry. The King hearing this news, and that Imad-ool-Moolk had halted, left Yekhtiar-ool-Moolk to conduct the siege of Raiseen, and placing himself at the head of the whole of his cavalry, marched in person and encamped an Gungrar. The Rajpoots, hearing of the King's approach, commenced their retreat; and Bahadur Shah being shortly after joined by Aluf Khan from Guzerat, with a reinforcement of thirty thousand fresh troops and a large park of artillery, proceeded towards Chittoor, to which place the enemy had retired. Bahadur Shah resolved, in the first instance, to bring the siege of Raiseen to a close; he therefore deferred any attack on Chittor till the next year. Upon his return Lokmun, the brother of Silhuddy, perceiving that he could not eventually retain the fort, and that all hopes of succour from Chittoor were at an end, proposed to surrender Raiseen, provided his brother Silhuddy should be released, and again taken into favour. The King acceded to these terms, because he was aware that many Mahomedan females, belonging to Silhuddy, were in the fort, and he knew that in the event of a

storm they would all be burnt alive with the Rajpoot women, according to the custom of those people. As a preliminary to the surrender, therefore, Silhuddy was brought to Raiseen, and Taj Khan, who had come to negotiate on the part of Lokmun, was permitted to return to the fort. Lokmun now brought his own family to the lower fortifications, leaving Taj Khan with some Poorby Rajpoots in possession of the hill, and sent word to Bahadur Shah that above four hundred females belonging to Silhuddy's seraglio were in the fort. Among these was Silhuddy's wife Doorgawutty, the mother of Bhowput; and he begged, therefore, that he should be permitted to go and escort his own family and females; for that his honour would sustain a blemish, if they were seen by the eye of a stranger, or even by his own brother. Silhuddy, under custody of Mullik Ally Sheer, proceeded to the fort; but upon going to take away his family, his wife, Rany Doorgawutty, the daughter of Rana Sanka, reproached both him and his brother Lokmun for not having defended the place. This woman, with an heroic fortitude, invoking curses on the heads of those who should not revenge her cause, set fire to a pile with which she had caused the female apartments to be surrounded, containing seven hundred beautiful women. She plunged into the flames, and they were all consumed. Silhuddy and Lokmun, with one hundred of their blood relations, now putting on their armour, and calling on their adherents to follow them, rushed impetuously on the Guzerat troops, and bravely met their fate; not one Rajpoot surviving, while the Guzeratties only lost four men.

Alum Khan, the governor of Kalpy, who had rebelled against Hoomayoon Padshah of Dehly, happening to be in attendance on the King of Guzerat at this time, received the governments of Bhilsa, Raiseen, and Chundery. Bahadur Shah employed the remainder of that year in hunting elephants, and in marching through the country which formerly acknowledged allegiance to the King of Malwa; and having reduced it to obedience, placed his own governors and officers to collect the revenues, and left troops to support their authority. Early in the next year he deputed Meeran Mahomed Khan to march and reduce the fort of Gagrone, wrested from the late Sooltan Mahmood by the troops of the Rana of Chittoor; but as the place had not yet fallen, the King himself moved in that direction, on which the enemy evacuated it without further resistance. From Gagrone the King returned to Mando, leaving Imad-ool-Moolk and Yekhtiar Khan

to reduce Runtunbhore, and shortly after he returned to Guzerat to expel the Europeans who had occupied the island of Diu. Upon his approach, however, the enemy fled, leaving their guns upon the island; one of which was the largeest ever before seen in India, and required a machine to be constructed for conveying it to Champanere.[76]

In the year A.H. 940 Mahomed Zuman Mirza,[77] a relative of Hoomayoon Padshah of Dehly, who had been confined in the fort of Byana, making his escape, came to the court of Bahadur Shah. Hoomayoon wrote to the King of Guzerat to deliver him up, threatening, in case of refusal, to march and lay waste Guzerat, Bahadur Shah, little accustomed to comply with demands from any potentate, returned an intemperate and haughty reply (which eventually brought upon him his ruin); and in order to show the contempt in which he held the threats of Hoomayoon he conferred the highest dignities on the Mogul prince, thus wantonly irritating the wound which he had already inflicted. The King returned to Champanere from Diu by the route of Cambay and Ahmudabad, and then marched his army to Chittoor, and invested that place for three months. The Rana at last agreed to pay a large sum in specie, to present several horses and elephants, and, among other jewels, the waist-belt[78] formerly in possession of the Khiljy family, and which had been taken by Sooltan Mahmood of Malwa from the King of Guzerat's pavilion in the battle of Surkech, near Ahmudabad, on the 1st of Suffur, A.H. 856 (A.D. 1452); after which Bahadur Shah returned to his capital. His

76. The Mahomedan historian has treated this success against the Portuguese very slightingly; but Faria-e-Souza (tom i. part iv. chap. iv.) proves that it was one of the greatest efforts his countrymen ever made, and which seems entirely to have failed. The fleet which collected in Bombay harbour consisted of four hundred sail of vessels, on which were embarked three thousand six hundred European soldiers, and ten thousand native soldiers, besides seamen and Lascars. The Mahomedans under Moostufa Khan, the governor of Diù, so completely repulsed this attack, that the Portuguese found it necessary to return to Goa.

77. Mahomed Zuman was the son of Budee-ooz-Zuman Mirza, descended through Sooltan Hoossein, King of Khorassan, from Tamerlane. Vide Genealogy, vol. ii. p. 1.

78. This splendid jewel was sent to Medina, with Bahadur Shah's family; and is mentioned in the Turkish annals as having eventually found its way, in the shape of a present, to the Grand Seignior, Soliman the Magnificent.

success in compelling the Rana of Chittoor to pay tribute, and the expectation he had formed of being shortly joined by the sons of Bheilole Lody, who had pretensions to the crown of Dehly, induced Bahadur Shah to attempt an attack on the capital of Hindoostan. Alla-ood-Deen, the son of Bheilole Padshah, having reached the court, experienced the most honourable reception from Bahadur Shah, and his son Tartar Khan became enrolled among the nobles of the estate. So confident was Bahadur Shah of success, that he already began to allot to his officers the different districts of Dehly, before he had even marched his army for its subjection. On the following year a sum of three crores of rupees[79] was furnished to Imad-ool-Moolk, the governor of Runtunbhore, to provide Tartar Khan with a force of forty thousand men; and this prince opened the campaign by reducing Byana, a fortress near Agra. Hoomayoon instantly deputed his brother, Hindal Mirza, to keep Tartar Khan in check till he could come in person; but the Mogul troops had scarcely arrived within a few miles of Tartar Khan's camp at Byana, before the boasting but dastardly Afghans, of which his army was composed, deserted him, leaving him with a force considerably short of twelve thousand men. Tartar Khan, ashamed of the defection of his countrymen (particularly after assuring Bahadur Shah of his confidence in their attachment), refused to retreat before the superior force of Hindal Mirza, but resolved to meet his fate, whatever might be the result. The two armies being drawn out advanced slowly to the attack. Tartar Khan made the first charge, with a few confidential retainers, on the centre of the Dehly line, but his troops were defeated, and he fell covered with wounds. The fort of Byana was also retaken, and the army of Tartar Khan was completely dispersed. Hoomayoon, considering this an auspicious commencement of the campaign, followed up his success by declaring war against Bahadur Shah. At this time Bahadur Shah was engaged in the siege of Chittoor, and wrote to Hoomayoon, saying, that as he was employed against an infidel he expected that the Mahomedan king would not oblige him to raise the siege by invading his country. No answer was sent to this communication; but Hoomayoon continued his march unmolested till he reached Sarungpoor in Malwa; and the King of Guzerat, under an infatuation equally preposterous and impolitic, still continued

79. Three millions sterling.

the siege of Chittoor. Having reduced that place, and put to death many of the Rajpoot garrison, Bahadur Shah distributed largesses to his troops, and marched towards Hoomayoon, who, on hearing of his approach, also advanced with the Dehly army, till the two armies met near the town of Mundsoor. The Guzerat army had scarcely taken up its ground when Syud Ally Khan and Khorassany Khan, who commanded the Guzerat pickets, were driven in, and a panic pervaded the troops even on this partial defeat. Bahadur Shah called a council of war on the spot; and Sufdur Khan, the commandant of cavalry, proposed that the army should be led to the attack on the following day; for (said he) having just gained a victory at Chittoor the sooner the troops are again brought into action the better. Roomy Khan, on the other hand, in command of the artillery, proposed that the army should be entrenched, and stand on the defensive, the Guzerat artillery being preferable to any then in India, owing to the excellent Portuguese guns procured from the shipping captured at Diu. The latter advice was adopted; and it was resolved that as the Guzeratties had more fire-arms than the Moguls they should fortify the camp, and in the attempts to storm their lines it was supposed the enemy would suffer so much as to give the Guzerat troops confidence, while it would inspire the Moguls with due respect. At this period the Guzerat army was joined by Alum Khan of Kalpy, who had been invested with the government of Bhilsa and Chundery. Two months elapsed without either army coming to an action, though a few skirmishers daily went forth, and exhibited feats of individual courage. The Mogul horse, though unable to make any impression on the intrenchments, managed to invest the Guzerat lines so closely as to cut off their supplies. The forage in the vicinity was completely consumed, and no one dared to quit the lines on account of the Mogul archers. A famine consequently ensued. Bahadur Shah, perceiving that he must eventually be starved into a surrender, suddenly left his camp one night, accompanied by five persons only, among whom were Meeran Mahomed Khan governor of Kandeish, and Mullo Khan governor of Malwa,[80] and fled to Mando, without providing, in any way for the troops. On the next morning, the army, discovering that the King had

80. The Moontukhib-oot-Towareekh, with more probability, states that his party for the flight consisted of an imperial guard of one hundred officers.

departed, broke up, and the enemy commenced an indiscriminate slaughter and plunder. Bahadur Shah, who had escaped to Mando, was pursued into that place by Hindoo Beg and seven hundred Moguls, who entered the fort at night, along with his followers, and obliged Bahadur Shah to continue his flight, with five or six horsemen, to Champanere, from when he sent the royal jewels to Diu, and himself went to Cambay. Sufdur Khan, and Alum Khan (the governors of Kalpy and Raiseen) fled also, but some days afterwards they surrendered to the Emperor's troops. Sufdur Khan, who was wounded, entered into the imperial service, but Alum Khan, having before quitted Kalpy, suffered death. Hoomayoon having placed his officers in the fort of Mando proceeded to Champanere, and sacked the city of Mahomedabad, from whence he made forced marches to Cambay, compelling Bahadur Shah to fly to Diu. After which Hoomayoon returned and took the fortress of Champanere,[81] as has been related in the Dehly history.

In the year A.H. 942 (A.D. 1535), the farmers of Guzerat deputed agents to Bahadur Shah, assuring him that they were ready and willing to pay him the revenues, notwithstanding the occupation of the country by the Moguls. He accordingly sent one of his confidential chiefs with a respectable force to collect money in the different districts. The officer selected for this duty was Imad-ool-Moolk, who encamped at Ahmudabad, and collected about him a force consisting of fifty thousand men. Hoomayoon, hearing this, left Tardy Beg Khan with his division to protect the royal treasury at Champanere, and himself marched to Ahmudabad; at the same time sending a detachment, under Mirza Askurry, accompanied by Yadgar Nasir Mirza and Hindoo Beg, in advance. These troops encountered the Guzerat force near the city of Mahmoodabad, within twelve coss of Ahmudabad, where an obstinate engagement took place. Imad-ool-Moolk was defeated, and his troops suffered severely. Hoomayoon now marched on to Ahmudabad, and made the following distribution of his force: In Ahmudabad, he left Mirza Askurry; in Puttun, Yadgar Nasir Mirza; in Baroach, Kasim Hoossein Sooltan; in Baroda, Hindoo Beg; and in Champanere, Tardy Beg Khan. From Guzerat Hoomayoon marched to Boorhanpoor, and thence returned to Mando. At this period Khan Jehan Shirazy, one of the Guzerat nobles, occupying the

81. For an account of the siege of Champanere, vide vol. ii. p. 50.

town of Nowsary, marched in conjunction with Roomy Khan from Surat towards Baroach, which Kasim Hoossein Sooltan, conceiving himself unable to defend, abandoned, and retired to Champanere. This became the signal for a general revolt, and the subversion of the Mogul authority succeeded. Ghuzunfur Beg, one of Mirza Askurry's officers, disgusted with that prince, went to Bahadur Shah, recommending him immediately to march to Ahmudabad; and Mirza Askurry, perceiving the late arrangements of the King had failed to secure the tranquillity of the conquest, convened a meeting of the Mogul chiefs, and thus addressed them:—"The King is at present at Mando: the arrangements for the occupation of Guzerat not having succeeded, our presence here can be of no use Sheer Khan Poorby, moreover, is collecting troops in Bengal, with the intention of proclaiming himself King of Dehly; and I think, therefore, we cannot do better than march to Champanere, secure the treasure, and proceed to Agra." The officers having agreed to this proposal, resolved to proclaim Mirza Askurry King of Agra, and to make Hindoo Beg minister. The Moguls, therefore, left Ahmudabad (which was immediately occupied by Bahadur Shah), and marched to Champanere, where Tardy Beg Khan refused to join in the confideracy, but retained his ground. The other Moguls, however, marched off to Agra, thus abandoning the kingdom of Guzerat, which had been gained by the valour of the Dehly arms in a few months, without attempting to retain it by risking a single engagement Bahadur Shah now proceeded to wrest Champanere out of the hands of Tardy Beg, who, perceiving he could not defend the fort alone against the whole force of Guzerat, evacuated it hastily, in hopes of gaining something by following the Mogul army towards Agra.

In the year A.H. 943 (A.D. 1936), the Europeans who had made settlements on the coast, were in great force at Goa and Choul. It was, therefore, thought expedient to secure the seaports of Guzerat; and Bahadur Shah came to Cambay, where he heard that a fleet, in which were between four and five thousand Europeans, had arrived off the island of Diu. He immediately repaired thither with a reinforcement of troops; but the peaceable disposition the Europeans evinced threw him off his guard. The admiral of the fleet complained of severe indisposition as an excuse for not waiting on the King, while he, on the other hand, thought that their services might eventually be of use in his war

with Hoomayoon Padshah. Bahadur Shah, therefore, condescended to visit the admiral on board, and was going over the side of the ship on his return, when the boat was shoved off and the King fell into the water. A European, who was leaning over the ship's side at the time, threw a boarding pike at him, which entering his skull he immediately sunk, and was drowned. The Guzerat army, on hearing of the King's death, fled, and left the Europeans in quiet possession of the island of Diu, which they have retained ever since. Thus terminated the life of Bahadur Shah of Guzerat, after a reign of eleven years and three months.

His historian had not time to complete his work, which is to be regretted, as the multiplicity of errors throughout prevents our placing so much reliance on that narrative as a revisal might have ensured.[82]

NOTE BY THE TRANSLATOR

THE death of Bahadur Shah, who was killed by the Portuguese, is an event at once so remarkable and important that I shall be excused from entering into some detail regarding it. Ferishta, either unwilling to exculpate the Portuguese, or to condemn Bahadur Shah, took little pains to enlighten his readers on a subject which he had the means of investigating, as the circumstance happened within half a century of his own time, and it is certain he had access to the Mirut-Iskundry, because he refers to it in one part of the Guzerat history; but he did not avail himself of it to clear up the very interesting question, as to how Bahadur Shah met with his death.

The Portuguese had for many years been engaged in war with the fleets of the King of Guzerat; and Nuno de Cunha, the governor-general, who arrived in India in 1529, carried out from Portugal positive instructions to make himself master of the island of Diu on the Cambay coast, belonging to the King of Guzerat. Accordingly we find that, in the latter end of the next year, he prepared that formidable expedition, consisting of fifteen thousand six hundred soldiers, embarked on board four hundred vessels of all descriptions, which assembled at Bombay, and which was repulsed off Diu, after repeated vigorous assaults, on the 17th of February, 1531. From that day, the efforts of the Portuguese to obtain a footing on Diu were unceasing; and as they found it in vain to negotiate they endeavoured to effect

82. The author of the Mirut-Iskundry says that the work is not intelligible.

it by force, never ceasing to seize every vessel either belonging to Guzerat or to any of its allies. They landed, and sacked the towns of Tarapoor, Bulsar, and Surat; and at length received under their protection the Prince Chand Khan, a brother of Bahadur Shah, who having failed to support his pretensions to the throne, sought refuge with the Portuguese, through whom, as they assert, their "governor hoped to compass some considerable advantage." In the following year, the Portuguese under James de Silveira burned the towns of Puttun Somnat, Pent, Mangalore, Tanna, Tolaja, and Moozuffurabad, carrying off four thousand slaves from those places, besides killing a great number.

"All this," observes the Portuguese historian, "encouraged Nuno de Cunha to straiten Diu and the King of Cambaya (Guzerat), that he might be obliged to consent to the raising a fort in that city." In prosecution of this object, the Portuguese took and destroyed Bassem, in which place they obtained four hundred pieces of cannon, and much ammunition. They subsequently landed, and burnt Daman, Tanna, and Bombay.

At this time, Bahadur Shah was engaged in war with Hoomayoon, as we have seen, when the Portuguese governor-general deputed an embassy to wait on the latter, in order to endeavour to obtain a promise of the cession of Diu. The object of Nuno de Cunha was, by this means, to work on the fears of Bahadur Shah, and to induce him to yield to them in his distresses what he was averse to do while his power was unshaken. At last, in the year 1534 Bahadur Shah consented to terms of peace, by which he agreed.

1st, To cede in perpetuity the town of Bassein to the King of Portugal.

2dly, Not to construct any ships of war in his ports.

3dly, Not to combine with the Turkish fleets from the Red Sea, or Gulf of Persia, in attacking the Portuguese.

The historian remarks, "There were other articles in favour of the King, to sweeten the harshness of these, which were afterwards moderated, when he gave leave to raise the fort at Diu." Faria-e-Souza, tome i. part iv. chap. v. The following chapter is occupied in giving an account of the history of Bahadur Shah, and of his war with Hoomayoon, which only serves to show how profoundly ignorant the Portuguese were of the interior state of India, and how little they were informed of events passing almost under their own observation.

We know that Bahadur Shah, after having lost all his dominions with the exception only of the province of Sorut, came to Diu in the utmost distress; and there yielding to the importunities of the Portuguese, he gave them permission to build a factory on the island of Diu, which was constructed in the shape of a strong fort. In consideration of this cession the Portuguese afforded Bahadur Shah the aid of five hundrded Europeans, of whom fifty "were of note." This party attended the King on

his return to Ahmudabad, when he succeeded in expelling the Moguls, and recovering his throne, which, the Portuguese historian remarks, was effected through their aid *alone*.

It seems likely that the cession made by Bahadur Shah to the Portuguese was for the purpose of raising a mercantile factory; whereas the latter undoubtedly intended to build, as they in fact did, a formidable fortification. From the moment Bahadur Shah discovered of what nature the building was, and having no longer any motive for keeping on terms with the Portuguese, he resolved to wrest it out of their hands. We find the Mahomedan governor of Diu shortly after constructing a wall with a rampart, calculated to place guns on, across the island, on the plea of separating the Guzeratties from the Europeans, but in reality to be used either in defending the town against the fort, or in attacking it if necessary. The construction of this wall led to vast deal of discussion, and created much ill will between the parties, till at last the King of Guzerat desisted from completing it.

This was the situation of affairs when the event occurred which ended in the death of Bahadur Shah. Ferishta, in following the historian of Bahadur Shah, has related it in a manner very unsatisfactory, and wholly unfavourable to the Portuguese. Abool Fuzl, who wrote a very few years after the event took place, has done them as little justice; but fortunately we have the account of Faria-e-Souza, who was himself in India at the time, and that of the author of the Mirut-Iskundry, whose father was an eye-witness, each endeavouring to make out the most favourable story for his own party. It would be unjust, therefore, not to allow them to tell their own stories.

The Portuguese narrative is selected from Captain John Steevens' translation of Faria-e-Souza, published in 1694; that of the Mirut-Iskundry is translated from a collated manuscript copy of the work now in the East-India House.

EXTRACT FROM FARIA-E-SOUZA'S HISTORY OF THE PORTUGUESE IN ASIA, TRANSLATED BY CAPTAIN JOHN STEEVENS. LONDON EDIT. 1694. TOME I. PART IV. CHAPTER VIII.

"The King of Cambaya Badur (Bahadur Shah), who, with only the assistance of the Portuguese, had recovered his kingdom, now studied their ruin; and repenting he had granted leave to raise the fort, endeavoured to take it, and kill the commander and all the garrison. Nuno de Cunha understood his wicked design, and began to prepare to prevent it.

"That brave gentleman, Emanuel de Souza, then commanded at Diu. By him Badur designed to begin the execution. On the eighth of October, at night, a Moor came on the wall, and told Souza the King would send for him the next day to kill

him; that he would not tell his name, lest it might be thought an invention to get a reward. Emanuel was long in doubt whether to go or stay; at last he resolved to go. Using at other times to have a numerous retinue well armed, he went now with only one servant, being sent for at the hour he had been before warned. The King, seeing him unconcerned, coverted his malice focr that time into an honourable reception, and Emanuel returned to the fort. The King's mother endeavoured to dissuade him from this wicked intention; and he thought it was better, by often visiting the Captain in the fort, to take off all suspicion, and so murder him there, and seize upon it. He was of a violent nature, and so began his first visit at an unseasonable hour of the night, not regarding the very unseasonableness was enough to render it suspicious. Souza received him upon his guard: they discoursed of things indifferent. The King went away, believing he had ensnared Souza; and he had given him a sufficient caution.[63] Nuno de Cunha, being advertised by Emanuel de Souza of the posture of affairs at Diu, thought it strange that he had not secured the King when in his power, and his wicked intentions were known; and that he had given out that ships were come from Portugal with great supplies.

"This invention endangered Nuno; for Badur resolved to murder him first, that he might not come to the relief of the fort when Souza was killed. He writ to him, desiring he would come to Diu about important affairs.

"Nuno, though he knew his wicked designs, made no difficult of going. He set out of Goa on the 9th January, and what with the vessels he carried, and those which followed him, appeared there with near three hundred sail. He put in at Choul, and found that Nizamaluco, induced thereto by Badur, had been there with eight thousand men, pretending it was to divert his women at sea, but in reality with an ill design on that place, which was disappointed by the care of Simon Guedez, who commanded there. At Bacaim (Bassein) he took up his brother-in-law, Anthony di Silveyra, a man of great worth, and left in his place Ruyvaz Pereyra. King Badur was at that time in the mountains hunting. Nuno sent to visit him; but he who let slip no opportunity, now especially, prevented him by sending to him first one John de St Jago, not long before a Christian, but fallen again, and become a favourite of Badur by the name of Frangue Cham. Cunha was indisposed, and feigned himself worse; so lying off of Diu, he sent to excuse himself to the King for not landing immediately.

"The King feigning great triendship presently enters into a boat, in which he had sent Nuno a present of venison. There went with him thirteen men of quality, and Emanuel de Souza,

63. This passage ought to be, "though in reality he had put him on his guard."

who had carried the last message from Nuno de Cunha to him. He received him on board the galleon in the best manner he could. Being seated, they discoursed of indifferent things; but the King was surprised to see a page whisper Nuno de Cunha : it was a message from Emanuel de Souza, who believing he was to be there secured, or killed, sent word that some captains were waiting his orders. The King was somewhat quieter seeing Cunha did not mind the page, and soon arose and went away Cunha had thought it strange that Souza did not secure the King when he had him in the fort alone; and now having him aboard the galleon, he did not detain him.[84] Nuno ordered all the officers to accompany the King first to his palace, and then Emanuel de Souza to the fort, where he proposed to secure the King when he came to visit him, as the King, on the other side, had resolved to seize him at a dinner he had a design to invite him to, and send him to the great Turk in a cage. Emanuel de Souza was going to invite the King to the fort, while Nuno de Cunha got thither. He came up with the King's catur or barge, and made the offer by the means of Rume Cham, who at the same time advised the King not to go, because he suspected they would secure him. He slighted the caution, and bid Souza come into his barge, who stepping over, fell into the sea, but being taken up, the officers who came with him carried him to the King. At the same time came up another of our barges, and some gentlemen, who, seeing Emanuel de Souza, entered hastily into the King's. He suspecting their hasty coming aboard, together with the caution given by Rume Cham, ordered his officers to kill Emanuel de Souza. James de Mesquita understanding it, flew at, and wounded the King, whilst they killed that valient captain. There was a bloody fray, in which four of our gentlemen were killed, having slain seven of the enemy. Other of our barges coming up, received some damage from a page, who shot several with the King's bow, till killed with a musket-ball. Three of the King's ships (boats) came up to rescue him. He seeing the danger began to fly, but was stopped by a cannon shot, which killed three of his men that rowed. The King thought now to escape by swimming, but being in danger of drowning, carried out, discovering who he was. Tristan de Payva de Santarem coming up, reached out to him an oar to bring him aboard his vessel, when a soldier struck him across the face with a halbert, and so others, till he was killed. He was a little while above water and then sunk, and neither his nor Emanuel de Souza his body could be found, though Nuno de Cunha caused them to be diligently looked after, to give them the due funeral honours."

84. This passage should be, "Cunha thought it strange on a former occasion that Emanuel de Souza did not seize the King when he had him alone in the fort; but it seems more strange that Cunha did not now seize him when on board his vessel."

Extract from the Mirut-Iskundry

An Account of the mode in which the Portuguese obtained a footing in Diu by stratagem, and of the martyrdom of the King by the hands of the treacherous captain, or governor, of the Portuguese.

"It is stated, that when Bahadur Shah was compelled to fly, owing to the unfortunate events which have been previously related, he came to the port of Diu. The Portuguese made offers of their assistance, and endeavoured to console him, saying, that the sea-ports along the coast were in their hands, and that they were prepared to afford an asylum to the King in any of them he might select for his residence. Bahadur Shah, owing to his distresses, received these offers with thankfulness. One day the Portuguese represented that their merchants, who were in the habit of trading to Diu, were obliged to find warehouses for their goods in separate remote parts of the town; they requested, therefore, that permission might be granted them to occupy a *hide* of land, on which they might construct an enclosure to contain and protect their goods. This request being acceded to, the King left Diu and proceeded to put down his enemies. The Portuguese, availing themselves of the King's absence, cut the hide of a cow into trips, and measured out a spot equal to the length of the thongs, where they built a strong stone fortification, on which they placed guns, and occupied it with soldiers. The instant the King heard of this, he became much disturbed, and began to consider how he should expel those infidels. He wished, however, to effect it by stratagem, so that the object might be gained with facility. He therefore proceeded from Ahmudabad to Cambay, and thence to Diu. The Portuguese concluded that this step was not undertaken without some treacherous design; and though the King did all in his power to allay their suspicions, they continued to think his conduct was hypocritical. It is stated that when the King arrived at Gogo, on the coast of Diu, he deputed Noor Mahomed Khuleel, one of the confidential officers of his court, to the Portuguese chief, with instructions to use every artifice to persuade him to come and pay a visit to the King. When this envoy met the Captain, he was thrown off his guard by the abundant civilities and attentions shown to him. While they were drinking wine together, the Captain asked Noor Mahomed Khuleel what were the King's real designs ? and the envoy communicated that which ought not to have been told, and exposed the King's secret intentions. The night passed away, and on the morning the Captain said, 'I am the King's sincere friend; but owing to indisposition, I find it impossible to wait on him in person.' Noor Mahomed Khuleel returned and delivered the message. The King, supposing that the Captain was deterred from fear, resolved to go on board his vessel, on the plea of enquiring after his health, but in fact to

allay his suspicions. He ordered his barge, therefore, and was accompanied by five or six of his favourite officers : such as

Ameer Nus[85] Farooky,
Shooja Khan,
Lungur Khan, the son of Kadur Shah of Mando,
Alup Khan, the son of Shooja Gukkur,
Sikundur Khan, the governor of Sutwas, and
Kuns Row, the brother of Medny Row.

He directed that his attendants should not even carry arms with them; and although his ministers and officers represented that it was undignified and imprudent in the King to go, it was of no avail : for it is recorded in holy writ, that 'when death comes, it will not delay for one moment, nor will it be stopped in its progress.' He placed his foot in the barge, and seet off. The Captain having laid his plans for seizing the King, proceeded towards the shore to meet him, and attended him on board his own vessel, where he began to exhibit various *apish* attentions and politeness, though treachery was at the bottom. Bahadur Shah was also contriving something of the same nature; but fortune did not second his plans, and they failed.

"During a pause in the conversation, the Portuguese *dogs* made some preconcerted signals to each other. The King perceived that he was betrayed, and that fortune and prosperity had turned their backs on him. His officers addressed him and said, 'Did not we tell you before that we should all be ruined?' He replied, 'If so, fate has ordained it.' The King now arose, and was attacked on all sides by the Portuguese. They say he was near his own boat, when a Portuguese soldier struck him over the head with a sword, and threw him into the water. Those persons who were with him also shared in the honour of martyrdom.

"This event happened on the 3rd of the month of Rumzan, A.H. 943 (14th of February, A.D. 1537), and has been commemorated in the following words, comprising the numerals which form the date of the year wherein it occurred; which chronogram was composed by the minister Yekhtiar Khan : —

سلطان البر شهيد البحر

'The king of the land became a martyr at sea.'

"Bahadur Shah was twenty years of age when he ascended the throne, he reigned eleven years, and was, consequently, thirty-one years old when he was killed."

From these extracts it appears plain, that both Nuno de Cunha and Bahadur Shah were resolved each to seize the other; that the followers of both knew the intentions of their respective

85. This name is written the same in three MSS. in the East-India-House library, but it is probably erroneous in all of them.

masters, and suspected the opposite party; so that nothing was wanting to bring about bloodshed but such an affray as arose, originating entirely out of an accident which blew the embers of suspicion and mistrust into a blaze, and produced the melancholy result which has been related.

The Turkish historian Ferdi, according to Chevalier du Hammer, relates that when Bahadur Shah was compelled to retreat to Diu, he sent his family and the royal jewels to Medina. They consisted of three hundred iron chests, the accumulated wealth acquired from the Hindoo princes of Joonagur, Champanere, Aboogur, and Chittoor, and also of the property of the King of Malwa. These gorgeous treasures never returned to India, but fell into the hands of the Grand Seignior of Constantinople, who from their possession became entitled to the appellation of Soliman the Magnificent. The celebrated waist-belt, valued at three million of aspers, which had been three times taken and re-taken in the wars in India, (vide pp. 39.—83. and 124.) was sent to Soliman by an ambassador whom Bahadur Shah deputed to Constantinople to solicit the aid of the Grand Seignior against Hoomayoon.

MEERAN MAHOMED SHAH FAROOKY

On the death of Bahadur Shah, his mother, Mukdooma Jehan, left Diu, and repaired to Ahmudabad. On the road she heard of the arrival of Mahomed Zuman Mirza, who had previously proceeded to Lahore for the purpose of causing a diversion on the north-west frontier of Dehly. Having learned the death of the King, this prince put on mourning, and came to condole with the Dowager-queen, for the purpose, as it would appear, of gaining her confidence and plundering the royal treasures. After having been hospitably entertained for several days in the most splendid manner, he one night attacked and defeated the guard over the treasury, and carried away seven hundred boxes of gold, with which he made his escape, and raised a force of twelve thousand men, consisting of Moguls and Hindoostanies. The Guzerat officers, however, convening a meeting, resolved on inviting Meeran Mahomed Khan of Kandeish, nephew of Bahadur Shah, who was then in Malwa, to ascend the throne; and without further hesitation, coins were struck, and public prayers read in his name. Meanwhile Imad-ool-Moolk, at the head of a large force, marched against Mahomed Zuman Mirza, who though sufficiently ambitious, was so devoted to his pleasures, that he was attacked, and his army defeated, himself

making his escape to Sind. After which period he never again interrupted the peace of Guzerat. Meeran Mahomed Shah did not long survive ill, on reaching Guzerat, he died after a short reign of six weeks, A.H. 943.

MAHMOOD SHAH III.

On the death of Meeran Mahomed Shah, there remained no heir to the crown of Guzerat excepting Mahmood Khan the son of Luteef Khan, nephew of the late Bahadur Shah, by whose order he had been confined under Meeran Mahomed Khan Farooky at Boorhanpoor, because during his uncle's reign he once aspired to the crown. In this state of affairs, the Guzerat nobles deputed Mokbil Khan, the brother of Yekhtiar Khan, to Boorhanpoor, inviting Mahmood to the capital, in order to acknowledge him as their sovereign. This measure met with opposition from Meeran Moobarik Khan, the brother of the late King; but the Guzerat chiefs marched to Boorhanpoor, and demanding the release of the Prince Mahmood, Meeran Moobarik Khan was compelled, from motives of policy, to comply with their wishes. He left Boorhanpoor for Guzerat on the 10th of Zeekad, in the year A.H. 944 (April 5, A.D. 1538), and was formally crowned at Ahmudabad, and Yekhtiar Khan became prime minister. In the following year, Yekhtiar Khan having lost his life in an affray, Imad-ool-Moolk was created Ameer-ool-Omra, and Duria Khan was raised to the office of prime minister; but in the end of the same year jealousy and dissensions arose between these two nobles. Duria Khan persuaded the King to quit Ahmudabad, and proceeded, on the plea of hunting, towards Champanere. Imad-ool-Moolk being thus separated from the court, collected troops and followed. The soldiers penetrating the secret object of his much demanded an advance of pay; after which they left him in the course of three or four marches, and went over to the King. Imad-ool-Moolk, thus abandoned, was glad to compromise matters with Duria Khan, and agreed to retire quietly to his estate of Burungaum in the district of Sorut, and the King returned to Ahmudabad. In the year A.H. 947 (A.D. 1540), Duria Khan, on learning that Imad-ool-Moolk, was again raising troops, marched against him, and the latter being defeated fled to Aseer, and placed himself under the protection of Meeran Moobarik Khan Farooky, who espoused his cause. Mahmood

Shah Guzeratty now marched into Kandeish, and was opposed at some distance from Boorhanpoor, when Meeran Moobarik Khan was defeated and fled to Aseer, and Imad-ool-Moolk sought shelter with Kadur Khan, ruler of Malwa. Mahmood Shah, availing himself of his good fortune, laid waste the country of Kandeish; and Meeran Moobarik Khan was induced to come into the Guzerat camp to ask pardon, accompanied by his most respectable nobles. The minister Duria Khan, who had no competitor at court, exercised unlimited control in the Guzerat councils; and in a short time it became apparent that Mahmood Shah had dwindled into a mere pageant.

The King, perceiving his degraded condition, made his escape one night to Dundooka, the jageer of Alum Khan Lody, who espousing his cause, collected a force of four thousand cavalry, while Duria Khan, in concert with Mohafiz Khan and some other of his relations, elevated a poor creature of low origin to the throne under the title of Moozuffur Shah, exercising authority in his name. In order to conciliate the nobility, their estates were enlarged, the salaries of public officers were increased, and the pretender with his minister marched with an army to Dowluka, where they were opposed by Alum Khan, who making a desparate charge on the advance of the enemy dispersed it; but on penetrating to the main body, after a bloody action he was obliged to retreat, not having more than five horsemen left with him. In this dilemma, however, he had presence of mind to escape without notice, and reaching the fort of Dowluka, circulated a report that Duria Khan being defeated had fled to Ahmudabad, but that as part of his army still remained firm, it became necessary to secure the gates of the fort. Duria Khan's officers hearing he had fled, lost no time in going over to the opposite party; and he, who conceived he had gained a victory, was surprised to discover that many of his officers had joined the King. Finding affairs had taken this unfavourable turn, Duria Khan conceived it prudent to retire to Boorhanpoor, from whence he eventually joined Sheer Shah at Dehly. Alum Khan, seeing himself without rivals, thought of nothing else than of usurping the crown of Guzerat; but the King, penetrating his design, obliged him to fly, and he also joined Sheer Shah. The King having now recovered his authority, caused a city to be built within twelve coss of Ahmudabad, and called it Mahmoodabad, but the place was never completed.

In this reign the fort of Surat, on the shore of the sea of Ooman, was completed by Suffy Agha Toork, commonly called Khoodabunda Khan, before which time the Europeans were in the habit of attacking the Mahomedans along that coast. They made several attempts to prevent the building of the fort of Surat, and even brought armed vessels to effect their purpose, but they were generally defeated. The work is strong and well constructed. On the two sides opposed to the land is a ditch sixty feet wide; and the curtain, which is sixty feet high, has a rampart thirty-five yards in width. The whole of the masonry is connected either by bars of iron or lead. Within the town is a beautiful building four stories high, which the Hindoos call Chowkunda, and the Europeans compare it to a Portuguese palace. Finding they could not prevent by force the construction of the fort, the Portuguese offered large sums of money to induce Khoodabunda Khan not to fortify Surat, but their gold was rejected. Mahmood Shah reigned without opposition till the year A.H. 961 (A.D. 1553-4), when he was put to death by Dowlut, at the instigation of one Boorhan, while reposing on his couch. The cause which led to this transaction will be found in the following account of the life and adventures of Boorhan :—

Boorhan was the Pesh Nimaz (private chaplain) of Mahmood Shah. The King having reason to be offended with him caused him to be built up in a mud-wall, leaving his head only exposed, with the intention of allowing him to be starved to death. Shortly after, the King passing the place, his eyes fell on Boorhan, and being still alive he made a bow, which induced the King to order him to be dug out; but the contraction of the clay and long fasting had reduced him, and bruised him to that degree that it became necessary to preserve him for a considerable time in cotton, during which the King's physicians attended him until he recovered. In spite of the King's mercy, however, Boorhan always bore malice against his sovereign, and secretly sought his life. Sometime after, during a hunting excursion, the King again became offended with Boorhan. As it is customary in the courts of all monarchs to be in favour at one time and in the back-ground at another, Boorhan was again submitted to degradation, and a secocnd time pardoned. On his return from hunting one day the King lay down on a couch, and it, occurred to Boorhan that the present afforded a favourable

opportunity for revenge. This officer while in favour at court was intrusted with the command of a band of two hundred men, called the Tiger-killers, no man being embodied in that corps who had not killed a tiger. With this band he hoped to have his revenge, and suggested to his own nephew, Dowlut, that it would be easy to kill the King while asleep, and by that means Boorhan hoped to ascend the throne of Guzerat.

Dowlut assenting to the proposal, and being in the habit of combing the King's hair, which he wore very long, he made preparations for fumigating it according to custom; but finding that the King slept soundly, he tied his locks to the bed-post, and severed his head from his body. The deed being done, Boorhan conceiving he might now reach the throne, took measures accordingly; and having ordered, in the King's name, ten of the tiger-killers into a private apartment, gave them instructions to put to death all who came in. The first persons summoned were Khoodabuanda Khan and Asuf Khan, who the moment they entered were put to death. The executioners supposed they acted by the King's orders, and the nobles imagined they were going to a private, audience. Many officers thus fell victims to the snare, till at length Etimad Khan being sent for, he refused to go, as also Afzul Khan, an old nobleman, upwards seventy years of age. Boorhan pretending that the King was offended with Khoodabunda Khan and Asuf Khan, had ordered them to be executed, and stated that Mahmood Shah had appointed Afzul Khan prime minister. To support this assertion he sent Afzul Khan an honorary dress; but the old man, suspecting treachery, refused to wear it till he saw the King. On this, Boorhan, taking him into the private apartment, where the King lay weltering in his blood, said, "Thus have I slain him, and thus have I killed many of the most powerful nobles, but I now appoint you my minister." Afzul Khan was so affected and shocked at the spectacle, that he burst indignantly into the most virulent curses and imprecations on the head of the wretch who addressed him; and Boorhan, stung with shame, and boiling with rage, drew his sword, and slew that venerable nobleman on the spot. The wretch then addressing the executioners, gave them large presents and titles, and himself sat on the throne, apparently glorying in the bloody scent; after which he continued to lavish large sums of money till the following morning. Next day he gave the elephants and horses of the

royal stables to fellows of the lowest description, endeavouring by this means to obtain popularity. The death of the King was no sooner known at the capital than Imad-ool-Moolk, Anwur Khan Abyssinian, and many other officers, assembled a force, and marched to dethrone Boorhan, who came forth to oppose them, having the white canopy borne over his head, and followed by the populace on whom he had bestowed the royal treasures. The conflict was short but sanguinary. On the first charge of the cavalry the mob was dispersed; and the assassin, who styled himself Boorhan Shah, was among the slain; after which his body was dragged through the streets at the foot of an elephant. The reign of Mahmood Shah lasted eighteen years, three months, and some days. In the same year, also, died Sulin, the son of Sheer Shah of Dehly, and Nizam Shah, the King of Ahmudnuggur.

Mahmood Shah was considered a just prince, fond of encouraging literature, particularly punctual in keeping public festivals, and liberal in the distribution of charity.

The most remarkable work of his age is the park wall,[86] fourteen miles in circumference, on the banks of the Kary, in which was plenty of game, and many pleasure-houses. Mahmood carried his fancy to such lengths, in the embellishments in this park, as to clothe the trunks of many of the trees round the pleasure-houses with green and scarlet velvets. He left no heir, having given positive instructions to all the attendants in the seraglio, that when any of the ladies became pregnant, medicines should be administered to produce abortions, rather than incur the necessity of infanticide after birth; for he conceived this to be the only means of securing himself from the attacks of his children. It is worthy of remark, that he permitted Etimad Khan, originally a Hindoo slave, who persuaded the King he had destroyed his virility by the use of camphor, to reside within the seraglio without restraint.

The following lines, commemorating the date of the death of the three kings who died in this year, were written by the author's father, Gholam Ally Hindoo Shah: —

86. This spot, situated in the neighbourhood of Surat, is particularly mentioned and described by Abool Fuzl in the Ayeen Akburry.

سه خسرو را زوال آمد بیکسال
که هند از عدل شان دارالامان بود

2.

یکی محمود شه سلطان گجرات
که همچون دولت خود نوجوان بود

3.

دگر اسلام شه سلطان دهلی
که اندر عهد خود صاحب قران بود

4.

سوم آمد نظام الملک بحیری
که در ملک دکن خسرو نشان بود

5.

زتاریخ وفات آن سه پادشه
چه میپرسی زوال خسروان بود

Three kings met with destruction in the same year,
By whose wise rule Hind was the abode of prosperity.
The first was Mahmood Shah of Guzerat,
Who like his own state was in his full prime.
The second was Islam Shah, King of Dehly,
Who in his vast domain was a type of Alexander..
The third was Nizam-ool-Moolk Bheiry,
Who in the territory of the Deccan was an example to other princes.
As to the period when these three sovereigns died,
Why ask it of me? "It was the destruction of kings."[87]

AHMUD SHAH II.

Mahmood Shah having left no heir, and there being no relation on whom the succession might devolve, Etimad Khan resolved, rather than see the kingdom in absolute anarchy, to elevate a youth, whom he asserted to be the son of the Prince Ahmud, formerly governor of Ahmudabad, and declared him the legal

87. The words زوال خسروان بود make up the number 961, the date alluded to

successor to the crown, Etimad Khan and Meeran Syud Moobarik Bokhary assuming the titles of protectors. The boy remained in this state of tutelage for five years; after which, having made a friend of the second protector, Meeran Syud Moobarik Khan, he retired to Mahmoodabad, and there, in concert with some military chieftains, put himself at the head of a force, while Etimad Khan and Imad-ool-Moolk,[88] with several other officers of Ahmudabad, marched to oppose him. The armies met near Mahmoodabad, where Meeran Syud Moobarik Khan being killed, the King was obliged to fly; but he subsequently returned, and having granted jageers to most of the officers with Etimad Khan, became reconciled to that chief. The power assumed by the minister, however, created jealousy in the mind of the nobles, and a confederacy was formed at the instance of the King, at the head of which was Tartar Khan Ghoory and Imad-ool-Moolk, who one day attacked his palace, and planted cannon against it. Etimad Khan flying, made his escape to the country of Poloh, in the suburbs of the Champanere district, where having collected a force, he returned to Ahmudabad; and through the intervention of some of the officers was again acknowledged prime minister. He received, at the same time, the whole country lying between the sea and Malwa, and the rivers Mehindry and Nurbudda, in jageer. The King could not conceal his animosity against Etimad Khan; and on one occasion drawing his sword he cut a plaintain tree in twain at a blow, and said, "Would to God it had been Etimad Khan." Shortly after this, the King was found assassinated, lying at the foot of the palace wall; and a report was spread the next day, that he had been carrying on an intrigue under the windows of some nobleman's house at night, when the master of the house, without knowing him ran out, fought him, and put him to death (A.H. 969, A.D. 1561). The weak and inglorious reign of Ahmud Shah lasted eight years.

MOOZUFFUR SHAH III.

IMMEDIATELY after the death of Ahmud Shah II., in the year A.H. 969 (A.D. 1561), Etimad Khan produced a lad named Hub-

88. This title in Guzerat, like Nizam-ool-Moolk and Meer Joomla in other courts, seems to have belonged to the person officiating as minister of state.

boo,[89] whom he stated to be the son of Mahmood Shah II.; asserting that his mother had concealed the circumstance of her pregnancy till the fifth month, when the medicines given to produce an abortion having no effect the child was born, but brought up privately; to which facts he procured witnesses to swear. This testimony being received as sufficiently satisfactory, the boy was duly crowned, under the name of Moozuffur Shah III.; and Etimad Khan was appointed sole protector, with the title of Vizier. The kingdom of Guzerat was now subdivided into separate provinces, and allotted to the several officers in the following manner:—

The Puttun district as far south as Kurry was allotted to Moosy Khan and Sheer Khan Folady.

The districts of Radunpoor, Neraid, and Tehrwara, as far as Moonjpoor, were made over to Futteh Khan Buloch.

The districts between the Saburmutty and Mehindry rivers were reserved by Etimad Khan for himself.

The province of Surat, and the districts of Nandote and Champanere, to Chungiz Khan.

The province of Baroach to Roostoom Khan, the nephew of Chungiz Khan.

The districts of Dowluka and Dundooka to Syud Meeran, the son of Syud Moobarik Khan Bokhary.

The province of Sorut, including the fort of Joonagur, to Ameer Khan Goony, who afterwards withdrew from the confederacy. Matters being thus arranged, Etimad Khan retained Moozuffur Shah as a sort of state-prisoner; but he was daily exhibited at court sitting upon the throne; and though the minister went through the form of saluting him, many of the chiefs refused to do so. Things continued for some time in this state, till at length Chungiz Khan governor of Surat, and Sheer Khan Folady of Puttun, came to reside at the capital. Sometime after a dispute arising between the civil officers of the Puttun and Radunpoor divisions, the governors in support of their servants made war on each other; and the latter chief being defeated, Futteh Khan Buloch joined Etimad Khan at the capital, who immediately marched to attack Sheer Khan Folady. Sheer Khan, unable to oppose him in the field, took shelter in the fort of Puttun, and made overtures for accommodation; but

89. Familiar contraction of Hubeeb.

these not being attended to, the inhabitants of Puttun finding they had no remedy resolved to fight; and marching out with less than three thousand cavalry, attacked Etimad Khan's army, consisting of thirty thousand horse, with a desparation for which the latter were unprepared. Etimad Khan's army was defeated, and sought safety in fight. Hajy Khan, an officer who had joined Etimad Khan from Delhy, and who command his troops, abandoned his cause, and joined the Foladies. Notwithstand-the defection of Hajy Khan from his party, he demanded to be allowed to enjoy the revenue of his estate, which was in the hands of Etimad Khan. To this the latter refused his assent, till compelled to do so by the Foladies, who marched to occupy it. The Foladies were opposed by Etimad Khan at Chowt'hana, where he was defeated a second time, and fled to Baroach. Etimad Khan now entreated the assistance of Chungiz Khan, through whose meditation a peace was concluded, and Hajy Khan's estate was restored. The reverses which Etimad Khan had sustained induced Chungiz Khan to write to him on the subject of the person whom he styled Moozuffur Shah, saying, "You have placed upon the throne a boy whom nobody knows, but whom you declare to be the son of Mahmood Shah: if this be true, how is it you prevent his communicating with any one but yourself, and how do you venture to sit in his presence, which I am informed you are in the habit of doing? If, on the other hand, he is not the son of Moozuffur Shah, by what authority did you impose upon the nation, by swearing that he was heir to the crown?" Etimad Khan replied, that it was sufficient that he himself knew the circumstances of his birth; observing that Chungiz Khan's father, if alive, could also swear to the facts alleged by him, and to the identity of the King's person; that it therefore behoved him to treat him with the respect which his father had always paid to the late king. Sheer Khan Folady, becoming acquainted with this correspondence, made overtures to Chungiz Khan to seize Etimad Khan, recommending, in the mean time, that no measures of hostility should yet be undertaken. Chungiz Khan, who had now become acquainted with the timidity of Etimad Khan's character, despised him, and merely demanded an increased portion of territory to support the troops which had collected about him. Etimad Khan, unwilling to refuse, pointed out to him the district of Nundoorbar, on the banks of the Tapty, which had been

usurped by the ruler of Kandeish during the late anarchy in Guzerat; observing that the King was entitled to recover it, either by negotiation or by force. The object of Etimad Khan was to get rid of the importunities of Chungiz Khan, and to direct his attention towards Kandeish instead of Guzerat, hoping that he would be induced, if sucessful, to attempt the conquest of Kandeish, or if unsuccessful, that he might be subdued: in either of which cases Etimad Khan would get rid of a formidable rival. Chungiz Khan caught at the idea; and having occupied Nundoorbar in the year A.H. 974 (A.D. 1566), was tempted to march on to Talnere, where he learned that Mahomead Shah Farooky, the son of Meeran Moobrik Shah, accompanied by Toofal Khan, governor of Berar, was in full march to oppose him. Chungiz Khan occupied a strong position among the broken ground and heights near Talnere, and placed his artillery and his baggage carts in the roads which run along the ravines leading towards it.[90] Meeran Moobarik Shah Farooky arrived at daylight, but delayed attacking till he had reconnoitred Chungiz Khan's position, whom he could by no means induce to quit his advantageous post. At night, however, he commenced his retreat towards Baroach, and was so closely pursued by the Kandeish troops, that all his baggage and artillery fell into their hands. Nundoorbar was immediately retaken, and a strong garrison placed therein. At this period the sons of Mahomed Sooltan Mirza, five in number, who had been confined in the fort of Sumbhul, by order of Akbur Padshah, when that monarch marched in the year A.H. 975 (A.D. 1567) for the purpose of subduing Malwa, now made their escape, and sought an asylum with Chungiz Khan at Baroach. In this history they are styled *The Mirzas*:[91] their names are as follows:—

Mahomed Hoossein Mirza,
Ibrahim Hoossein Mirza,
Musaood Hoossein Mirza,
Alugh Mirza,
Shah Mirza.

Chungiz Khan conceived that by receiving among his dependents these fugitives he should add to the respectability of his

90. This accurately describes the approaches to Talnere.

91. The history of these princes is fully detailed in the reign of Akbur, in the second volume of this work.

government, and did not hesitate to enrol them among the number of his officers, assigning to them estates out of his own district; and sometime afterwards he marched, accompanied by the Mirzas, to subvert the power of Etimad Khan at the capital. In the first instance he took possession of Baroda without opposition; and having arrived at Mahmoodabad, within fifteen coss of Ahmudabad, he wrote to Etimad Khan, saying,—

"It is well known to all the world that my attack on Talnere was in consequence of your advice, and my defeat on that occasion arose from your withholding reinforcements. I now write to inform you, that I am thus far on my road to pay my respects to the King; and as it seems likely, if you are in the city of Ahmudabad on my arrival, quarrels may ensue between one soldiers even in the streets, I recommend, in order to prevent the occurrence of such an event, that you immediately quit the capital and retire to your own estates, permitting the King to retain around his person such people only as may be most acceptable to him." Etimad Khan, previously to the receipt of this communication, had collected the army, and marched, with Moozuffur Shah at its head, to the town of Kunoory, twelve miles from Mahmoodabad, where his and Chungiz Khan's troops met; but Etimad Khan is said to have been so dismayed at the appearance of Chungiz Khan's force, that he fled to Dongurpoor before the cavalry had even drawn their swords; and his officers, no doubt approving his conduct, followed his good example, and took different routes. A few only remained with the King, and escorted him back to Ahmudabad. Chungiz Khan marching on encamped at Butwa; and the King on the next day flying from his capital, Chungiz Khan entered and took possession. Sheer Khan Folady, who had formerly concerted with Chungiz Khan the downfall of Etimad Khan, apprehensive that the whole of the latter chief's estates would fall into the hands of the former, insisted on an equal partition, and marched to enforce his demand. Chungiz Khan, deeming it imprudent to dispute the point with Sheer Khan, ceded to him all the country westward of the Saburmutty. Meeran Mahomed Khan, who had defeated Chungiz Khan at Talnere, ventured now to penetrate into the centre of Guzerat, and arrived without opposition within a few miles of the capital. Chungiz Khan, however, having attacked and completely defeated him, compelled him to retreat to Aseer. After this event, Chungiz Khan gave up the territory contiguous to

Baroach for the support of the Dehly princes, who were shortly after joined by Shurf-ood-Deen Hoossein Mirza, the son-in-law of Hoomayoon Padshah, and who had lately escaped from the court of Akbur. It was not long before the Mirzas began to complain that the estates allotted to them were insufficient for their support, and seized on other places without consulting Chungiz Khan; and he was obliged to oppose them with ten thousand men. The Mirzas did not hesitate to meet this force; and having defeated it, followed up their success, and took many prisoners, both Abyssinians and Guzeratties. Those who were young and beardless were retained as personal attendants, and the more aged were put to death under the most cruel and indecent tortures; some few only were permitted to depart alive. The Mirzas, however, perceiving that Chungiz Khan was making serious preparations to attack them, marched to Boorhanpoor, and having plundered it, proceeded thence into Malwa. The remaining part of the history of the Mirzas has been related in its proper place.[92] Shortly after this event, the officers who held the person of the King in subjection delivered him over to Etimad Khan at Dongurpoor, and remained some time with him; but his reduced circumstances having prevented his complying with the demands they made on him, they left Dongurpoor; and Hijaz Khan, Alugh Khan, and Seif-ool-Moolk, with some others, going to Ahmudabad, joined Chungiz Khan. Some time afterwards, a confidential servant informed these officers that Chungiz Khan intended to invite them to play at chowgan[93] on the next day, when he proposed to seize and put them to death. "If," said they, "Chungiz Khan should go to the palace, and send for you there, your cases will be more desperate, since you will then have no opportunity to make your escape." The chiefs had scarcely obtained this information, when a servant of Chungiz Khan entering, said that his excellency proposed going out on the following day to play chowgan, and that he requested they would all be of the party. The officers who had lately abandoned Etimad Khan now concerted measures for their own safety; and on the next day, when they attended at the palace to accompany Chungiz Khan to the chowgan plain, Hijaz Khan took the right hand, and Alugh Khan the left, as they entered the play-ground, when giv-

92. Vol. ii. reign of Akbur Padshah.

93. This game has been described, vol. i. p. 113, in a note.

ing each other a nod, Hijaz Khan drew his sword, and galloping up to Chungiz Khan, with a single blow struck off his head. The persons engaged in this transaction were, for the most part, Abyssinians. They immediately left the play-ground, and retiring to their own houses, prepared to oppose Chungiz Khan's party; but his nephew, Roostoom Khan, having collected the troops, caused the corpse of his uncle to be raised on his own elephant, and retired to Baroach, while the successful Abyssinians, plundering the palace, wrote to Etimad Khan inviting him to join them from Dongurpoor. Etimad Khan shortly after arrived with the King. The Mirzas, who had taken possession of part of the Malwa territory, on hearing of the death of Chungiz Khan, marched to re-occupy the countries of surat and Baroach. Roostoom Khan defended the estates for two years, but was at last obliged to come to terms with them. On the first intimation of the advance of the Mirzas, Etimad Khan wrote to Sheer Khan Folady of Puttun, asking his advice; on which it was agreed that an army, consisting of three divisions, should be immediately assembled to expel them: that the first division should proceed in advance under Alugh Khan, an Abyssinian; the second under Etimad Khan, and the reserve under Sheer Khan Folady, to bring up the rear. The first division, under Alugh Khan, marched to Mahmoodabad, but Etimad Khan, with his accustomed cowardice, threw obstacles in the progress of the second corps, which he commanded and refused to move; and Alugh Khan and the Abyssinians, disgusted at his pusillanimity, resolved to provide for themselves, by seizing on the districts of Cambay and Pitlaud. This measure, however, was frustrated by a quarrel which ensued between Alugh Khan and Hijaz Khan. The crafty Etimad Khan, taking advantage of this circumstance, induced Hijaz Khan to come to Ahmudabad, and to leave Alugh Khan to join Sheer Khan Folady Amid these dissensions the King fled from Ahmudabad, and joined the Foladies at Gheiaspoor, near Surkech. Etimad Khan now proposed to Sheer Khan that they should invite the Mirzas, then at Baroach, to assume the reins of governmenu but Sheer Khan not assenting, Etimad Khan sent an agent to Akbur Padshah of Dehly, inviting him to occupy Guzerat, and add it to the territory of Dehly, as in former times. Akbur having at this period, viz. A.H. 980 (A.D. 1572), reached Nagoor on his march to the southward, detached Peer Mahomed Khan to reduce Sirohy, where he was met by the Guzerat agents,

upon which he lost no time in advancing on the capital of that kingdom. Sheer Khan Folady fled, and the Mirzas, who were at Ahmudabad, retired to Baroda and Baroach. Etimad Khan, and Alugh Khan the Abyssinian, alone had the honour of kissing the King's hands, and were enrolled in the list of the Dehly nobility; while the kingdom of Guzerat was dissolved and re-united to Dehly, as a province of the empire of Hindoostan, on the 14th of Rujub, of the year A.H. 980 (Nov. 20, A.D. 1572).

Moozuffur Shah abdicated his throne in favour of Akbur, and was sent to Agra in the first instance, but was subsequently given over in charge to Moonyim Khan, to accompany that nobleman on his assuming charge of the government of Bengal. Akbur, however, shortly after, remanded Moozuffur Shah into close confinement; from which he not only effected his escape, but flying into Guzerat, collected a respectable force, attacked the viceroy, Kootb-ood-Deen Khan, and slew him in action; and after an imprisonment of nearly nine years re-ascended the throne of Guzerat. His reign was, however, of short duration; for in the year A.H. 991 (A.D. 1583), Akbur having deputed Mirza Khan, Khan Khanan, the son of Beiram Khan, to retake the kingdom of Guzerat, Moozuffur Shah was defeated in a pitched battle, and fled to Joonagur. The checkered and unfortunate reign of Moozuffur Shah lasted for thirteen years and some months (exclusive of nine years' confinement), and his downfall terminated dynasty of the Mahomedan kings of Guzerat; since which period that kingdom has been considered as a province of Dehly, and the Emperor appoints a governor from his own court.

CHAPTER V

HISTORY OF THE KINGS OF MALWA

SOOLTAN DILAWUR GHOORY

THE country of Malwa is extensive, and according to the best authorities has always been governed by independent rajas. It is bounded on the south by the river Nurbudda, on the north it has the Chumbul;[1] to the west is Guzerat, and on the east are the districts of Bundelkund and Gurra Mundla. The Hindoo histories go back as far as the reign of Bikramajeet,[2] after whom reigned Raja Bhoj and many others, who are all mentioned among the rajas of Hindoostan. During the reign of Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun of Dehly, in the year A.H. 710 (A.D. 1310), the Mahomedans first invaded and conquered the province of Malwa; after which it acknowledged allegiance to that crown until the reign of Mahomed II., the son of Feroze Toghluk, (A.H. 789, A.D. 1387).

At this period Dilawur Khan Ghoory, whose real name was Hussun, a descendant on his mother's side from Sooltan Shahab-ood-Deen Ghoory of Damascus, was appointed governor of Malwa, previously to the accession of Mahomed the son of Feroze, and he subsequently established his independence. After him eleven princes reigned until the time of Hoomayoon Padshah, in the year 977 (A.D. 1569), at which period Bahadur Shah of Guzerat, and, some years after, Akbur Padshah, made incursions into Malwa; and the latter eventually subdued the kingdom, and attached it again to the Dehly government.

Dilawur Khan on assuming independence took up his residence at D'har, and very shortly afterwards brought under his subjection all the petty rajas of the province; but although he considered D'har as the seat of his government, he frequently

1. Ferishta evidently means, that after Guzerat ceases to be the western boundary about Kota, thence the Chumbul running in a north-easterly direction towards the Jumna forms the northern limit of Malwa.

2. The accession of this monarch has given rise to an era which commences fifty-six years before Christ.

visited the city of Mando, remaining there sometimes for months together

In the year A.H. 801 (A.D. 1398), Mahmood Toghluk being driven from his throne by Ameer Teimoor Korkan, made his escape from Dehly and fled to Guzerat; but not being received by Moozuffur Shah in the manner he expected, he became disgusted, and sought protection in Malwa. On his arrival at the frontier, Dilawur Khan sent some of his relations, and the most respectable officers of his government, to meet the exiled monarch, and to pay him such attentions as were due to the elevated situation from which he had so lately fallen. On his approach within three marches of D'har, Dilawur Khan himself went forward, and meeting him, accompanied him to his capital, where he proffered for his acceptance all his wealth, both in specie and in jewels; declaring they were much at his service, and that both he and all his family considered themselves his Majesty's subjects. Alp Khan, the son of Dilawur Khan, disapproving of these acts of courtesy, quitted D'har on the first intimation of his father's intentions, and retired to Mando, where he remained during the residence of Mahmood Toghluk in Malwa. It was at this time he laid the foundation of that celebrated fortress which was afterwards completed by him. The work is constructed of solid masonry, and is deemed one of the strongest fortifications in that part of the world.

In the year A H. 804 (A.D. 1401), Mahmood Toghluk, at the instance of the Dehly nobles, quitted Malwa, in order to resume the reins of his own government, taking from Dilawur Khan such a quantity of money and jewels as he deemed requisite. On his departure, Alp Khan returned and joined his father at D'har, after an absence of nearly three years. Dilawur Khan, at the instance of his son, shortly afterwards assumed royal state and titles; such as the white canopy and scarlet pavilion, and coining money; he caused public prayers to be read in his name.

It is said that the grandfather of Dilawur Khan came from Ghoor, and held a high office under the Dehly government; that his father was enrolled among the nobility, and received a title; and that Dilawur Khan himself attained the highest rank in the reign of Feroze Toghluk. During that of his successor, Mahomed, he was nominated to the government of Malwa; and in the reign of Mahmood, in the year A.H. 804 (A.D. 1401), he assumed

royalty, and divided his kingdom into estates among his officers, whom he ennobled. Dilawur Khan only survived his assumption of the royal titles four years; for in the year A.H. 808 (A.D. 1405), he died suddenly; and some historians have been asserted that he was poisoned by his eldest son and successor; but the accusation seems unsupported by any well-authenticated proof, and has been, in consequence, generally doubted.

SOOLTAN HOOSHUNG GHOORY

AFTER the death of his father, Alp Khan assumed the title of King of Malwa, under the name of Sooltan Hooshung Ghoory, and the nobles coming to court, paid their allegiance; but a rumour being prevalent at the time, that his father had been assassinated by him,[3] Moozuffur Shah of Guzerat, in consideration of the intimacy which had subsisted between him and the late king, marched against Sooltan Hooshung; and in the beginning of the year A.H. 810 (A.D. 1407), Moozuffur Shah reached the fort of D'har without resistance, where Sooltan Hooshung opposed him. The armies came to action on the plain in front of the town, and engaged with mutual ardour; on which occasion Moozuffur Shah was wounded, and Sooltan Hooshung was unhorsed; but the troops still continued to fight desperately, till at length fickle fortune, who does not always favour the bravest, turned the scale in favour of Guzerat. Sooltan Hooshung threw himself into the fort of D'har, wherein he was closely besieged by the Guzeratties; but conceiving himself unable to cope with success against Moozuffur Shah, he surrendered at discretion.

Sooltan Hooshung was delivered over in charge to some of the Guzerat nobles, and Noosrut Khan,[4] the victorious King's brother, was left in charge of the government of Malwa, with a strong detachment from the Guzerat force, and the Malwa troops were directed to obey him as their leader. Moozuffur Shah then retired to Guzerat. Noosrut Khan, extort-

3. I have met with no details of this dark event; but the defection of the Malwa officers, and the attack made by the King of Guzerat, on the ostensible ground of deposing the murderer of father, lead to strong suspicions against Hooshung, although Ferishta states that the accusation against him is generally doubted.

4. He is also called Shums Khan, and appears to have been the possessor of Nagoor, which descended to his children, as appears in the Guzerat history.

ing large sums of money, and otherwise oppressing the inhabitants, created universal disaffection; so that Moozuffur Shah had scarcely retired from Malwa when Noosrut Khan, apprehensive of remaining longer in D'har, commenced his retreat to Guzerat; while the Malwa army, taking advantage of the circumstance, attacked and destroyed part of his force. The Malwites, however dreading the vengeance of Moozuffur Shah, abandoned D'har, and took refuge in Mando, where they considered themselves safe, and created Moosy Khan, nephew of the late Dilawur Khan, their leader. When this information reached Guzerat, Sooltan Hooshung, although a state-prisoner, wrote a letter with his own hand to Moozuffur Shah, saying, "Considering your Majesty as my father and uncle, I am induced thus to address you. The insinuations with which interested persons have assailed your royal ear, I take God to witness, are false. It is now reported that the chiefs of Malwa, forgetting their duty to the respectable Noosrut Khan, have insulted him by electing Moosy Khan as their leader, and that having usurped the control over the territory of Malwa, they breathe the spirit of defiance. If your Majesty will condescend to raise me from the dust to which I have fallen, it is possible that I may recover the usurped dominion." Moozuffur Shah, after imposing certain conditions on Sooltan Hooshung, released him from confinement, and ordered his grandson, the Prince Ahmud, to reinstate him on his throne. In the year A.H. 811 (A.D. 1408), Prince Ahmud, accompanied by Sooltan Hooshung, left Guzerat, and proceeded direct to D'har, which they soon reduced; and having reinstated Sooltan Hooshung in his authority, the Prince Ahmud returned to Guzerat. Sooltan Hooshung remained for some days in the city of D'har, where being shortly after joined by many of the Malwa officers, he sent communications to those in Mando, many of whom rejoiced at his arrival, and were ready to join him; but their families being in the fort they were unwilling to abandon them, and were, therefore, unable immediately to form that junction which they so much desired. Sooltan Hooshung collected a small force and laid siege to Mando; but having lost a number of men without gaining any advantage, he conceived it better to disperse his army into separate detachments, in order to occupy the towns in the different districts.

In the mean time, Mullik Mogheis, the cousin of Sooltan Hooshung, held a private consultation with Mullik Khizr, com-

monly called Meean Agha, saying, "Notwithstanding Moosy Khan is a fine young man, and is also my cousin, yet in point of courage, ability, and good judgment, Hooshung has borne away the palm from the rest of the family. We have the means of putting him in possession of the throne, and I am desirous of promoting the object, both on account of his character and claims, as well as on account of my affection for him, for he was brought up principally under my own mother's charge." Meean Agha approving of the measure, they both quitted the fort during the night, and came direct to Sooltan Hooshung, who appointed Mullik Mogheis his minister and deputy during his absence, if such ever took place again. Moosy Khan having learned what had occurred, and despairing of maintaining his authority, abandoned the fort to Sooltan Hooshung, who assumed the government of Malwa.

In the year A.H. 813 (A.D. 1410), Moozuffur Shah of Guzerat dying, his grandson, the Prince Ahmud, succeeded to the throne, according to the will of his grandsire. On this occasion Feroze Khan and Heibut Khan, sons[5] of the late king, and uncles to Ahmud Shah, having determined to oppose him, raised troops in Baroach, and invited Sooltan Hooshung to march to their assistance. Hooshung, unmindful of the generosity of Moozuffur Shah, and forgetting the personal obligations he owed to Ahmud Shah, recollected only the first cause of the invasion of Malwa, and therefore resolved to march and lay waste part of Guzerat. Ahmud Shah having taken timely precautions, marched with a large force direct to Baroach, where the pretender and his brother were reduced to throw themselves on his mercy, while Sooltan Hooshung returned immediately to D'har. But so restless was the disposition of this prince, or so inveterate his enmity to the King of Guzerat, that he shortly afterwards involved himself in a new war.

In the year A.H. 816 (A.D. 1413), having heard that Ahmud Shah had marched against the Raja of Julwara, and invested his capital, Sooltan Hooshung, in spite of the gratitude he owed the King of Guzerat, led an army into his territory, and laid it waste. Ahmud Shah for the present postponed the attack on Julwara, and sent his troops to the east, towards Champanere, when Sooltan

5. It has been explained in vol. iv. p 7, that these princes were the sons of Noosrut Khan, called also Shums Khan Dundany, and consequently the nephews of Moozuffur Shah.

Hooshung fled with precipitation to Malwa. At this period, Mullik Nuseer, the elder son of the late ruler of Kandeish, having seized on Talnere, the hereditary estate of his younger brother, Mahomed Iftikhar, the latter solicited the aid of Sooltan Hooshung, who sent his son Ghizny Khan with fifteen hundred cavalry to the south, when having secured the fort of Talnere, he proceeded to attack Sooltanpoor, a district of Guzerat; but on the approach of Ahmud Shah, the Prince of Malwa retreated. Ahmud Shah had no sooner gone to Sooltanpoor than the rajas of Guzerat, particularly those of Julwara, Champanere, Nandote, and Idur, taking advantage of his absence, wrote letters to Sooltan Hooshung, saying, that although they had not succeeded in their last attempt, yet if he would now invade Guzerat, they were prepared to assist him with all their forces; promising, at the same time, that they would furnish guides to lead his army by an unfrequented route into the centre of Guzerat, without Ahmud Shah's knowledge. Sooltan Hooshung, resolved to wipe away the stain which his character had sustained in his late unsuccessful invasion of Guzerat, collected his army, and marching in the year A.H. 821 (A.D. 1418), entered the country by the route of Mahrasa. Meanwhile, Ahmud Shah having reached Sooltanpoor, Ghizny Khan fled precipitately to Malwa, and Mullik Nuseer to Aseer; but Ahmud Shah was surprised to hear that the King of Malwa had in the interim arrived at Mahrasa. Without a moment's delay, Ahmud Shah commenced his return to Guzerat, in spite of the heavy rain which fell at that time; and by rapid marches arrived in the vicinity of his capital, before information of his approach was brought to Sooltan Hooshung by the rajas. He accordingly sent for those chiefs at whose invitation he had entered into the confederacy, and accused them of treachery in concealing from him the fact of Ahmud Shah's near approach, and made their silence an excuse to retreat by the same route he had advanced, abandoning the rajas, and leaving them to make their way to their different districts, overwhelmed with chagrin and disappointment. On Ahmud Shah's arrival at Mahrasa he halted only a sufficient time to refresh his troops, and then marching into Malwa, he penetrated as far as the town of Calliada near Oojein. Here he was opposed by Sooltan Hooshung, who was defeated, and fled to Mando, pursued by the Guzerat cavalry to the very gates of the fort, while Ahmud Shah followed as far as Nalcha. At this place he halted for some time, sending his light cavalry to

scour the country, aware that the fort of Mando was too strong for him to attack with success. Ahmud Shah, therefore, conceived it prudent to confine his operations to D'har, to which place he marched; thence he intended to return to Oojein, but the rainy season setting in, his ministers advised him to defer the conquest of Malwa till the next year, when the campaign might be opened under every advantage; so that he returned to Guzerat in the year A.H. 822 (A.D. 1419).

Sooltan Hooshung had long evinced great partiality towards Mullik Mahmood, the son of his cousin Mullik Moogheis, and was at this time induced to confer on him the title of Khan, and the office of his father's deputy. He also directed that whenever he should take the field this young man should accompany him, while Mullik Mogheis remained at the capital. In the latter end of the year, Ahmud Shah returned for the purpose of completing the conquest of Malwa; but on Sooltan Hooshung sending ambassadors with magnificent presents to appease his wrath, he accepted terms, and returned to Ahmudabad.

In the year A.H. 823 (A.D. 1430), Sooltan Hooshung marched to the fort of Kehrla, on the frontier of Berar and the Raja Nursing Ray, opposed him with an army of fifty thousand men. A severe action ensued, wherein the Mahomedans were victorious; and Nursing Ray being slain, they besieged the fort of Sarungur, and took eighty-four elephants, together with all the Ray's treasures. Nursing Ray's son, being in this fort, signed a treaty, by which he consented to pay an annual tribute to the King of Malwa, after which the latter returned to Mando laden with booty.

In the year A.H. 825 (A.D. 1421), he left Mando with one thousand chosen cavalry, assuming the character of a merchant, and marched to Jajnuggur, one month's journey from Malwa. In order the better to conceal his object, he took with him horses of different colours; viz. bright bay, bright chestnut, and different shades of grey, such as the Prince of Jajnuggur was known to admire most, and many other kinds of merchandise considered scarce in his country, which the King intends to barter for elephants. The pretended merchants having arrived, the Raja, according to the custom of his country, intimated his intention first of all to inspect the linen goods, and then either to purchase them with money, or to barter elephants for them. The appointed day arrived, and the goods were spread out on the

ground; but on account of the heavy appearance of the weather, Sooltan Hooshung told the people that the articles would be damaged if rain came on. The Raja's servants, however, insisted on their remaining exposed till their master came; at the same time, the horses also were all saddled for inspection. The Raja at length arrived, and a thunder-storm coming on shortly after, the elephants of his cavalcade trampled over the merchandise, which was much damaged. Sooltan Hooshung, smarting under the loss he had sustained, ordered his followers to mount, and without hesitation attacked the Raja's escort, many of whom were slain, and the Prince himself taken prisoner; after which Sooltan Hooshung informed him of his real rank. Thus situated, the Raja of Jajnuggur purchased his liberty with seventy-five large elephants; but Sooltan Hooshung obliged him, as a measure of precaution, to accompany him as far as the confines of his country, whence he permitted him to return, but not without having received from him a few more of his finest elephants.[6] On his approach to Malwa, Sooltan Hooshung, hearing that Ahmud Shah of Guzerat had invaded the kingdom, and was now absolutely employed in the attack of Mando, entertained fears for the fate of the capital. On his arrival at Kehrla he induced the Raja to join him with his troops, after which Hooshung seized his person, and placed him in close confinement, by which means the King secured the fort of Kehrla, and left a garrison of his own troops therein, in order to ensure a position to fall back upon in case Mando should fall. Having taken these steps he marched to Mando, and entered the fort by the Tarapoor gate, on the south face. This fortification being one of the most extraordinary in the world, I think it proper in this place to give some description of it. It is built on the summit of an insulated mountain, said to be nineteen coss in circumference (28 miles). The place of a regular ditch is supplied by a deep ravine, formed by nature round the fortification, which is so deep that it seems impossible to take the fort by regular approaches. Within the forts is abundance of water and forage,

6. However romantic the whole of this expedition may appear, the fact of its occurrence is so fully authenticated by all contemporary authors that it can hardly be doubted. Elephants, so important in the warfare of those days, were absolutely necessary to enable Hooshung to oppose the King of Guzerat in the field; and the King of Malwa probably thought no person so fit to select them as himself.

though there is not sufficient space for the purposes of cultivation. Any army besieging Mando must confine its operations chiefly to blockading the roads; for it is scarcely possible to invest a place of such extent. Many of the roads from the fort are steep, and difficult of access. That leading to the south, known by the name of the Tarapoor gate, is so rough and steep that cavalry can with difficulty be led up, and on whatever side it is approached a pass must be surmounted; so that the enemy's force, though it occupies the several accessible roads, is necessarily divided, and one party may be cut off without receiving assistance from another. The road on the north leading to the Dehly gate is by far the most easy of access. Ahmud Shah, finding it useless to besiege a fort of this nature, sent out detachments from the army to occupy the surrounding country, himself marching through Oojein towards Sarungpoor. Sooltan Hooshung took advantage of his retreat to make forced marches by a more direct route; and reaching Sarungpoor before him, he sent a communication to the King of Guzerat, in order to delay his approach, saying, "The blood of the faithful depends on us; let us restrain, then, our hands from mutually destroying the true believers. I beseech you, therefore, to desist from this warfare, and return to Guzerat; meanwhile let hostilities cease, and receive my ambassador with the usual offerings, who has power to conclude an eternal peace between us." Ahmud Shah, relying with confidence on so solemn an appeal, neglected the ordinary military precautions necessary in an enemy's country; and Sooltan Hooshung, availing himself of the circumstance, marched with his army on the 14 of Mohurrum, in the year A.H. 826 (Dec. 29, A.D. 1422), and made a night-attack upon the Guzerat camp; the consequence was, that many of the Guzeratties were killed without opposition. The Malwites penetrated to the royal pavilion of Ahmud Shah, which was guarded by five hundred Rajpoots under the command of Savunt Ray, Raja of Dundooka, afterwards known by the name of the Kurry Raja. These brave men fought desperately, and were nearly all destroyed. Their gallantry alone enabled Ahmud Shah to make his escape under cover of the night; but he remained on the skirts of the camp, actively employed in collecting his dispersed soldiers, and at day-break he led a small but resolute party against the victorious Malwites. Sooltan Hooshung behaved with great bravery, and fought desperately: both he

and Ahmud Shah were wounded; but the King of Malwa, on whom the face of victor never smiled, was defeated, and threw himself into the fort of Sarungpoor. Ahmud Shah, by this event, not only recovered all the property he had lost, but in addition took twenty elephants from Sooltan Hooshung, besides seven of those he had lately brought from Jajnuggur, and which conveyed his treasure.

On the 4th of Rubbee-oos-Sany, A.H. 826 (March 16, A.D. 1423) Ahmud Shah commended his retreat towards Guzerat; and Sooltan Hooshung, elated by this movement, pursued and harassed the rear of his army daily. He compelled him at length to halt, and await the result of an action. The Malwites at first succeeded in breaking one wing of the Guzerat line; but it was so well supported by Ahmud Shah in person, that he repelled the onset, and was at length victorious, obliging Sooltan Hooshung to fly to Sarungpoor. The Malwa army lost, in killed, wounded, and missing, on this occasion, four thousand nine hundred men; and Ahmud Shah reached his frontier without further molestation. Sooltan Hooshung repaired to Mando, and recruited his defeated army. With respect to the journey of Sooltan Hooshung to Jajnuggur, a different account is given of it by one historian; but as I conceive that narrative not to be so authentic as this, and having given both accounts at length in my Guzerat history, I shall content myself with what has been already said on this subject.

Sooltan Hooshung, having recruited his forces, marched to besiege the fort of Gagrone, which shortly fell into his hands; from thence he proceeded to attack Gualiar, and had closely invested it for one month, when he heard that Syud Moobarik, the son of Khizr Khan, was on his march to the assistance of the Raja, by way of Byana. Having raised the siege, Sooltan Hooshung advanced as far as Dholpoor to meet him, when, after a few days' negotiation, a peace was concluded, mutual presents were exchanged, and both returned to their respective countries.

In the year A.H. 832 (A.D. 1428), Ahmud Shah Bahmuny, King of the Decan, made an attack on the fort of Kehrla with a large force. Sooltan Hooshung obtaining information of this event from the late Nursing Ray's son, marched to his assistance; but the Deccanies, hearing of his approach, commenced their retreat, and were pursued by the King of Malwa. Ahmud Shah Bahmuny, however, being hard pressed, caused the army to

move on by rapid marches, and remained in the rear with a select body of troops. At length the Deccanies offered Sooltan Hooshung battle. The conflict was not declined; but Ahmud Shah Bahmuny remained in ambush with a select body of cavalry. The King of Malwa (as had been anticipated) attacked the main body with fury, but was steadily received by the Deccanies; and being unprepared for the ambuscade into which he had been drawn by his enemy, was attacked in the rear, and his troops, according to custom, fled in great disorder, leaving in the hands of the enemy all their heavy baggage, and the followers of the army. Among the latter were the females of Sooltan Hooshung's family; to whom, after treating them with every respect, and allowing them a few days' rest, Ahmud Shah Bahmuny gave an escort of five hundred cavalry, with orders to convey them back to Mando.

In the year A.H. 835 (A.D. 1434), Sooltan Hooshung marched for the purpose of taking the fortress of Kalpy, then in charge of one Abdool Kadur, a Dehly officer. On arriving within a few miles of the place, he heard that Ibrahim Shah Shurky of Joonpoor was also on his march to reduce Kalpy; and conceiving it necessary to defeat him in the first instance, Sooltan Hooshung marched to oppose him. The Malwa and Joonpoor armies were within sight of each other, and a battle was hourly expected, when Ibrahim Shah Shurky (hearing that Syud Moobarik, King of Dehly, was on his march to attack Joonpoor), commenced his retreat to his capital without delay, leaving Sooltan Hooshung to return to Kalpy, which shortly after surrendered. Having ordered public prayers to be read in his name, and having received homage from Abdool Kadur, Sooltan Hooshung delivered over the charge of the government to him, as before, and returned to Malwa. On the road, he obtained information that a band of daring freebooters from the Jam hills had taken up their abode at the Houz-i-Bheem, and infested country of Malwa. He consequently marched in that direction; and having destroyed the Houz-i-Bheem, he returned to Mando, from whence he proceeded to Hooshungabad, where he remained during the rainy season.

It is related, that about this period Sooltan Hooshung, being one day on a hunting-party, lost a ruby from his tiara. On the third day it was found and brought to him by a foot-passenger, who received five hundred tunkas for his honesty. Sooltan Hooshung observed, "This circumstance puts me in mind of a similar

event which happened to Feroze Toghluk, King of Dehly, previously to his death. One day that king having lost a ruby from off his head on a hunting-party, gave five hundred tunkas to a peasant who found it. Sometime after, Feroze said, 'This is a hint to me to prepare for my long journey into the other world, when I must part with all the rubies and other jewels which I possess.'" Sooltan Hooshung also remarked, that he was sure this circumstance portended his own dissolution. The courtiers observed, that he should recollect that when Feroze made this speech he was upwards of ninety years of age, and it was not surprising, therefore, that death very shortly verified his prediction. "Your Majesty," they said "is, by the blessing of God, just now in the prime of life, the circumstances, therefore, appear altogether different." He was, however, shortly after afflicated with a violent attack of the stone. On the approach of this dangerous disease, he marched towards Mando, having formally proclaimed his eldest son, the Prince Ghizny Khan, his successor; and laying hold of the young man's hand in public durbar, delivered him into the hands of his favourite minister, Mahmood Khan, who promised to support his right to the throne, even to the last drop of his blood. The King then dismissing the durbar, sent for Mahmood Khan, whom he knew to be ambitious, and suspected that he might some day take advantage of the division of interests among the young princes to usurp the government. He told him plainly of his apprehensions, and made him again swear to defend Ghizny Khan, and also to be vigilant in watching the motions of Ahmud Shah of Guzerat, who, he observed, was "an ambitious and enterprizing prince, and contemplated the eventual conquest of Malwa." Mahmood Khan swore the most implicit obedience to Ghizny Khan, and the whole of the present royal family; and the King, at his instance, consented to release the young Prince, Oothman Khan, from confinement, and to give him an estate on which he might reside, and have no plea for disturbing the reign of Ghizny Khan. The heir-apparent, having heard what was in contemplation, sent for Mahmood Khan, and proposed that his brother should be required to take the oaths of allegiance to him in the King's presence. Mahmood Khan returned to his own house, where he received a secret deputation from Mullick Oothman Julwany and the Prince Oothman Khan. The agents commenced by

flattering Mahmood Khan, and observing, that they were surprised at a person of his discretion recommending Ghizny Khan as the King's successor, who, although the elder, was by no means to be compared, either in courage or talents, to his younger brother. Mahmood Khan was not disposed to dispute the qualifications ascribed to Oothman Khan, but was unwilling to have his courage or abilities brought in competition with those plans which he himself meditated on the throne; being fully convinced, that neither the disposition nor ability of Ghizny Khan were calculated to withstand the efforts he had resolved to make to forward his own views for the eventual usurpation of the government. Mahmood Khan therefore replied to the deputies, that it was his business to obey the will of his sovereign, who had declared Ghizny Khan his successor, and remarked that he had never presumed to oppose his wishes.

Zuffur Khan, a person of Prince Oothman's party, despairing of the King's life, fled from camp, in order to induce the keepers of the Prince, then in confinement at Mando, to release him, and give him an opportunity of disputing the crown with his brother. The minister, Mahmood Khan, hearing of this circumstance, informed the heir-apparent, Ghizny Khan, who ordered a party of fifty men of the royal guards to overtake and bring back Zuffur Khan and those who had accompanied him. The officer commanding the guard being well disposed towards the Prince Oothman refused to allow the horses to be saddled without an order from the King himself; and communicating the circumstance to one of the officers of the household, who was also inclined to favour Prince Oothman, he told the master of the horse to speak so loud that the King might overhear him; hoping that he would be provoked with Prince Ghizny Khan, when he heard that even before his death he had usurped all authority over his own household troops. The scheme succeeded; and Sooltan Hooshung, rousing himself, called for his bow and quiver, and swore he would put the Prince Ghizny Khan to death. On this occasion he summoned all the officers into his presence; but they, fearing he was really dead, and that Ghizny Khan had sent for them, in order to seize those who were unfavourable to his views, declined going. When the Prince heard of this he became much alarmed; and not possessing sufficient judgment to act with propriety, he fled to Gagrone, three marches from camp. From whence

he deputed Oomdut-ool-Moolk to wait on Mahmood Khan, and to acquaint him with his suspicions of the officers who conspired to raise Prince Oothman to the throne, at the same time assuring the minister, that excepting himself he believed he had no friend. The messagc went on to say, that the fact of the King calling for his bow and arrows convinced him that his Majesty intended at least to siezc and confine him, if not to put him to death. Mahmood Khan was obliged to send several persons to the Prince before he could be induced to return to camp. Meanwhile the King's life was despaired of; and the officers of his household, fearing lest Ghizny Khan should succeed to the crown, consulted together, and resolved to remove the King, even in his weak state, to Mando, where they proposed releasing the Prince Oothman, and placing him on the throne.

On the following morning, being the 9th of Zeehuj, A.H. 835 (Sept. 7, A.D. 1432), they carried their purpose so far into effect, as absolutely to place the King (who was quite senseless) in his palanquin, and to take him away from the camp on the road to Malwa; but they had not gone far before he died,—after a reign of thirty years. Mahmood Khan, accompanied by the Prince Ghizny Khan, followed the King's palanquin to bring it back; but the officers of the household declared that it was his Majesty's pleasure that he should be removed towards Mando, and that they had only acted in compliance with his orders. On the King's death, Mahmood Khan issued a proclamation in the name of the Prince Ghizny Khan, setting forth the circumstance, and declaring the nomination of his eldest son to the succession. After which his Majesty, being laid out in state, was conveyed to Mando, where his body was buried in a stone vault, which is still to be seen.[7] The date of his death will be found in the three last words of the following distich :

شهي والاقدر سلطان هوشنک
سوي دار البقا چون كرداهنگ
بپرسيدم زها تف سال تاريخ
ندا امد نما نده شاه هوشنگ

7. His vault and a splendid mausoleum are still to be seen at Mando, though it appears certain he was first entombed at Hooshunga-

When death had sealed the glorious Hooshung's fate,
And he prepared to tread on Lethe's shore,
I asked a poet to record the date,
Who briefly said, "Shah Hooshung is no more"

The author of his history relates, that water constantly ouses from the sides of his vault, between the apertures of the masonry, which falls in drops; that this phenomenon ceases in the four rainy months, but is unremitting in the dry season; which is absurdly attributed, by the natives of India, to the supernatural intervention of Sooltan Hooshung, for whose death, say they, "the rocks even appear to shed tears."

GHIZNY KHAN

SURNAMED

SOOLTAN MAHOMED GHOORY

Two days after the death of Sooltan Hooshung, Ghizny Khan was crowned at Mando, and assuming the title of Sooltan Mahomed Ghoory, ordered that his capital might henceforth be called Shadiabad Mando, or "The City of Joy;" and public prayers were read and coin struck in his name. Business was as usual transacted by Mullik Mogheis and his son Mahmood Khan, and no alterations took place in consequence of the death of the late king. Shortly after his accession, Sooltan Mahomed, however, evinced many traits of cruelty in his jealousy towards his brothers. Several persons supposed to favour them were put to death on bare suspicion, without public trials; and he put out the eyes of his nephew and son-in-law, Nizam Khan, and also those of Nizam Khan's three sons by his daughter. These acts excited disgust in the upper classes of society, and terror among the common people; so that the nation appeared ripe for insurrection. About this period the Rajpoots of Nandote having laid waste part of the territory of Malwa, Sooltan Mahomed, by the advice of Mahmood Khan, placing the army under the command of his chief minister, Mullik Mogheis, ordered him to march and

bad, a town called after him, lying on the Nurbudda river. The place of interment is still shown by some pious Mahomedans who reside on the spot; and the lines commemorative of his death were legible when the translator visited the tomb in October, 1817.

punish the enemy, having presented him on the occasion with ten elephants and a robe of honour. Shortly after, it was apparent the King had relinquished all interest in the transaction of public business, leaving it entirely to Mahmood Khan, while he gave himself up to the pleasures of the seraglio, and abandoned himself to drunken excess. The natural consequence of such conduct threw an increased accession of power and influence into the hands of the minister, while respect for the King gradually declined. This state of affairs was by no means pleasing to many of the nobles, who, dreading lest Mahmood Khan should be induced to usurp the crown, and thus put an end to the Ghoory dynasty, sent secret messages to the King, warning him of his danger. Mahmood Khan, who was at this time in the habit of seeing the King daily in private, became aware of his suspicions, and took precautionary measures for his own safety, which did not escape the King's notice, who one day told him that he had heard he intended to usurp the crown; then taking him by the hand, and leading him to his wife, the minister's sister, he conjured him, at all events, to spare his life. The astonished Mahmood disavowed any such motive, saying, that he had never broken the oath which he had sworn to his father, the illustrious Sooltan Hooshung, to support his authority.

Mahmood Khan, however, after he left the seraglio, resolved on the death of the King, which he conceived, having once been suspected of treachery, was now the only means of securing his own life. He in consequence bribed one of the King's private servants to administer poison to him in his wine, from the effects of which he died. The officers about the King's person no sooner ascertained the fact, than they brought forth the Prince Musaood, one of the late king's sons, a boy thirteen years of age, from the Seraglio, in order to place him on the throne. One of the officers (Mullik Bayezeed Sheikha) going to Mahmood Khan, and supposing him to be ignorant of the King's death, said that his Majesty wanted to see him, as he wished to send an envoy immediately to Guzerat. Mahmood Khan replied, that having relinquished his office of minister, he intended henceforth to become a sweeper at the tomb of his beloved master Sooltan Hooshung; and that under these circumstances it might be as well that the nobles should come to his house, and make arrangements for the future administration of affairs, as the King ap-

peared to have abandoned himself to wine and women. Mullik-Bayezeed, the more confirmed in his opinion of the minister's ignorance of what had occurred, agreed that those officers who had resolved on placing the Prince Musaood on the throne should go to Mahmood Khan's house, and seize his person. But the minister having obtained timely information of their intentions, previously ordered a body of soldiers to be in readiness in a private apartment, which, when they entered, rushed out and confined them. This bold measure so confounded the rest of the Prince Musaood's party that some fled precipitately out of the city, while others who remained, collecting troops, endeavoured to possess themselves of the canopy over the tomb of Sooltan Hooshung, and placing it on the head of the Prince Musaood, intended to proclaim him King. Mahmood, hearing of their proceedings, mounted his horse, and rode direct to the palace, where he made an attempt to secure the persons of the two young princes, Musaood and Ooomr Khan; but meeting with opposition in the courtyard, swords were drawn on both sides, and a fight ensued, which continued till night-fall. On this occasion many persons were killed; but the Prince's party being defeated fled, and Mahmood occupied the palace. On the next day he sent word to his father, inviting him to assume the reins of government; but he declined, saying that he alone was best able to conduct the affairs of the state.

SOOLTAN MAHMOOD KHILJY

AMONG the several Indian histories, but particularly in the Tareekh Alfy of Moolla Ahmud, we find it related, that the dynasty of the Ghoory family became extinct with Ghizney Khan; and that on Monday the 29th of Shuval, in the year A.H. 839 (May 16, A.D. 1435), Mahmood Khan assuming the title of Sooltan Mahmood Khiljy, ascended the throne, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and was crowned in Mando with the royal tiara of Sooltan Hooshung. At the same time public prayers were read, and coin was struck in his name; after which, having sent for the officers of the court, and presenting them with robes of honour, he confirmed the grants of the estates and offices which they held under the late king. To some he gave additional titles; among whom was Musheer-ool-Moolk, who received

the title of Nizam-ool-Moolk, and was appointed one of his ministers. Mullik Burkhoordar was nominated chief usher, with the title of Taj Khan. In addition to the titles of his father, Mullik Mogheis, who was already denominated Mullik Ashruf, Khan Jehan, he added those of Ameer-ool-Omra, Zoobdut-ool-Moolk, Khoolasut-ool-Malwa, Azim Hoomayoon. He was also permitted to assume the white canopy, and to bear a silver quiver, exclusive marks of royalty, beside being attended by gentlemen ushers bearing golden and silver staves, who perceded him when he appeared in public, proclaiming his titles, commencing "By the grace of God," and so on. The seals of the office of prime minister were also delivered over exclusively into his hands.

Sooltan Mahmood, during his whole reign, gave great encouragement to learned men, and founded several colleges in different parts of the kingdom for the promotion of literature, so that the philosophers and mowlanas in Malwa bore a fair comparison with those of Shiraz and Samarkand. After reorganising the affairs of his government, and having appointed the officers to their respective stations, some of those of Sooltan Hooshung's reign still remained unprovided for, who formed a project to seize the King. And in consequence one night, in pursuance of their plan, Mullik Kootb-ood-Deen Sumnany and Nuseer-ood-Deen Joorjany, with some others, having placed ladders so as to escalade, a musjid which commanded Sooltan Mahmood's palace, descended into the court-yard. During this operation, the King hearing a noise, and suspecting treason, came out fully accoutred with his sword, and bow and quiver, and proceeded direct to the spot where the confederates had assembled. He instantly attacked them without hesitation, and wounded many with his own hand; and being soon after joined by Nizam-ool-Moolk and Mullik Mahomed Khizr with the guards, the traitors made their escape, with the exception of one, who being unable to go down the ladder, threw himself off the musjid, and broke his leg. He was, in consequence, taken the next morning. This person discovered the names of all the conspirators, who being seized were punished. But Azim Hoomayoon, the King's father, interceded in behalf of the following persons, who were pardoned, and estates allotted to them :

The Prince Ahmud Ghoory, son of Sooltan Hooshung, received the estate of Islamabad.

Mullik Yoosoof, entitled Kowam Khan, had Bhilsa.

Mullik Itihad, Hooshungabad; and

Mullik Nuseer-ood-Deen, entitled Noosrut Khan, Chundery.

The Prince Ahmud, taking advantage of his situation, very soon collected a force at Islamabad; and Azim Hoomayoon proposed that remonstrances should be made to him in the first instance; which proving of no avail, the King ordered Taj Khan to proceed with a force to reduce him. On reaching Islamabad, Taj Khan found himself unable to make any impression on the fort, and wrote to court for reinforcements. This delay gave courage to other malecontents; and information was received that Mullik Itihad of Hooshungabad, and Nuseer Khan of Chundery, had both raised the standard of revolt. The King now directed his father to march in person against all the insurgents. His first object was Islamabad, where he was met, at the distance of four miles, by Taj Khan, whose force formed a junction with the Minister's army, and measures were taken to commence regular approaches against the fort; but owing to the deference Azim Hoomayoon always evinced towards the descendants of his patron Sooltan Hooshung, he sent some of the most respectable of his officers into the fort, in order to induce the Prince Ahmud to accommodate matters, but without effect. Kowam Khan, who also joined the King's army at this place, but who was secretly in league with the Prince Ahmud, privately furnished the garrison with stores; and the siege might have been protracted indefinitely, had not Azim Hoomayoon bribed one of his servants to administer poison to the Prince in a cup of wine, of which he died. Azim Hoomayoon instantly took possession of the fort without resistance, and marched to Hooshungabad; but Kowam Khan, suspecting that his treachery had been discovered, remained at Bhilsa, while Azim Hoomayoon continued his march. On his arrival at Hooshungabad, Azim Hoomayoon found that Mullik Itihad, afraid to oppose the King's army, had fled to the foot of the Gondawana hills, where the inhabitants seized and put him to death. After having occupied Hooshungabad with the King's troops, and placing a confidential officer in charge, Azim Hoomayoon proceeded to Chundery. On arriving within a few miles of the place he was met by Noosrut Khan, who threw himself on his mercy. Azim Hoomayoon, always inclined

to effect his object, if possible, by the most moderate measures, caused Noosrut Khan to go with him to the town, where he established an investigation into his administration; and having ascertained, beyond doubt, that he was constantly instilling insurrection against the government into the minds of the people, he was displaced, and one Hajy Kaloo left in his stead. From Chundery Azim Hoomayoon proceeded to Bhilsa, calling on Kowam-ool-Moolk to account for his conduct; but in spite of the frequent remonstrances sent to him he refused to meet Azim Hoomayoon, or to listen to any accommodation, so that after being closely besieged, and apprehensive that the place must fall, he fled, leaving Azim Hoomayoon to settle the affairs of the district, after which he returned to Mando. On his march thither he learned that Ahmud Shah of Guzerat had espoused the cause of the Prince Musaood Ghoory, and that he was in full march to support his rights at the head of a large force, accompanied by twenty elephants. Azim Hoomayoon made rapid marches towards the capital, and avoiding the Guzerat army by making a detour of twelve miles, he succeeded in throwing himself into the fort of Mando by the Tarapoor gate. Shortly after which the fort was invested by Ahmud Shah. The besieged made daily sallies on the trenches of the besiegers; and Sooltan Mahmood would willingly have marched out and given battle to the Guzerat army in the field, but his intentions were always frustrated by the opposition he met with from those officers who had been in the service of the late Sooltan Hooshung. Sooltan Mahmood, considering that almost the whole of his former adherents were averse to him, resolved to court popularity among the common people, by serving out grain from the public stores gratis. He also held out promises of estates to those Malwa officers in Ahmud's Shah's camp who were at all discontented, so that the Prince Musaood was deserted by many of the old Malwa chiefs, who came over to Sooltan Mahmood, and who at their instigation resolved to lead a night-attack against Ahmud Shah's trenches. Noosrut Khan, the officer who had lately been removed from Chundery, having given private intimation to Ahmud Shah of the intended attack on his lines, the object was, in a great measure, defeated. The assault took place, as was proposed; but Sooltan Mahmood was astonished to find the enemy so well prepared, that even the narrow passes

by which he was to advance were stockaded, and the Guzerat troops ready to oppose him. He, however, overcame these obstacles, having stormed and carried the stockades with severe loss; but still finding himself so warmly received on all sides, he was induced to retreat, after having slain a great number of the enemy.

At this period information was received that the Prince Oomr Ghoory, the younger brother of Musaood, who had first fled to Guzerat, had subsequently gone to the country of Rana Koombho of Chittoor. This prince was now at the head of a force; and having entered Malwa, had occupied Chundery, where the inhabitants and soldiers under Hajy Kaloo, revolting from him, had received the Prince with every demonstration of joy. This news having reached Ahmud Shah of Guzerat; he detached his son Mahomed Khan, with a force consisting of five thousand cavalry and thirty elephants, to Sarungpoor to make a diversion in favour of the Prince; and the governor of Sarungpoor, unable to oppose him, joined his standard. Sooltan Mahmood now resolved no longer to remain within Mando; but calling a council of war, it was agreed that Azim Hoomayoon should be left in charge of the fort, and that the King should take the field in person. Sooltan Mahmood marched out, therefore, with the army by the Tarapoor gate, without being opposed, and proceeded towards Sarungpoor, having sent Taj Khan in advance. This officer falling in with a detachment of Guzeratties under the command of Hajy Ally of Guzerat, who occupied a ford on the Chumbul river, attacked and defeated it. Ahmud Shah, hearing of Sooltan Mahmood's being in the field, directed his son Mahomed Khan to fall back from Sarungpoor on Oojein, to which place he himself proceeded, where the two Guzerat divisions formed a junction. Intimation of the movement of the Guzeratties was afforded to Sooltan Mahmood by Mullik Isak, the late governor of Sarungpoor, who wrote a petition, soliciting pardon for surrendering the place to the Prince Mahomed Khan, and now informed his master of the march of the former to Oojein in order to unite with his father's army : he stated, also, that the Prince Oomr Ghoory was advancing with a force from Chundery to occupy Sarungpoor. Sooltan Mahmood, rejoiced at having obtained this information, pardoned Mullik Isak, and detaching Taj Khan with a party of light cavalry to make forced marches to occupy Sarungpoor, followed with the main body to

that place. Upon his arrival he conferred on Mullik Isak the title of Dowlut Khan, and paid him ten thousand tunkas from the royal treasury; he presented him at the same time with a standard and an honorary dress, and increased his pay. He also gave horses and other presents to several other officers, among whom he distributed a donation of fifty thousand tunkas. Intimation was now received that the Prince Oomr, having burned the town of Bhilsa, was advancing to the Sarungpoor frontier, and that Ahmud Shah, with thirty thousand cavalry, and three hundred elephants, had left Oojein, and was in full march to the same place. Sooltan Mahmood, perceiving the object was to hem him in between the Prince Oomr and the Guzerat army, determined to prevent this manoeuvre, by attacking the Prince Oomr. He therefore marched the same night, but halted when the army arrived within twelve miles of the enemy, and sent Nizam-ool-Moolk and Mullik Ahmud Silehdar to reconnoitre his position. On the following morning, the two armies moved about the same time to the attack; and as the lines approached, the Prince Oomr, with a select party, took post in the rear of a hill, to fall upon the flanks of Sooltan Mahmood's army. This movement being perceived by the King, he pushed on in person, and suddenly coming upon him, cut off his division from the main body. The Prince's party fought desperately; but the bold charge made by Sooltan Mahmood in person threw it into confusion. The Prince was taken prisoner, and decapitated. His head was elevated on the point of the royal standard; and the King marched towards the army of Chundery, which had not yet been engaged. The officers of the Prince's army, having learnt his fate, agreed on a truce till next day; but during the night they fled to Chundery, where they placed Mullik Soolyman Ghoory, a relation of the Prince Oomr, on the throne, and saluted him with the title of Sooltan Shahab-ood-Deen. Sooltan Mahmood having detached a force to pursue the Chundery army, marched to attack Ahmud Shah of Guzerat; but a raging disease breaking out in the Guzerat camp, the effects of which were so sudden and fatal that the soldiers had not time to bury the dead, Ahmud Shah was compelled to retreat; and taking the route of Ashta, proceeded to Guzerat in the most expeditious manner, promising the Prince Musaood Ghoory that he would return on the following year and restore him to his rights.

Sooltan Mahmood, on the first intimation of Ahmud Shah's march, supposing it to be directed against his capital, proceeded to Mando, in order to reinforce that garrison; but after halting seventeen days, and finding that Ahmud Shah had retreated to Guzerat, he returned to the attack of Chundery. Here he was opposed by the pretender Mullik Sooliman, who, unable to withstand Sooltan Mahmood's troops, took refuge in the fore, and in the course of two or three days died suddenly. The officers of Chundery, however, still obstinately persisting in resistance, raised another person to the throne; and marching out of the fort, attacked the King, but met with a repulse. The siege of Chundery occupied eight months, when Sooltan Mahmood, becoming impatient, resolved to take it, if possible, by surprise; and heading a party himself, he escaladed the lower town in the dead of the night, and carried it, putting many of the enemy to the sword. Some few made their escape into the hill-fort, but they were closely besieged; and Ismael Khan, under whom the garrison acted, after a few days, sent a flag of truce, offering to surrender, on receiving a promise that the lives of himself and the garrison should be spared. The terms eventually granted were, that the besieged should bring all their private property, and their families, and place them in the public bazar, that the whole army might be witness of their complete subjection, but that their lives should be spared. After which, having put Chundery under the government of Mullik Moozuffur Ibrahim, the King intended to return to his capital, when he heard that Dongur Sing, the Raja of Gualiar, had marched to the southward, and laid siege to the fort of Nurwur, Sooltan Mahmood, notwithstanding the approach of the rains, and the arduous campaign in which his army had just been engaged, marched towards Gualiar, laying waste the Raja's country. The Rajpoots, sallying from the fort, attacked his troops, but they were defeated, and obliged to retreat. Dongur Sing, in consequence, was induced to raise the siege of Nurwur, in order to protect his own capital. The object of Sooltan Mahmood in relieving Nurwur being thus gained, he did not lay siege to Gualiar, but returned to Mando. In the year A.H. 843 (A.D. 1439), he commenced the repairs of the palace of the late Sooltan Hooshung, and the musjid built in commemoration of that monarch, near the Rampoora gate. This splendid edifice has two hundred and thirty minarets and three hundred and sixty arches.

In the year A.H. 844 (A.D. 1440), Sooltan Mahmood received petitions from the chiefs of Mewat and Dehly, stating, that Syud Mahomed, King of Dehly, the nephew and successor of Syud Moobarik, was totally incapable of supporting the weighty affairs of the government of his vast empire; that the oppressed were calling out on all sides for redress, and that the nation was anxious for Sooltan Mahmood to march to Dehly, and ascend the throne. In consequence of these overtures, in the latter end of the same year, Sooltan Mahmood put his army in motion for that purpose. On his arrival in the neighbourhood of the town of Hindown he was joined by Yoosoof Khan Hindowny, whence he proceeded towards the capital. Syud Mahomed, although he had a large force at his disposal, became alarmed, and proposed to quit Dehly, and fly to the Punjab. He was dissuaded, however, by his officers, and directed, that as there was no occasion for his own presence in camp, the army should march against the enemy under his son. The advance guard, consisting of a select body of archers, was commanded by Mullik Bheilole Lody. Sooltan Mahmood, hearing that the King was not with the Dehly forces; and conceiving it derogatory to proceed in person, retained with him a few thousand of his cavalry, and ordered the rest of his army under his two sons, Gheias-ood-Deen and Fidwy Khan, to oppose the enemy. An engagement took place, in which both armies fought desperately from mid-day till sunset, when the retreat was mutually sounded. On that night, Sooltan Mahmood dreamed that he saw an unknown person placed on the throne at Mando, who afterwards went to the shrine of Sooltan Hooshung, when the officers placed upon his head the canopy from the tomb of that monarch. Being much distressed in mind on account of this dream, he was deliberating how to act, when on a sudden a messenger arrived from Syud Mahomed, ordering his son to make peace upon any terms. An accommodation immediately succeeded, and the army of Sooltan Mahmood commenced its retreat to Malwa. It is a remarkable coincidence, that on the very night of Sooltan Mahmood's dream an insurrection did take place in the city of Mando, which was put a stop to only by the resolute and timely exertions of his father, Azim Hoomayoon, an account of which reached him on the road to his capital. But I find it stated in some histories, that the cause of Sooltan Mahmood's return originated in his having received intimation of the intended

attack of the King of Guzerat; and certainly this appears most probable. At all events, in the year A.H. 845 (A.D. 1441), he reached Mando, and distributed alms to all the poor in consequence of his safe return after so long a campaign. During the same year he repaired to the town of Nalcha, where he built some beautiful palaces and musjids; but his enterprising mind was ill calculated to indulge long in such pursuits: he assembled his army, and was about to proceed towards Chittoor. At this time he heard that Nuseer, the son of Abdool Kadur of Kalpy, having proclaimed his independence, had assumed the title of Nuseer Shah, and adopted principles in opposition to the tenets of the true faith. Sooltan Mahmood now directed his arms to that quarter. As soon as Nuseer Khan heard of the movement of the King, he deputed his tutor, Ally Khan, to wait on Sooltan Mahmood with rich presents, which were all rejected, and the ambassador, was not even allowed to enter the camp; till on the arrival of the King of Malwa at Julalpoor, in consequence of the repeated entreaties of his father, Azim Hoomayoon, Ally Khan was admitted to the presence, his offerings were received, and the submission of Nuseer Khan accepted. Sooltan Mahmood, however, marched on within a short distance of Kalpy, before he shaped his course towards Chittoor. After having crossed the Bunas river, he sent on detachments of light troops to lay waste the country. The main body continued to advance slowly, and was engaged every day either in taking prisoners or in destroying temples, and in building musjids in their stead. Sooltan Mahmood now attacked one of the forts in the Koombulmere district, defended by Beny Ray, the deputy of Rana Koombho of Chittoor. In front of the gateway was a large temple which commanded the lower works. This building was strongly fortified, and employed by the enemy as a magazine. Sooltan Mahmood, aware of its importance, determined to take possession of it at all hazards; and having stormed it in person, carried it, but not without heavy loss; after which, the fort fell into his hands, and many Rajpoots were put to death. The temple was now filled with wood, and being set on fire, cold water was throne on the stone images, which causing them to break, the pieces were given to the butchers of the camp, in order to be used as weights in selling meat. One large figure in particular, representing a ram,[8] and

8. If the Mahomedans did not mistake this figure, which was probably that of a bull, and not a sheep, the fact is extraordinary. It is the onlv instance I recollect of the ram being made an objec of worship.

formed of solid marble, being consumed, the Rajpoots were compelled to eat the calcined parts with pan,[9] in order that it might be said that they were made to eat their gods. Sooltan Mahmood having reduced this fort, which the kings of Guzerat, notwithstanding frequent and long sieges, had never been able to effect, caused public thangsgiving to be made, at which every person in camp was required to attend. From Koombulmere the army marched to Chittoor, and carried by storm the lower fort, in consequence of which the Rana fled to the hills, closely pursued by the King, while his father, Azim Hoomayoon, proceeded to occupy the districts surrounding Mundsoor; on which service he fell sick, and shortly afterwards died at that town. Although from the age of Azim Hoomayoon such an event was to be expected, yet Mahmood no sooner heard the news that he repaired to Mundsoor alone, caused the remains of his parent to be embalmed and conveyed to Mando, and became almost distracted with grief, so that he tore his hair and raved like one bereaved of his senses. In a few days after, having appointed Taj Khan to the command of the force at Mundsoor, and conferred on him the title of Azim Khan, the King returned to join his army at Chittoor. As the rains were now approaching, he endeavoured to find some elevated spot on which he might canton during the wet season, having determined to besiege the fort of Chittoor immediately after. Rana Koombho, however, on the night of Friday the 25th of Zeehuj, in the year A.H. 846 (April 24, A.D. 1443), made an attack on the Malwa lines, with a force consisting of twelve thousand cavalry and six thousand infantry. Sooltan Mahmood had taken up an advantageous position, and his advanced pickets were strongly posted, so that the line being enabled to turn out before it could be surprised, the assault completely failed. The Rajpoots suffered severely on this occasion. On the following night, Sooltan Mahmood attacked the Rana's lines, which were destroyed, many Rajpoots killed, immense booty obtained, and the Rana himself obliged to seek shelter in the fort of Chittoor. Sooltan Mahmood, having ordered public prayers to be read on this occasion, determined to defer the siege of Chittoor till the next year, and returned without molestation to Mando, where he built a beautiful pillar

9. It is hardly necessary to inform the Orientalist that chunam, or lime, is spread between the pan or betel leaf when it is eaten.

seven stories high, in front of a college, which he founded opposite the musjid of Sooltan Hooshung.

In the year A.H. 847 (A.D. 1444), an ambassador arrived at Mando from Mahmood, the son of Ibrahim Shah Shurky, King of Joonpoor, bringing with him the usual offerings, and representing that Nuseer Khan, the son of Abdool Kadur of Kalpy, having abandoned the doctrines of the true faith, propagated opinions subversive of Mahomedism; and that he had carried this apostasy to such lengths as to make over a number of Mahomedan females to be taught the art of dancing by Hindoos. The ambassador ovesrved, that as the governors of Kalpy, since the time of Sooltan Hooshung of Malwa, had been appointed from that court, the King of Joonpoor had deemed it proper to acquaint Sooltan Mahmood with the circumstances of the defection of Nuseer Khan; stating, that if he had not time to march in person to punish the apostate, Mahmood Shah Shurky begged that he might be permitted to do so in the name of the King of Malwa. Sooltan Mahmood replied, that his own army was at present employed at Mundsoor, in propagating the faith among the infidels, and that he entirely approved of Mahmood Shah's intention: after which the ambassador having received an honorary dress, and some presents for his master, took his leave. Mahmood Shah Shurky was so gratified with the reception his ambassador met with from Sooltan Mahmood, that on the following year he sent to him twenty of his finest elephants.

In the meantime, Mahmood shah Shurky marched to Kalpy, and assuming the right of a master, expelled Nuseer Khan from the town. The latter addressed a petition to Sooltan Mahmood, stating, that his family had always considered themselves the subjects of Malwa since the reign of Sooltan Hooshung till the present period; that now Mahmood Shah Shurky having penetrated into his district had expelled him without any cause whatsoever, excepting the wish of extending his territory; that Nuseer Khan had accordingly fled towards Malwa, being at present at Chundery, and he requested that Sooltan Mahmood would afford him protection and redress. On the receipt of this letter the King of Malwa deputed Ally Khan to the court of Joonpoor, requesting that as Nauseer Khan had returned to the right path his estate might be restored to him. Mahmood Shah Shurky remained sulky and sullen during the conference with Sooltan Mahmood's

ambassador, and refused to give a direct reply to his communication. The King of Malwa, incensed at this indignity, marched his army on the 2d of Shuval, A.H. 848 (January 8, A.D. 1445), to Chundery, where he was met by Nuseer Khan, and thence went towards Eerich and Bhandere. Mahmood Shah Shurky, on hearing this, moved also, and encamped in the neighbourhood of Eerich; where having seized the person of Moobarik Khan, (the son of Jooneid Khan, whose family had held the government of Eerich for many generations,) placed him in confinement, and took up a strong position in the broken ground on the bank of the river Betwa.[10] Sooltan Mahmood, desirous of replacing Nuseer Khan in his government, passed Eerich, and marched, in the first instance, direct to Kalpy. Mahmood Shah Shurky followed. Sooltan Mahmood now caused a detachment of his army to make a detour, which falling on the rear of the Joonpoor army, cut off its baggage on the line of march, while the King of Malwa halting with the main body brought on a general action, which lasted till sunset, when both armies mutually retreated, and encamped near to each other. The rainy season then approaching, and Sooltan Mahmood having no object to gain by another battle, broke ground, and moved to Futtehabad, where he built a palace seven stories in height. During this occupation the inhabitants of Eerich made complaints against the governor, Moobarik Khan, who had again returned. Sooltan Mahmood in consequence nominated Moozuffur Ibrahim, the governor of Chundery, to attack and reduce him, while Mahmood Shah Shurky, on his part, ordered one Mullik Kaloo to oppose Ibrahim. These two officers met at the town of Rohut, where Mullik Kaloo was defeated, and fled. Moozuffur Ibrahim, however, considering the security of his own district of main importance, returned to Chundery; and Mahmood Shah Shurky, on hearing of Mullik Kaloo's discomfiture, proceeded to Rohut. The war between the Malwa and Joonpoor kings being thus protracted to a considerable length, and many of the faithful destroyed on both sides in several actions, Sheikh Chand of Malwa, one of the most learned and respectable men of the time, engaged to compose the differences; and at the desire of Mahmood Shah Shurky addrssed a

10. This river forms the boundary between Rajwara and Bundelkund.—*Tod.*

letter, offering the following terms of peace to Soolton Mahmood Khiljy:—

"1. That Mahmood Shah Shurky should immediately evacuate the towns of Rohut and Mahoba, and deliver them over to Nuseer Khan.

"2. That in four months after the retreat of Sooltan Mahmood to Mando, the fort and district of Kalpy should be restored to Nuseer Khan, provided he showed contrition for having departed from the tenets of the faith; and conducted himself in every respect like a true believer.

"3. That the two armies should immediately withdraw to their respective territories."

Sooltan Mahmood, acceding to these conditions, marched direct to Mando; and in the year A.H. 849 (A.D. 1445), founded a large hospital, giving donations for its support, and appointing Mowlana Fuzl Oolla, his own physician, to superintend the whole establishment; which included wards and attendants for all classes of patients, and apartments for maniacs separate from the rest.

On the 20th of Rujub, in the year A.H. 850 (Sept. 11, A.D. 1446), Sooltan Mahmood marched to attack the fort of Mundulgur. On reaching Rampoora, he took the government of that place from Bahadur Khan, and gave it to Mullik Seif-ood-Deen; and crossing the Bunass, he moved on to Mundulgur, where Rana Koombho took post. The Rajpoots, sallying from the fort daily, made several desperate efforts in vain to raise the siege, till at length, foiled in all their attempts, Rana Koombho agreed to pay a large amount in jewels and specie, and Sooltan Mahmood concluded a peace and returned to his capital. After his arrival at Mando, he marched towards Byana, and on arriving within six miles of the place, the governor, Mahomed Khan, sent his son Khodawund Khan with a present of one hundred horses and a hundred thousand tunkas of silver. The King, in return, sent to Mahomed Khan an honorary dress embroidered in gold, a tiara of jewels, waistband of gold, and some Arab horses with gold saddles; in consideration of which Mahomed Khan caused the public prayers to be read in the name of Sooltan Mahmood. On returning towards his capital, the King subdued the fort of Anundpoor, situated near Runtunbhore, from whence having detached Taj Khan with a force of eight thousand cavalry and twenty elephants to the attack of Chittoor, himself proceeded to

Kota and Boondy; from the raja of which places he levied one hundred and twenty-five thousand tunkas, and eventually retired to Mando.

In the year A.H. 854 (A.D. 1450), the Raja Gungadas of Champanere, in hopes of receiving aid from Sooltan Mahmood, sent him an offering, and begged his assistance in repelling the attack of Mahomed Shah, the son of Ahmud Shah of Guzerat, who had surrounded and invested his capital. Sooltan Mahmood in consequence marched to his relief; and the King of Guzerat having lost a great number of cattle in the campaign, and being unable to move for want of them, set fire to his camp-equipage, and destroying his military stores, retired to Ahmudabad. Sooltan Mahmood, halting on the banks of the Mehindry, received sixteen lacks of tunkas and a number of horses from Raja Gungadas of Champanere, who came in person to pay his respects; after which the army of Malwa returned to Mando.

On the following year A.H. 855 (A.D. 1451), Sooltan Mahmood, with an army consisting of upwards of one hundred thousand men, marched with the determination of conquering Guzerat; and had Mahomed Shah lived, there is reason to suppose he would have succeeded. The Malwa army, on entering Kandeish, laid siege to Sooltanpoor; on which occasion the King was frequently attacked by sallies made from the fort by Mullick Alla-ood-Deen Sohrab Toork the governor; who finding that no reinforcements arrived to his support, not only surrendered the place but joined the army of Sooltan Mahmood, into whose service he entered. He also sent his family as hostages to the fort of Mando, after taking the most solemn oaths of allegiance. Sooltan Mahmood, satisfied of the sincerity of Mullik Sohrab, made him commander-in-chief of the Malwa army, with the title of Moobariz Khan; after which he proceeded towards the capital of Guzerat. On the road news arrived of the death of Mahomed Shah, and of the succession of his son Kootb Shah. In consequence of which event, Sooltan Mahmood wrote a letter of condolence to Kootb Shah on the death of his father, and of congratulation on his own accession, agreeably to the custom of the times; and having ordered a public mourning, he distributed pan and sweetmeats throughout the camp. Notwithstanding these outward forms of respect, Sooltan Mahmood continued his march, laying waste Guzerat as far as Baroda, and making many prisoners,

both Mahomedans and infidels, till at length he reached Ahmudabad. At this period Mullik Sohrab, who only waited for an opportunity of making his escape to his own master, left Sooltan Mahmood's camp, and joined the Guzerat army. Sooltan Mahmood on the next day encamped at Surkech, within three coss of Ahmudabad, and Kootb Shah took up ground at the town of Khanpoor, three coss distant from the Malwa camp. The contending armies remained for some days without coming to action, when on the 1st of Suffur, A.H. 856 (Feb. 10, A.D. 1453), Sooltan Mahmood proceeded with the intention of making a night-attack on the Guzerat lines, but losing his way in the dark, remained till daylight, uncertain where he was. On the morning, putting his troops into order, he directed his eldest son, Gheias-ood-Deen, to take command of the rightwing, composed of the Sarungpoor cavalry, and placed the left wing, composed of Chundery troops, under the command of his younger son, Fidwy Khan, and took command of the centre of the line himself, while the Guzerat army, under Kootb Shah, prepared to receive him. In the commencement of the battle the Guzerat advanced pickets being driven in fell back on the main body. Moozuffur Khan of Chundery, commanding a part of the left wing of the Malwa army, attacked the right of the Guzerat line, and even penetrated to the head-quarter tents, which he plundered, and loaded the elephants with the royal treasury; but during this movement the left wing, deprived of the services of the Chundery horse under Moozuffur Khan, was defeated, while that officer, who was engaged in conveying away booty, withdrew from the action altogether. Sooltan Mahmood, astonished at seeing his left wing fall back, galloped to its support with only two hundred cavalry, and charging the Guzeratties slew many men with his own hand. At this moment, Kootb Shah of Guzerat, with a select corps, having attacked the King of Malwa, cut off his small party, with the exception of sixteen troopers, with whom the latter made good his way to the royal pavilion; and having secured the crown of Guzerat, carried it off to his own camp, though the main body of his army was by that time completely defeated. During the remainder of the day, Sooutan Mahmood, having collected five or six thousand effective cavalry, caused a report to be publicly spread that he intended to make another attack on the Guzerat lines. The apprehension of which keeping the enemy on the alert enabled

Sooltan Mahmood to retreat to Mando during the night; but his army suffered severely from the attacks of the Bheels and Kolies during the march. It is worthy of remark, that Sooltan Mahmood never experienced a defeat before, or afterwards, during his reign. His son, Gheias-ood-Deen, with the right wing of the army, fled to Surat, where he plundered the country, and returned to Mando by the same route he came.[11]

In the year A.H. 857 (A.D. 1453), Sooltan Mahmood projected an attack upon Mewar; but being apprehensive of the King of Guzerat, he first of all made overtures for accommodation with that monarch, and resolved subsequently to march against Rana Koombho. Having collected his army, he went to D'har, whence he sent Taj Khan to the confines of Guzerat, in order to make proposals of peace; which being acceded to, it was resolved that the two nations should retain whatever they at that moment possessed: that they should enter into an offensive alliance against the Rajpoots of Mewar; by which it was agreed that the parties were to march and attack the Rana of Chittoor's territories; that all the country taken to the southward, and contiguous to Guzerat, should be attached to that kingdom, while that of Ajmere and Mewar, and the country to the northward and eastward, should belong to Malwa, and that the contracting powers should not withhold assistance from each other when demanded.

In the year A.H. 858 (A.D. 1454), Sooltan Mahmood attacked the Rajpoots of Kerowly, many of whom were killed, and their families taken prisoners, and sent to Mando; after which he marched by way of Gualiar to Byana, and arriving within a few miles of that place, Dawood Khan, the governor, sent a rich offering, and came out to meet him. Sooltan Mahmood retired from the north by Hindown; and having placed his son, Fidwy Khan, in the government of a district embracing Kerowly, Runtunbhore, and Ajmere, he returned to Mando. Shortly after his arrival, he received a communication from Sikundur Khan and Julal Khan Bokhary,[12] nobles of the court of Alla-ood-Deen Shah Bahmuny of the Deccan, inviting him to take advantage of the

11. That is, by Nundoorbar, Talnere, and Sindwa.

12. The insurrection caused by Julal Khan Bokhary and his son Sikundur Khan, during the reigns of Alla-ood-Deen and Hoomayoon the Cruel, has been detailed at length in the history of the Bahmuny kings. Vide vol. ii. p. 277, &c.

moment to march and seize the fort of Mahoor, in Berar. Sooltan Mahmood assembling an army at Hooshungabad marched to the south for that purpose; and on reaching Kehrla, called also Mahmoodabad, he was met by Sikundur Khan Bokhary, who accompanied him to Mahoor. The King of the Deccan also advanced with a considerable force; and Sooltan Mahmood, finding that he could not cope with success against the Deccan army, so far removed from his own resources, retreated to Mando, leaving a part of his army under the command of his favourite general Taj Khan to assist Sikundur Khan Bokhary. Scarcely had he reached Malwa, when he heard that Moobarik Khan Farooky, ruler of Kandeish, had laid hands on the country of Buglana,[13] lying between the Deccan and Guzerat, and dependent on Malwa. Conceiving this attack as personally concerning himself, Sooltan Mahmood marched towards that country, sending Yekbal Khan and Yoosoof Khan in advance. These divisions falling in with the troops of Moobarik Khan of Kandeish put them to the rout, and their chief fled to the fort of Asser, while the King of Malwa, laying waste many of the towns of Kandeish, returned to Mando; but being informed that the son of Baboo Ray, Raja of Buglana, was prevented from paying his respects at the Malwa court owing to the assaults of the Kandeish troops, Sooltan Mahmood directed his son Gheias-ood-Deen to attack Moobarik Khan, who on the first intimation of his advance again retreated to Aseer. The young raja was thus enabled to proceed to Mando to offer his presents and pay his respects, after which he returned to Buglana. Meanwhile the Prince Gheias-ood-Deen proceeded to Runtunbhore, while the King marched in the direction of Chittoor. Rana Koombho, in order to avert the approaching calamity, met the King on the road, and made a large offering of money coined in his own name.[14] This circumstance so incensd Sooltan Mahmood

13. It is extremely difficult to imagine by what reasoning Buglana could be deemed dependent on Malwa. I do not recollect any previous connection between these two states; and the only inference that can be drawn at this remote period from the assertion of the Malwa historian is, that the Raja of Buglana, being attacked by Moobarik Khan ruler of Kandeish, applied to Sooltan Mahmood of Malwa for aid, with a promise of paying him for it.

14. The cause of Sooltan Mahmood's refusing the offering suggests the idea that Rana Koombho was a subjugated prince, but the fact is certainly otherwise; and we must ascribe the rejection of it to

that he returned the whole sum, and prosecuted his march to Chittoor, having detached Munsoor-ool-Moolk to lay waste the country of Mundsoor. He also threatened, at the same time, to leave his own governor in those provinces, and to build a town to be called after his own tribe, Khiljipoor. Rana Koombho, fearful of losing his country, sent messengers to Sooltan Mahmood in order to appease him, declaring he was willing to pay him any sum he was able rather than relinquish his territory, and promised henceforward to acknowledge himself a tributary of the Malwa crown. The monsoon coming on at this time, the King consented to receive a sum of gold, which he himself named, and then retired to Mando; where having remained some time, in the year A.H. 859 (A.D. 1454), he returned to Mundsoor, when dividing the army into detachments, he entirely occupied the whole district.

At this period, having understood that the Mahomedan religion no longer prevailed in Ajmere, he marched thither, and laid siege to the fort. The Raja, Gungadhur Ray, attacked the Mahomedan forces on four successive days, fighting on each occasion most gallantly, till at length he was killed; and the Rajpoots retiring in confusion, the Mahomedans followed them so closely that they entered the fort with the fugitives, and by that means obtained possession, but not without sustaining severe loss. The King built a musjid in the fort in commemoration of this event; and creating Khwaja Neamut Ooolla governor, with the title of Seif Khan, he fell back on Mundulgur, encamping on the banks of the Bunas river to the south of that fortress. Rana Koombho, at the head of a body of Rajpoots, attacked one flank of the King's army under Taj Khan, and sent another body to attack that of Ally Khan. A severe action ensued in consequence, when the retreat was mutually sounded. On the following morning the Malwa officers persuaded the King of the necessity of his army retiring into quarters, both on account of their reduced numbers

the insufficiency of the amount to appease the insatiable demands of the Mahomedan king. The ranas of Chittoor, though they frequently submitted to exactions from the kings of Guzerat and Malwa, yet they never lost altogether any considerable portion of their territory; and we know that Sanka, the grandson of Rana Koombho, was at the head of that formidable army which made an effort to recover the government from the power of the Great Mogul, Babur, in the battle of Kanwa, fought on the 21st of March, 1526. Vide vol. ii. p. 35.

and the wretched state of the camp-equipments, now rendered almost useless; which circumstances, together with the approach of the rainy season, induced Sooltan Mahmood to return to Mando.[15]

On the 26th of Mohurrum, in the year A.H. 861 (Dec. 23, A.D. 1456), the King again proceeded to Mundulgur; and after a vigorous siege occupied the lower fort, wherein many Rajpoots were put to the sword, but the hill-fort still held out; to reduce which might have been a work of time; but the reservoirs of water failing in consequence of the firing of the cannon,[16] the garrison was obliged to capitulate, and Rana Koombho stipulated to pay ten lacks of tunkas. This event happened on the 20th of Zeehuj of the same year A.H. 861 (Nov. 8, A.D. 1457), exactly eleven months after the King's leaving Mando. On the following day the King caused all the temples to be destroyed, and musjids to be erected in their stead, appointing the necessary officers of religion to perform daily worship. Having also provided for the security of the place, he left Mundulgur on the 16th of Mohurrum of the following year A.H. 862 (Dec. 4, A.D. 1457), and proceeded to Mando by the route of Chittoor. On the road the King detached his eldest son, Gheias-ood-Deen, to lay waste the country of the Bheels and Kolies. Gheias-ood-Deen having ravaged their districts, and taken many prisoners, returned to his father. Shortly afterwards the King sent his youngest son, Fidwy Khan, to reduce the fort of Boondy,[17] where the prince was opposed by the Rajpoots, who, after a bloody action, in which they displayed great courage, were defeated, and took refuge in the fort, whither they were pursued so closely, that many threw themselves into the ditch and were taken, after which the fort fell on the first

15. Col. Tod. whose authority may be relied on, states that a superb column, which cost 900,000*l.* sterling, built by Rana Koombho about this period commemorating a great victory obtained by him over Sooltan Mahmood of Malwa, is still standing, and that he copied the inscription from it. This inscription confirms the Hindoo records of the time; and the drawn battle mentioned by the Malwa historian must, therefore, be deemed a defeat, more especially as the ruinous state of camp equipments would hardly justify the abandonment of a campaign, though it might require the army to halt for a season till they were renewed.

16. Concussion opens the crevices of the reservoirs, and the water is lost.

17. Boondi of Rennell.

assault. The Prince Fidwy Khan having offered up prayers for his success, and placed an officer of rank in the town of Boondy, rejoined his father at Mando.

Sooltan Mahmood, in the year A.H. 863 (A.D. 1458), again marched against the Rajpoots. On arriving at the town of D'har, he detached Gheias-ood-Deen to lay waste the country of the Kolies and Bheels. In this excursion the Prince penetrated to the hills of Koombulmere, and on his return, having given the King some description of that fortress, Sooltan Mahmood resolved to march thither. On the next day he moved for that purpose, destroying all the temples on the road. On his arrival at Koombulmere, having ascended a hill at some distance on the east face of the fort, he was of opinion that nothing but a close siege of several years could effect its reduction, and on the following day, marching towards Dongurpoor, he encamped on the borders of the lake. Sham Das, the Ray of Dongurpoor, fled to Kohtahna, from which place he sent as an offering two lacks of tunkas and twenty-one horses, and Sooltan Mahmood afterwards returned to Mando. In the month of Mohurrum, A.H. 866 (September, A.D. 1461), having heard that a prince under age had succeeded to the throne of the Deccan, under the title of Sooltan Nizam Shah Bahmuny, and that the officers of the state refused to pay him proper respect, Sooltan Mahmood, at the instigation of Nizam-ool-Moolk Ghoory, marched for the purpose of subduing the Deccan. Having crossed the Nurbudda, he received information that Moobarik Khan of Aseer was dead, and that his son, Adil Khan, who had succeeded him, had commenced his reign by putting to death Syud Kumal and Syud Sooltan, two of the most respectable and holy persons of the age, and plundered their houses of all their property. This information was confirmed by the arrival of their other brother, Syud Julal, who on his knees entreated the interference of the King of Malwa. Sooltan Mahmood, in consequence, marched direct to Aseer, whence Adil Khan addressed a humble petition, accompanied by an offering, which was delivered by one of the descendants of the venerable Sheikh Musaood Gunj Shukr. Sooltan Mahmood considering that even if he proceeded to attack Aseer he might not be able to effect its reduction, which would reflect disgrace instead of honour upon his arms, made a merit of becoming reconsiled to Adil Khan Farooky. He therefore accepted his offering, and for-

gave him, on the plea of his sincere repentance. From Aseer Sooltan Mahmood marched to Elichpoor, and eventually to Belapoor, where his scouts brought him intelligence that the ministers of the young King of the Deccan had distributed two crore of tunkas among the officers and soldiers, and that the Deccan army, besides cavalry and infantry, was accompanied by one hundred and fifty elephants. Sooltan Mahmood, nevertheless, moved directly towards the Deccanies, till within three coss of Bidur, when an action was fought. Khwaja Jehan Toork, entitled Musheer-ool-Moolk, took the command of the Deccan army; and having placed the young king, who was only eight years of age, on an elephant with the white canopy over his head, brought him into the field. Mullik Nizam-ool-Moolk commanded the left wing, and Khwaja Mahmood Gawan, entitled Mullik-oot-Toojar, the right wing. When the armies closed, the latter officer charged the left wing of the Malwa forces, and succeeded in breaking it. On this occasion, both Mahabut Khan, the governor of Chundery, and Zuheer-ool-Moolk, one of the Malwa ministers, were killed, and the right wing giving way shortly after, the Malwa troops fled and were pursued by the enemy for the distance of sixteen or eighteen miles. Sooltan Mahmood no sooner perceived the probability of a defeat than he retired with a party from the field, and waited his opportunity to regain the battle; so that having allowed the Deccanies to be fully engaged in plunder, he suddenly appeared, and charging full on their rear with two thousand cavalry, gave them a complete overthrow. In this dilemma, Khwaja Jehan Toork, who commanded the centre of the army, and had not been engaged, surrounding the young King with a body of troops, carried him off in safety to the fort of Bidur. The face of affairs being thus reversed, Sooltan Mahmood in a few days re-assembled his forces, and invested the capital of the Deccan. Mullik-oot-Tajoor also collected in large force, and marched to raise the siege. The season being excessively hot, and the Malwa army so far from its own resources, Sooltan Mahmood commenced his retreat. During the march, he was greatly harassed by Mullik-oot-Toojar, an annoyance which did not cease till his arrival at Mando. On the following year, having resolved, if possible, to wrest the government of the Deccan out of the hands of the minister, he again marched to the south. For this purpose he ordered the army to assemble at the

town of Nalcha, where receiving advices from Siraj-ool-Moolk of Kehrla that. Nizam-ool-Moolk, a Deccan officer, with a large force, was on his march to attack that place, the King of Malwa moved in that direction. On the road he learned that the fort having been invested, the governor, who was always in a state of intoxication, had permitted his son to sally with an inadequate force and engage the Deccanies; that he had in consequence been defeated, and that the besiegers pursuing the garrison within the walls, the place had fallen into the hands of Nizam-ool-Moolk; but that he, having exercised excessive tyranny towards the inhabitants, had been put to death by a party of Rajpoot infantry.[18] The instant Sooltan Mahmood heard of these events, he ordered Mukbool Khan with four thousand cavalry to proceed to Kehrla, marching himself to take revenge on the Deccanies towards Dowlutabad. On the road he was overtaken by ambassadors from Surgooja and from Jajnuggur, with presents consisting of five hundred and thirty elephants.[19] Having bestowed honourary dresses on the envoys, he dismissed them to their respective courts, and himself arrived at the town of Khuleefabad, where a messenger met him, conveying a dress from the Ajmer-ool-Mominin Moostied Billa Yoosoof, the son of Mahomed Abassy, the Caliph of Egypt, as a token of his friendship and respect, also a letter styling him Defender of the Faithful, Sooltan Mahmood, in return, presented the bearer with several fine horses and other valuable articles. On reaching the Dowlutabad frontiers, news arrived that the King of Guzerat was on full march in his rear, in order to assist the King of the Deccan; on which Sooltan Mahmood taking the route of Malconda[20] on his return home, plundered that district, and marching through Gondwara arrived at Mando.

The best authenticated history I have seen, however, thus

18. The cause of the death of Nizam-ool-Moolk is more satisfactorily accounted for in the Deccan history, vol. ii. p. 299.

19. It is clear, from the way in which the historians of the times speak of elephants, as composing part of the Indian armies, their value was highly appreciated. It is probable that Sooltan Mahmood might have sent to the rajas of Surgooja and Jajnuggur, where wild elephants abound, to send some to him, which arrived very opportunely.

20. I am not aware of any town in Berar bearing this name; and the Teloogoo termination, *conda*, renders it likely to be an error of transcribers. It may be Mulkapoor, which lies in the direct route of the King's retreat.

records these events : "In the year A.H. 897 (A.D. 1465), Nizam-ool-Moolk Toork being ordered to attack Kehrla, he reduced that place by storm" (a detailed account of which has been already given in the history of the Kings of the Bahmuny dynastry of the Deccan); "and on the 1st of Rubbee-ool-Awul, of the year A.H. 871 (October 11, A.D. 1466), the King of Malwa despatched Mukbool Khan to the attack of Elichpoor, and having occupied that town, he gave it up to be sacked. During the night the governor of the town, collecting one thousand five hundred cavalry and all the infantry in the place, resolved on attacking Mukbool Khan, but the latter, hearing of his intention, sent off his baggage and part of the army, only retaining with himself his best cavalry. With this body he took post on the road where he expected the assault would be made. The enemy, as he anticipated, attacked the army for the sake of plundering the camp-equipage, &c.; and at the very moment they expected to be crowned with victory, Mukbool Khan charging with his cavalry on the rear of the assailants gave them a total defeat, and pursued them to the very gates of Elichpoor. The Deccanies lost on this occasion twenty officers of note killed, and thirty more who were taken prisoners. After this success Mukbool Khan proceeded to Kehrla." In the month of Jumad-ool-Awul of the same year, A.H. 871 (January, A.D. 1467), the kings of Malwa and the Deccan concluding a peace, it was agreed, according to some historians, that Kehrla should be retained by Malwa, and that it should be considered as the southern limit of that Kingdom; while others have asserted, that Elichpoor was ceded to Malwa on condition of the King refraining from invading the Deccan in future.

In this year Sooltan Mahmood caused the public accounts to be kept according to the lunar year, abolishing the system of the solar year. In the same year, also, the famous Sheikh Alla-ood-Deen, one of the most holy men of his age, arrived near Mando; on which occasion, Sooltan Mahmood paid him the compliment to go out and meet him at the Howz-i-Rany; and in order to preserve the dignity of each, the parties embraced on horseback. Shortly after, Mowlana Imad having been deputed by the reverend Syud Noor Bukhsh (the founder of a sect of Mahomedans in Kashmeer denominated Noorbukhshies), delivered to the King of Malwa the garment worn by that holy personage. Sooltan Mahmood, considering it a valuable gift, put it on, and in

honour of the event distributed alms to all the holy men and the poor of the City. In the month of Mohurrum, A.H. 872 (August, A.D. 1467), information was brought that Mukbool Khan, the governor of Kehrla, having plundered the town, and secured a large booty, had retired to the south, and put himself under that he had delivered over all the public elephants and the fort the protection of the King of the Deccan. It was, moreover, stated, to the young raja of Kehrla, in consequence of which a general massacre of the Mahomedans ensued; and the Raja was joined by the inhabitants of Gondwara, many of whom had entered his service. With these bands he waylaid travellers, and acted the part of a common robber. Sooltan Mahmood, under these circumstances, ordered Taj Khan and Ahmud Khan with their divisions to attack the Raja, while he himself remained to organise the army at Nalcha. The troops under Taj Khan having made rapid marches to Kehrla were opposed on the plain by the young raja, who made a desperate resistance, and fought a severe action; but being defeated in the end, and obliged to fly, he threw himself on the protection of the Gond zemindars, by one of whom he was seized and delivered up to the King's forces, who in the mean time re-occupied Kehrla. Sooltan Mahmood, on hearing of this success, marched in the direction of Sarungpoor, in order to receive Khwaja Jumal-ood-Deen, ambassador from the court of Aboo Syeed Mirza,[21] King of Bokhara. Flattered by this mark of attention, Sooltan Mahmood loaded the ambassador with honours and presents, sending him back to his master with a variety of the rarities of India, such as muslins of all descriptions, Arab horses, dancing women, and singers mounted on elephants superbly caparisoned, together with a number of Indian and Abyssinian slaves for the seraglio, and also a few meinas[22] and parrots which had been taught the Persian language; added to this, the King deputed Alla-ood-Deen as ambassador, to accompany Jumal-ood-Deen on his return to Bokhara. Jumal-ood-

21. Aboo Syeed Mirza, third in descent from Tamerlane, reigned over Transoxania, and held his court at Bokhara. He was the grandfather of Babur, the founder of the dynasty of the Great Mogul in India.

22. The meina is, in shape, not unlike the blackbird; but its dark plumage is much intermixed with white and bright yellow, and may be taught to speak more plainly than any other bird. It is supposed, by some persons, to be the same as the mocking-bird of America, though I believe they are different.

Deen was the bearer of a poem composed by himself on the virtues of Aboo Syeed, written in the Indian language, which he read, and which was translated by Aboo Syeed's ambassador. It is said, this poem gratified the King of Bokhara more than any of the numerous rarities which the ambassador brought.

In the year A.H. 873 (A.D. 1468), advices were brought from Ghazy Khan, stating that the zemindars of Keechiwara had laid hands on part of the Malwa territory. On this information the King proceeded to punish them, sending a force in advance into the country of the Keechies; but being aware of the difficulty of carrying on operations in the interior, he built a fort which he called Julalpoor, leaving Meer Khan to keep the surrounding zemindars in subjection. After this campaign Sooltan Mahmood returned towards Mando; but having suffered severely from the heat of the weather before he left Keechiwara, he fell dangerously ill on the road, and died on the 19th of Zeekad, A.H. 873 (May 27, A.D. 1469) at the age of sixty-eight.

شهي رالاقدر سلطان محمود
چون شد از امر حق رحلت گزيني
بپرسيدم زها تف سال تاريخ
ندا امد که شد جنت نشيني

"When the illustrious Sooltan Mahmood, according to the will of God, went on his long journey, I asked of a courtier the date of his death, and a voice answered, '*He has a place in heaven*'."[23]

Sooltan Mahmood of Malwa ascended the throne in the 34th year of his age, and reigned thirtyfour years. It is a remarkable coincidence that this sovereign should have reigned as a king the same number of years he lived as a subject, more particularly as Ameer Teimoor Korkan, his contemporary, ascended the throne in the 36th year of his age, and reigned exactly thirty-six years. Sooltan Mahmood was polite, brave, just, and learned, and during his reign his subjects, Mahomedans as well as Hindoos, were happy, and maintained a friendly intercourse with each other. Scarcely a year passed that he did not take the field, so that his tent became his home, and his resting-place the field of battle.

23. The numerals of the two last words جنت نشيني give the date of his death.

His leisure hours were devoted to hearing the histories and memoirs of the courts of different kings of the earth read. He prided himself (not without reason) on his intimate knowledge of human nature, a subject to which he devoted much attention. His justice was so prompt and exact that it frequently happened when a merchant had been plundered during the night in Mando, and the fact was fully established, that he was instantly reimbursed for his losses from the public treasury; and a sum equal to the amount was levied from the police officers whose business it was to trace the robbers, and to protect that part of the city. On hearing that a traveller had been carried off by a tiger, he ordered the governors of the different provinces to send out parties and destroy these wild beasts; proclaiming, that if after the period of two years he ascertained a human being were killed by a wild beast, unless in attacking him, he would hold the governor responsible. The promptitude he observed in making his actions accord with his words was so well understood that for many years after his death wild beasts of any description were scarce throughout the kingdom.[24]

SOOLTAN GHEIAS-ODD-DEEN

SOOLTAN GHEIAS-OOD-DEEN, the elder son of Sooltan Mahmood, ascended the throne of Malwa on the death of his father. Having conferred on his younger brother, Fidwy Khan, the government of Runtunbhore to be held in perpetuity, he nominated his own son, Abdool Kadur, prime minister, and proclaimed him heir-apparent, with the title of Sooltan Nasir-ood-Deen; conferring on him, also, at the same time, a chutr and palky, an estate for his support, and the command of a body of twelve thousand cavalry. Shortly after his accession the King gave a grand entertainment; on which occasion, addressing his officers, he stated, that as he had during

24. Perhaps no part of India so abounds with tigers at present as the vicinity of the once famous city of Mando. This capital, now deserted by man, is overgrown by forest trees; and from being the seat of luxury, elegance, and wealth, has become the abode of wild beasts, and is resorted to by the few Europeans in that quarter of the world for the purpose of enjoying the pleasure of destroying them. Instances have been known of the tigers being so bold as to carry off troopers riding in the ranks of their regiments.

the last thirty-four years been employed constantly in the field, fighting under the banners of his illustrious father, he now yielded up the sword to his son, in order that he might himself enjoy ease the rest of his days. He accordingly established within his seraglio all the separate offices of a court, and had at one time fifteen thousand women within his palace. Among these were schoolmistresses, musicains, dancers, embroiderers, women to read prayers, and persons of all professions and trades. Five hundred beautiful young Toorky females in men's clothes, and uniformly clad, armed with bows and quivers, stood on his right hand, and were called the Toorky guard. On his left were five hundred Abyssinian females also dressed uniformly, armed with fire-arms. Each individual within the seraglio was allowed daily two seers of grain and two tunkas of copper. One day having observed a mouse in the royal apartment, he ordered it to receive its daily allowance of rice and money; and this absurdity extended to the tame pigeons, parrots, &c. With all these extraordinary fancies, he was particular in his daily prayers, and gave instructions to his attendants always to wake him at the specified time; if asleep, they were authorised to use every exertion to prevent his missing the hour of prayer; and it is well known that they have even sprinkled water on his face, and pulled him out of his bed before he would rise; but on these occasions he was never known to lose his temper. It is an extraordinary fact that no rebellion among his own subjects, nor invasion of the Malwa territories by an enemy, occurred during his reign until the year A.H. 887 (A.D. 1482), when Bheilole Lody, King of Dehly, attacked Runtunbhore. It was with difficulty the circumstance was conveyed to the King's knowledge, though the fact was well known throughout the city, and had become a subject of notoriety and conversation before the minister could have access to the seraglio. On receiving the news, the King directed Sheer Khan of Chundery to collect the forces of Bhilsa, Sarungpoor, and Chundery, and march direct against the invader; and his orders were so promptly carried into effect, that Sheer Khan marched to Byana. Bheilole Lody, rather than risk a battle, retreated, while Sheer Khan pursued him towards Dehly; when Bheilole even thought it advisable to pay a sum of money to induce him to retire without molesting the country. Sheer Khan retreated, and rebuilt the town of Lallpoor, which Bheilole had destroyed; and thence returned to Chundery.

In the year A.H. 903 (A.D. 1497), Sooltan Gheias-ood-Deen having arrived at an advanced age, his sons anxiously looked for his death, as an event which would secure to one of them the throne of Malwa. The youngest, Shoojat Khan, surnamed Alla-ood-Deen, resolved either to depose his elder brother, Nasir-ood-Deen, after his accession, or to cut him off before his father's death; and this determination becoming known, a jelousy arose between the two brothers, who conspired against each other. The contentions of the princes rose to such a height that the elder brother was obliged to fly from Mando in the year A.H. 905 (A.D. 1499). He, however, collected a force, and returned and besieged that fortress. Having during the whole of his father's reign officiated as prime minister, he had great influence, and he gained over some of the officers in the fort who opened the Tarapoor gate, and admitted him on the 24th of Rubbee-oos-Sany, A.H. 906 (October 22, A.D. 1500). Upon this occasion Alla-ood-Deen, the younger brother, fled to his father's palace; and Nasir-ood-Deen, following him closely, put him to death, as well as all his children and the whole of his family. Having then assumed the reins of government, he was formally crowned, and in a few days after his father was found dead in the seraglio; and it was supposed that poison had been administered to him by order of his son. Thus died Sooltan Gheias-ood-Deen, after a reign of thirty-three years.[25]

SOOLTAN NASIR-OOD-DEEN

On the 27th of Rubbee-oos-Sany, of the year A.H. 906 (October 25, A.D. 1500), Nasir-ood-Deen ascended the throne of Malwa. It was asserted at the time that he poisoned his father; yet considering the animosity of his brother's party, and the number of his personal enemies, it is not just to accuse him of that crime, as no circumstance was ever brought forward to prove the assertion, nor does there appear any motive that should have actuated him to commit such an act, as he had been already crowned by his father's consent, and had long conducted, without restraint, the affairs of the government. His accession, however, was succeeded

25. The possession of uncontrolled power, and the notion that happiness consisted in mere sensual enjoyments, seem to have operated on this prince's mind till it affected it with insanity.

by a series of domestic feuds, in which many of the nobles were involved; so that it is not a matter of surprise that public affairs fell into a state of disorder.[26] Sheer Khan of Chundery, taking advantage of these distractions, rebelled and was joined by Mahabut Khan of Mundsoor, as well as by many other of the malecontent nobles, who assembling a force advanced by the route of Depalpoor towards the capital. Sooltan Nasir-ood-Deen marched to attack them, and was joined by Ein-ool-Moolk and many other of the Malwa chiefs on which Sheer Khan retreated; but he was reduced to the necessity of fighting a battle near Sarungpoor, where he experienced a total defeat, and fled through Chundery to Eerich; to the former of which places the King pursued him before he returned. The adherents of Sheer Khan now wrote to him, that the King had retreated to Mando on account of the rains, and advised him to repair to Chundery, when by the assistance of the inhabitants he might still collect a sufficient force to oppose the King. Sooltan Nasir-ood-Deen, on hearing that Sheer Khan was again in the field, detached Yekbal Khan and Mulloo Khan against him, who having attacked him within two coss of Chundery, Sheer Khan received a mortal wound, and his colleague Sikundur Khan was killed on the spot. Mahabut Khan of Mundsoor placed Sheer Khan on his own elephant and fled, but he died of his wounds on the road. Sooltan Nasir-ood-Deen arriving at the place where he was interred caused his body to be disentombed, and hung up in the town of Chundery, the government of which place he conferred on Himmut Khan, and after proceeding to Adilpoor he returned to Mando. On his arrival at the capital, he abandoned himself to the most shameless excesses, particularly that of drunkenness. He made it his

26. The author of the Moontukhib-oot-Towareekh has explained the state of affairs more fully than Ferishta. He states, that after Sooltan Gheias-ood-Deen had placed the administration of his government into the hands of Nasir-ood-Deen, his younger brother, Shoojat Khan, through jealousy, united with Rany Khoorsheed, one of the King's favourite mistresses, to poison the King's mind against him, so that Nasir-ood-Deen was induced to fly from Mando. Shoojat Khan, in concert with the Rany, and without the King's knowledge, raised a force to attack Nasir-ood-Deen, but was defeated, and eventually pursued by the heir-apparent to Mando. Here several officers of rank joined Nasir-ood-Deen, and after a few days admitted him into the fort. Shoojat Khan and the King's mistress were seized and imprisoned, and Sooltan Gheias-ood-Deen became reconciled to his son.

business to discover and put to death all the adherents of his late brother, whose sins time ought to have buried in oblivion; and his own personal servants also suffered from his cruelty. It is said, that one day while lying in a state of intoxication on the verge of a reservoir of water, he fell in. Four female slaves who were standing by, laying hold of him, at the risk of their own lives, pulled him out, and taking of his wet clothes dressed him again. On recovering from his intoxication he complained of violent head-ache; and the female slaves mentioned the circumstance of his falling into the reservoir in order to account for it; the King, however, was so enraged, conceiving it to be untrue, and that the females only said so by way of reproaching him for his inebriety, he drew his sword, and put them all to death with his own hand, in spite of their cries for mercy, and although they exhibited the wet clothes which they had taken off from him.

In the year A.H. 908 (A.D. 1502), Sooltan Nasir-ood-Deen marched to attack the Rajpoots of Keechiwara. On arriving at Akburpoor, he built a splendid palace, which was then much admired by all who saw it. Having plundered the whole of the Keechiwara district he returned to Mando, and on the following year (viz. A.H. 909, A.D. 1503), he proceeded towards Chittoor, where having received a large present in money from the Rana, and having procured from Raja Jewundas, one of the subordinate Rays, his daughter, he returned to Mando. This lady was afterwards dignified with the title of the Chittoor Queen.

On the road back, news arrived that Ahmud Nizam Shah Bheiry, having declared war against Dawood Khan the ruler of Kandeish, had marched to reduce that province, and compelled the latter chief to take post in Aseer. The ruler of Kandeish owned allegiance to the present King of Malwa, and he considered it his duty to assist him. Yekbal Khan and Khwaja Jehan were therefore ordered to proceed with a large force to the south; but before it reached its destination, Ahmud Nizam Shah commenced his retreat to Ahmudnuggur, and Yekbal Khan, after causing the public prayers to be read in the name of Sooltan Nasir-ood-Deen at Boorhanpoor, returned to Mando.

Sooltan Nasir-ood-Deen during the lifetime of his father had often opposed his will, and having subsequently revolted, attacked his capital. The King now dreaded lest his own sons might, in imitation of him, rebel also. He in consequence always viewed

them with distrust and jealousy. This feeling was so apparent to his son Shahab-ood-Deen, the declared heir to the throne, that he always entered his father's presence with apprehension; and the nobles, in the year A.H. 916 (A.D. 1512), wearied and disgusted with the persecution and cruelty of Nasir-ood-Deen, persuaded his son to assume charge of the government at once. For this purpose he left Mando and collected a large force. Sooltan Nasir-ood-Deen, however, having opposed and defeated the Prince, the latter fled to Dehly, and, in spite of the remonstrances of his father, refused to come back. On the return of Sooltan Nasir-ood-Deen towards Mando, he was seized with a fever, brought on by excess, at the town of Burtpoor; during which illness, although in the cold season, he bathed, and in a few days after died. He reigned eleven years and four months, having previously declared his third son, Mahmood, his successor.

SOOLTAN MAHMOOD II.

ON the news of the death of Sooltan Nasir-ood-Deen reaching his son Shahab-ood-Deen, he relinquished the idea of prosecuting his journey towards Dehly, but returning to Malwa, arrived at the capital, while his young brother, Mahmood, still remained at Nalcha. The commandant of Mando, Mahafiz Khan, having refused him admittance, the Prince fled to Aseer on the approach of his brother Mahmood, who, on entering Mando, was formally crowned with great pomp; upon which occasion no fewer than seven hundred elephants, with velvet housings embroidered in gold, formed part of the procession. Shortly after his accession, a conspiracy was formed against one Buswunt Row, a personal favourite of the King, who had attended him from the period of his birth; and he was put to death by the conspirators, who declared that he had laid a scheme to overturn the government: they also stated, in an address to the crown, that one Nizam-ool-Moolk, another of the King's friends, had trodden in the footsteps of Buswunt Row, and they consequently insisted on his being delivered over to them for trial. The King was alarmed at these desperate encroachments on his prerogative, but thought it advisable to give up Nizam-ool-Moolk to be tried, reserving the punishment in his own hands; but in spite of his wish to spare

him, the King was constrained to banish him. Mahafiz Khan, the governor of Mando, presuming on the King's easy temper, had the boldness to address him one day in open durbar in the following words: "Your elder brother is now in confinement in this fort, and only waits for an opportunity to put you to death, and ascend the throne. If you have any desire to retain your crown, your only chance of securing it is to order his immediate execution. If not, you will merit the fate which awaits you." The King was at first confounded with this language, and asked the governor in an angry tone how he presumed thus to address him? Mahafiz Khan, seeing he had gone too far to retreat, continued to answer the King in a disrespectful tone and manner. The King unable to restrain himself, seized the sword which lay by his side, and without drawing it from the scabbard stuck Mahafiz Khan two blows on head with all his strength. The blood flowed from the wound, and Mahafiz Khan made his escape home, where collecting all his personal attendants and guards, he marched to the palace. The nobles, who rather promoted than wished to suppress the rebellion, remained quiet in their houses; while the King, collecting his bodyguard, consisting chiefly of foreigners, such as Arabs, Persians, and Abyssinians, made a stand in the palace-yard, and compelled Mahafiz Khan, after having lost many men, to retreat to his own house. The King now used his endeavours to collect a larger force, but in vain; for most of the officers with their retainers had joined Mahafiz Khan. The royal party remained under arms all night, and in the morning, assisted by some of the inhabitants, forced their way out of the fort. The King's departure was the signal for Mahafiz Khan to release the Prince Sahib Khan, and to place the crown on his head. Sooltan Mahmood, having encamped on the plain, summoned the chiefs of provinces to attend him; and the first person of rank who joined his standard was Medny Ray, a Rajpoot chief, accompanied by all his family, and a large force of his tribe. After him came Shirza Khan, governor of Chundery, and subsequently many other nobles of the surrounding districts. The King now issued a proclamation, inviting, with promises of promotion, all persons who should quit the standard of Sahib Khan and Mahafiz Khan, and join the royal army. At the same time he marched towards the capital, and was opposed by the rebel forces. A severe engagement took place, during which the Prince Sahib Khan charged in person at

the head of a small body of cavalry, and attacked the King's personal guard, but he was repulsed. The fate of the action was eventually decided by the gallant conduct of Medny Ray and the Rajpoot infantry, who preserved a compact phalanx, and with spears and daggers broke the enemy, and obliged Sahib Khan to take refuge in the fort of Mando, many of his troops being compelled to seek protection in the caves surrounding the hill. Sooltan Mahmood, unwilling to drive his brother to extremity, sent word to him, that notwithstanding what had happened he forgave him on account of their mother, and promised allow him a stipulated annual amount, which he might receive wheresoever he chose, provided he relinquished the idea of ascending the throne, which, the King observed, he considered it his duty to defend with his life. Sahib Khan, relying on the strength of the fort, refused to accede to terms. Sooltan Mahmood now closely invested the place, and received overtures from some of the chiefs within, that they would admit him into the fort by a certain gate. The Prince Sahib Khan, and Mahafiz Khan, discovering the correspondence, and placing no further reliance on their adherents, secured all the jewels they could collect, and made their escape to Guzerat in the month of Shuval, in the year A.H. 917 (December, A.D. 1513); where a dispute having arisen between the Prince Sahib Khan and the ambassador of Shah Ismael of Persia, he was compelled to quit Guzerat[27] also, and go to Aseer; where having collected three hundred cavalry he went to Gavul, and solicited the assistance of Imad Shah. That prince being on friendly terms with Sooltan Mahmood refused his aid to replace him on the throne, though he assigned to him an estate and the revenue of a few villages. Meanwhile, Sooltan Mahmood, having been re-established on his throne, gave a new form to his government. It is proper to observe here, that at the period when Sooltan Mahmood made his escape from the capital, his eldest brother, the Prince Shahab-ood-Deen, who had taken refuge with the ruler of Kandeish, marched towards Mando, for the purpose of bringing forward his claims to the throne, both as the eldest son of the late Sooltan Nasir-ood-Deen and because he had been originally declared heir-apparent. His constitution, however, being weak, and the heat of the weather excessive, he contracted a fever on

27. For the details, see history of Guzerat, vol. iv. p. 48.

the road,[28] which terminated his existence, leaving his son, Mukhsoos Khan, under the care of his minister, Yekbal Khan, who instantly proclaimed the boy's title to the throne, under the name of Sooltan Hooshung II. Finding, however, on his arrival in Malwa, that Sooltan Mahmood was firmly seated on the throne, after showing some trifling opposition, the Prince and his minister threw themselves on the King's mercy. Shortly afterwards Medny Ray,[29] who had gained and undue influence in the King's councils, persuaded him that both Yekbal and Mukhsoos Khan were carrying on a treasonable correspondence with the King of the Deccan. Sooltan Mahmood, too easily giving credence to these insinuations, ordered Yekbal Khan to be killed the next day as he came to the durbar, a sentence which was carried into execution before all the by-standers. Sooltan Mahmood, at the instigation of Medny Ray, sent for Bohjut Khan, governor of Chundery, and some other chiefs, to the capital; but they were so much alarmed, both at the influence of Medny Ray and at the sudden execution which had just taken place, that Bohjut Khan, in particular, pleaded the near approach of the rainy season as an excuse, for non-attendance at court. The King took no measures against Bohjut Khan, but deputed Munsoor Khan, a nobleman of rank, to reduce Sikundur Khan of Bhilsa, and bring him to court. On hearing of this, Sikundur Khan abandoned Bhilsa, and proceeding to the south, occupied the country lying between Kuhndwa and Shahabad,[30] where the Rays of Gondwana had brought a large force to assist him. Under these circumstances, Munsoor Khan wrote to court that the

28. No other cause seems necessary to account for the sudden death of the Prince than the bare circumstance of his travelling between Kandeish and Malwa in the months of November or December. The experience of several late years has proved that few individuals can traverse those unhealthy regions with impunity at that season of the year.

29. We must receive with great caution the accusations made by the Mahomedan historian of Malwa against Medny Ray. It appears that he first joined the King when the Mahomedan nobles deserted him; that his followers gained the battle of Mando against the Prince Sahib Khan; and it is natural to suppose that the King, whose partiality to Hindoos in the early part of his reign has been recorded, should now give his confidence to one possessed of such power and influence among his relations and cast, and who had evinced an early devotion to the King's cause and to his person.

30. Probably Shahpoor.

troops with him were insufficient to oppose the united arms of the Rays of Gondwana and Sikundur Khan. Medny Ray, wishing to see the whole of the old officers disgraced, in order to secure to himself all the court influence, answered the letter in the King's name, telling Munsoor Khan that the appearance of the royal troops alone would be sufficient to deter the enemy from attack, and that his application for a reinforcement was merely a subterfuge to avoid fighting. Munsoor Khan, astonished at the tenour and style of this letter, marched instantly with Bukhtiar Khan, and joined Bohjut Khan at Chundery. The King, hearing of the assemblage of troops at that place, took the field in person, and proceeded to D'har having previously sent Medny Ray with his own adherents and one hundred and fifty elephants against Sikundur Khan. Medny Ray soon induced the forces of Sikundur Khan to disperse; and having made terms with the latter chief, both returned with Medny Ray to Bhilsa, which was again restored to Sikundur Khan. The influence of Medny Ray after this event increased daily. On his return to camp, he heard that a faction at Mando had created one of their party king, and had placed on his head the white canopy, from off the tomb of Sooltan Gheias-ood-Deen; but the kotwal of the city having behaved with much presence of mind and resolution, had put a stop to the commotion, and restored order. Bohjut Khan of Chundery and his party, perceiving the inordinate and increasing power and influence of Medny Ray, were more than ever alarmed; and they accordingly deputed persons to Gavul, inviting the Prince Sahib Khan to return, and to assume the reins of government;[31] writing, at the same time, a petition to Sikundur Lody of Dehly, stating that the infidel Rajpoots had gained an alarming ascendency over the Mahomedans in Malwa; and that one Medny Ray, a chief of that tribe, had virtually become master of the country and its resources, having persuaded the

31. The Moontukhib-oot-Towareekh states, that Sahib Khan reached Chundery, and was met by Bohjut Khan and Munsoor Khan, who proclaimed him King. After a long negotiation, the Prince was induced to forego his title to the whole kingdom, on condition of receiving the fort of Raiseen, the town of Bhilsa, and the district of Dhamony. For his immediate expenses the King sent eleven lacks of tunkas, and presented him with twelve elephants. Bohjut Khan, under the title of Sahib Khan's minister, embezzled the money, and usurped the districts, so that the Prince Sahib Khan was at open war with him. Bohjut Khan, in consequence, fled to the Mogul court.

King to destroy many of the old and confidential officers of the state, while those who were left had taken the alarm, and fled to different parts of the kingdom. The petition proceeded to state, that although Sooltan Mahmood now regretted having exalted Medny Ray, and having placed all his reliance on the Rajpoots, yet he had so given himself up into that chief's hands, that he not only refused to listen to his Mahomedan officers and subjects, but seemed willing, in concert with his Hindoo minister, to cut off the few who remained. That as for the laws of the prophet, and the true worship, they had been wholly abandoned every where, and that the mosques had been converted into receptacles for infields. It was indeed expected that Ray Rayan, the son of Medny Ray, would in a short time openly declare his accession to the throne. "If, then," says the petition, "your Majesty will condescend to send a force, around which the faithful may rally, Sahib Khan, the brother of the present king, will enter the country, and public prayers may be read in his name as King of Malwa in Chundery and in the surrounding districts." Mahafiz Khan, the partisan of Sahib Khan, who defended the fort of Mando, and had fled to Guzerat with that prince, was now at Dehly; and a force consisting of twelve thousand cavalry, under the command of Imad-ool-Moolk Lody and Syeed Khan, accompanied by Mahafiz Khan, marched to raise Sahib Khan to the throne of Malwa, with the title of Sooltan Mahomed.

At this period, also, Moozuffur Shah, King of Guzerat, with a large army arrived at D'har, and Sikundur Khan having again raised the standard of revolt, plundered the country. Medny Ray, aware that every thing depended upon his exertions, directed Mullik Lado, the governor of Kuhndwa, to oppose Sikundur Khan, while he himself marched, accompanied by the King, against the forces of Guzerat, which had now arrived within a short distance of Mando; but being attacked and defeated, Moozuffur Shah retreated to Ahmudabad. Mullik Lado defeated Sikundur Khan; but one of his dependents, who had suffered from Mullik Lado, attacked him unawares, and stabbed him to the heart. Sikundur Khan, in consequence, rallying his troops attacked and defeated the King's forces, who were now without a leader, and having taken six elephants, together with other booty, he returned to Seevas.

Sooltan Mahmood, deferring the punishment of Sikundur Khan for the present, marched against the forces under Bohjut Khan at Chundery. On the road to which place he heard that Sahib Khân had, at the instigation of the Chundery confederates, arrived near his army, and had assumed the title of king, supported by a force from Dehly under Imad-ool-Moolk Lody, and accompanied by Mahafiz Khan. This intelligence occasioned the utmost distress to Sooltan Mahmood; added to which, two parties of cavalry, the one under Sudur Khan, and the other under the Prince Mukhsoos Khan, deserting the royalists, joined the enemy. Sahib Khan now detached a force under one Mahmood Khan to occupy Sarungpoor; but that officer, alarmed at the approach of the King's army, fled disgracefully. Affairs were in this state when Imad-ool-Moolk and Syeed Khan, at the secret instigation of Medny Ray, recommended Bohjut Khan to read public prayers, and to coin money, in the name of their own master, Sikundur Lody of Dehly; a measure calculated, of all others, to separate the interests of the Dehly and Chundery chieftains. The proposal being made to Bohjut Khan, he spurned the idea of deserting the cause of Sahib Khan, which opened to him no advantage whatsoever, and he accordingly made an excuse to separate himself from the Dehly forces, the object of all others which Medny Ray desired. Meanwhile an order arrived for the recall of the Dehly troops. It is stated that public prayers were actually read, and coin struck, in the name of Sikundur Lody; but on hearing that Sooltan Mahmood of Malwa, with a large army, was on his march to oppose his small detachment, and being unable to spare more troops at the time, Sikundur ordered his army to fall back on Dehly. At all events, Sooltan Mahmood, on the retreat of the Dehly troops, considering it a mark of the intervention of Divine favour, offered up prayers on the occasion, while, in the mean time, Mahafiz Khan and Khwaja Jehan, taking a circuitous route, marched by order of Sahib Khan to invest Mando. The King, obtaining intelligence of this movement, detached Hubeed Khan with a large force of Rajpoots to oppose the Prince; and in the neighbourhood of Nalcha an action took place, in which Mahafiz Khan was killed, and his force dispersed. The Prince Sahib Khan and Bohjut Khan, deprived of all hopes of assistance, now thought it advisable to make overtures for peace; and one Sheikh Owlia was deputed as envoy to the King for that pur-

pose. Sooltan Mahmood, who prayed for nothing more, gladly ceded the forts of Raiseen, Bhilsa, and Dhamony, to Sahib Khan for his support; at the same time presenting him with ten lacks of copper tunkas and twelve elephants; after which conciliatory letters were written to the different officers who had espoused the cause of Sahib Khan. On the King's return to his capital he was guided entirely by the advice of Medny Ray, who was daily employed in the destruction of one or other of the Mahomedan chiefs. They were frequently put to death without cause, their houses plundered, and their estates confiscated. At last the King evinced his dislike for all the nobles, and for Mahomedans in general, so that most of the officers who held situations under the late Nasir-ood-Deen and Gheias-ood-Deen were put to death, and their offices filled by Rajpoots. The very Mahomedan females who had been educated in the seraglio of Sooltan Gheias-ood-Deen now became the mistresses of Medny Ray and the rest of the Rajpoot officers. The guards at the gates were composed entirely of Hindoos, and the old system of government was completely subverted. Ghalib Khan, the late governor of Mando, became so offended at the ascendency obtained by the Hindoos, that when the King was out on a hunting party with his infided Rajpoots he shut the gates of the garrison, and refused them admittance. Sooltan Mahmood immediately proceeded to invest the fort. Ghalib Khan, unable to hold out against the royalists, escaped; but the King sent a party of Rajpoots to seize him, by which he was overtaken in a few days and brought into Mando, where he was executed. After this, Medny Ray removed the few remaining Mahomedans from their public situations, so that excepting the personal servants of the King, amounting to about two hundred, the whole of the offices of government were filled with Rajpoots. Affairs had now assumed a very alarming appearance in the mind of the King, who, for the first time, began to reflect seriously on the situation to which he was reduced, and resolved to dismiss all the Rajpoots. It is customary in India, when a servant is discharged, for his master to give him a leaf of pan, as a token that he has received his formal dismissal, and that he bears him no malice; so Sooltan Mahmood having ordered forty thousand packets of pan to be brought him, he sent them in a basket by the hands of Araish Khan to Medny Ray, starting that it was his Majesty's pleasure to discharge the whole of

Rajpoot army, consisting of so many persons; and he directed Medny Ray to distribute the pan amongst them, and to disband them accordingly. The Rajpoots declared to a man that they were prepared to shed the last drop of their blood for the King; that they had always defended his person and kingdom with bravery, and were not aware of what they had been guilty, to be thus discharged at a moment's warning. But they went to Medny Ray, and proposed to remove Sooltan Mahmood and place Ray Rayan, the son of Medny Ray, on the throne. The wily statesman replied, "As to the government of Malwa, it has long been in my hands; but if I were to usurp the crown, the kings of Guzerat, of Kandeish, and of the Deccan uniting, would very soon reduce Malwa to their subjection, in spite of every effort on our part: the best thing that can now be done, is to go and beg the King to forego his intention of discharging you." Medny Ray succeeded in his wish, which was granted, on condition that the personal offices of the state should be filled by Mahomedans; that the old officers still alive should be replaced in their former situations; that all Mahomedan women should be released from the seraglios of the Rajpoots; and that no Hindoo should hold any civil office at court. These terms being acceded to by Medny Ray, he was more than ever assiduous in gaining the King's good will. But Salb'han,[32] a Rajpoot officer of rank, provoked him by repeated insults, till at last Sooltan Mahmood, who had only two hundred personal attendants, ordered them to waylay both Salb'han and Medny Ray, and to murder them. They were accordingly attacked: the former was killed, but the latter made his escape to his house, though covered with wounds. The Rajpoots who were devoted to both these officers, on hearing of the death Salb'han, and the attack made on Medny Ray, proceeded to assault the palace. Sooltan Mahmood, who though a fool in the cabinet, had not his equal in courage in the hour of danger, girt on his sword, and sallying forth with sixteen horsemen and a few infantry attacked the Rajpoots with desperate resolution, many of whom he slew with his own hands, and absolutely beat them back from the palace. After being checked, they collected at Medny Ray's house, and called on him to head them. He replied, that although the king his master had sought his life, he had no

32. Salivahan.

hear that he was close to the enemy; on which he immediately ordered the line under arms, and insisted on bringing on an action, a measure to which Asuf Khan, the Guzerat general, objected, representing that both horse and foot[35] were fatigued, and had been long without food, so that it would be better to delay the action till they were refreshed. The King, whose temper was impatient and sanguine, and himself as brave as a lion, insisted on engaging the enemy, which remained steady and ready to receive him, while the forces of Malwa were neither properly drawn up nor in a condition to attack. The Guzerat cavalry, headed by the King in person, commenced the attack by charging the Rajpoot horse, estimated at nearly fifty thousand men. On this occasion Asuf Khan's son and almost the whole of the Guzeratties were killed, after behaving in the most gallant manner.[36] The King's life was saved only by the strength of the armour he wore, and he was left on the field with only ten horsemen. With these few men, whom he addressed and exhorted to die as martyrs against the infidels, he again charged and fell into the hands of the enemy covered with wounds, the whole of his small party being killed. The astonished Rajpoots, surrounding him as they perceived him weltering in his blood, looked on him as more than mortal. His enemy, Rana Sanka of Chittoor, caused him to be brought into his own tent, dressed his wounds, attended him in person, and showed him every mark of attention; and after his recovery, he furnished him with an escort of one thousand Rajpoot horse, and sent him to Mando, where he reassumed the reins of government.[37] During the commotion

35. Those persons whose experience has not led them to observe the difference in the conduct of the same troops being brought into action at one time hungry and jaded, and at another time when in full strength, can hardly understand the importance of studying this object; nor is the effect of physical capacity on animal spirits at all times sufficiently considered. One of the most valuable lessons which a general can learn is to know precisely to what his soldiers are equal, and by neglecting this knowledge the best troops may be defeated even when opposed to inferior numbers.

36. Thirty officers of rank in the Malwa army lost their lives.

37. Sooltan Mahmood was conveyed, in the first instance, to Chittoor, where the place of his confinement is still shown; but he was released on recovering from his wounds. It is impossible not to contrast the chivalrous conduct of the Hindoo princes, in their behaviour to Mahomedans in general, with the sordid, cruel, and bigotted conduct

before D'har, it instantly opened its gates, after which the two kings marched to Mando, and laid siege to that fortress, which had hitherto proved impregnable. At the same time the King of Guzerat detached Adil Khan, ruler of Ascer, at the head of his own troops and a detachment of Guzerat cavalry, to watch the movements of Medny Ray. After a close siege for some months, in the year A.H. 924 (A.D. 1519), the fort of Mando was taken by assault, and nineteen thousand Rajpoots were slain, including those who were destroyed in the performance of the Jowhur, a ceremony involving the sacrifice of their women and children on a funeral pile. Sooltan Mahmood, who entered in rear of the storming party, after the capture of the fort went up to Moozuffur Shah, and having congratulated him on his victory, asked what was to become of him. He answered in the most noble manner, "I congratulate you on the acquisition of your kingdom, which I have now restored to you," and immediately quitting the fort, the King of Guzerat returned to his own camp. On the following day he communicated to the King of Malwa, that as the latter might require some time to arrange his affairs in the fort, he would march on to Oojein, and reduce the Rajpoots in that quarter. Moozuffur Shah proceeded, however, in the first place, to D'har, where he received information that Adil Khan's detachment was still at Depalpoor; for the Rajpoots, having heard of the fall of Mando, had dispersed. Moozuffur Shah now halted for some time at D'har, till joined by Sooltan Mahmood, who requested him to return and spend a few days with him at his capital, to which he assented. On his arrival, a magnificent festival was prepared, upon which occasion the King of Malwa brought in a tray, and waited on the King of Guzerat. After which, having accompanied him as far as the borders, and having received from that monarch an auxiliary force of three thousand cavalry, under Asuf Khan Guzeratty, to be stationed at Mando, Sooltan Mahmood returned to his capital. The forts of Chundery and Gagrone being in possession of Medny Ray's soldiers, and those of Bhilsa, Raiseen, and Sarungpoor in that of Silhuddy Poorby, it was resolved to wrest them out of their hands; for which purpose the King marched to Gagrone against Medny Ray, who being joined by Rana Sanka now returned with an immense army. The Malwa force had marched several miles, and had but just arrived at its ground, when the King was surprised to

right to take up arms against him: he said, moreover, that he was ready, even now, to submit to any punishment which the King chose to inflict, rather than head an army against him. Medny Ray concluded this address by ordering the troops instantly to retire to their quarters; and sent word to the King, informing him that he was out of danger from the wounds which he had received from the King's servants, who had waylaid him for the purpose of putting him to death; that he was ready, for the good of the state, to lay down his life; and that if his Majesty was of opinion that his death was necessary for the promotion of that object, he was prepared to submit himself to execution. Sooltan Mahmood, convinced of Medny Ray's fidelity, again received him into favour; but the latter being ever after suspicious of the King's intentions, went in future to the palace attended by an escort of five hundred men. This measure so greatly disturbed the King's mind, that one night leaving the fort of Mando with one horseman and a few foot-attendants, he did not draw rein till he arrived on the confines of Guzerat.[33] The officers on the frontier, after hearing his story, received him with the utmost respect, and wrote to Moozuffur Shah, who immediately despatched Keisur Khan and Taj Khan to put themselves under his orders for the present; and after his army was collected, the King of Guzerat marched thither himself, and placing Sooltan Mahmood on his right hand on his throne treated him in every respect as an equal. In the year A.H. 923 (A.D. 1517), the two kings proceeded at the head of the Guzerat army towards Malwa.

Medny Ray having left his son Bhew Ray[34] in the fort of Mando, collected twelve thousand cavalry and a large force of infantry, and marched to occupy D'har, and to repair its fortifications. On the near approach of the two kings, he reconnoitred their forces, and conceiving he could not oppose them with success in the field, sent five or six thousand cavalry, and about ten thousand infantry, consisting of bowmen, musketeers, and artillery-men, to reinforce the garrison of Mando, and quitting D'har left Malwa, and went to Chittoor, in order to obtain assistance from Rana Sanka. The Guzerat army having arrived

33. He was accompanied by his favourite mistress and the master of the horse.—*Moontukhib-oot-Towareekh.*

34. The title of this young man was Ray Rayan, or the Prince of Princes.

which of late had shaken the very foundation of the Malwa monarchy, many of the districts had been occupied and retained by the different chiefs, who appropriated the revenues to their own use. Of these especially were the following:—Sikundur Khan of Seevas; Medny Ray, who held possession of Gagrone, Chundery, and other places; Silhuddy, who occupied Bhilsa, Raiseen, and Surungpoor, besides many others holding small jageers; so that by this means the finances of the state were reduced to a low ebb.

Sooltan Mahmood, contrary to the practice of the other kings of glorious memory, without exercising his reason or judgment, conceived kingdoms were to be ruled by the edge of the sword;[38] and in the year A.H. 926 (A.D. 1519), he marched against Silhuddy of Sarungpoor, but miscalculating his strength, he was attacked by the Rajpoots, by whom he was completely defeated. In this situation, rallying a few troops, while the enemy were engaged in plunder, he again charged and dispersed them, and pursued the fugitives so closely into the fort of Sarungpur, that he obtained possession of it as also of twenty-four elephants. Silhuddy made his escape; and without attempting to regain Sarungpoor was content to occupy Bhilsa and Raiseen. The King now returned to Mando.

In the year A.H. 932 (A.D. 1525), the government of Guzerat, on the death of Moozuffur Shah, devolved on his son, Bahadur Shah, whose younger brother, Chand Khan, fled, and sought protection with Sooltan Mahmood at Mando; who, on account of the personal obligations he owed to his father, received him with kindness, and paid him the utmost attention. At the same time, also, Ruzy-ool-Moolk, one of the Guzerat nobles, having gone to Dehly to induce Babur Padshah to dethrone Bahadur Shah, and to place Chand Khan on the throne, now arrived at Mando; and being permitted to have a private and secret conference with

of the latter towards Hindoos. It seldom happened that a Hindoo prince, taken in battle, was not instantly beheaded; and life was never spared but with the sacrifice of a daughter delivered up to a sort of honourable prostitution, or by the payment of vast sums of money and jewels.

38. Ferishta alludes here to the impolicy of relying on force only to reconcile factions, and of the King's treating all his nobles as enemies, without securing friends, or permitting any one to remain neutral and inactive.

that prince, returned to the Mogul Court at Agra. Bahadur Shah, hearing of these circumstances, wrote to Sooltan Mahmood, reproaching him for giving countenance to the intrigues carrying on by Ruzy-ool-Moolk; who subsequently arriving a second time at Mando, and communicating with the Prince Chand Khan, after the remonstrances of Bahadur Shah, again returned to Agra. Bahadur Shah, though he took no immediate steps, resolved to be revenged on the King of Malwa for supporting these treasonable proceedings against him. The fall of the house of Khiljy appearing now to be inevitable, Sooltan Mahmood did not adopt measures to prevent its occurrence, or even to ward off the impending destruction which seemed to threaten him. Rana Sanka of Chittoor dying about this period was succeeded by his son, Rana Ruttun See;[39] and Sooltan Mahmood, without any provocation, deputed Shirza Khan with a force from Mando to attack that prince; for which purpose the Malwa troops marched and laid waste some of the Chittoor districts. Ruttun See, fully aware of the dissensions which existed between the Malwa and Guzerat sovereigns, proceeded towards the former kingdom; and Sooltan Mahmood made a movement, by the route of Oojein and Sarungpoor, to oppose him. On reaching the latter place, the King summoned Silhuddy of Bhilsa and Moyin Khan, the adopted son of the late Sikundur Khan of Seevas, to join his army, to oppose the Chittoor forces under Ruttun See. On their arrival, he conferred the title of Musnud Ally on Moyin Khan, and presented him with the scarlet pavilion, only used by kings. Moyin Khan was the son of a butter-man, but adopted by Sikundur Khan. The King also conciliated Silhuddy, by giving over to him in perpetuity some villages contiguous to Raiseen and Bhilsa. These honours, so unexpectedly bestowed upon two persons who so little deserved them at Sooltan Mahmood's hands, were followed by circumstances which roused their suspicions; and they concluding the gifts were only intended to lull them into security, deserted the King's camp, and joined the forces of Ruttun See; after which Silhuddy, with his son Bhowput, Moyin Khan, and Ruttun See, all went and paid their respects to Bahadur Shah of Guzerat, then encamped on the banks of the river Gurchy.[40] Sooltan Mahmood, hearing of the circumstance, deputed Duria

39. In the Guzerat history he is simply styled Ruttun.
40. This is certainly a mistake in the original.

Khan Lody to wait on the King of Guzerat; acquainting him, that owing to the obligations conferred on him by the late Moozuffur Shah of Guzerat, he wished to show the respect he owed to his family, by going to pay his personal respects to his son, and to congratulate him on his accession to the throne. Bahadur Shah received the messenger with great coolness, but said that he should be glad to see the King of Malwa. Rana Ruttun See returned to Chittoor; but Silhuddy continued in the Guzerat camp till the meeting between the two kings should take place. Sooltan Mahmood, however, ashamed to visit Bahadur Shah after his conduct in giving countenance to the intrigues carried on between Ruzy-ool-Moolk and the Prince Chand Khan against the King of Guzerat, evaded the meeting, under the plea of the necessity of his proceeding against Seevas. Having marched thither, and being out on a hunting party, his horse fell, and he broke his right arm;[41] on which he sent an excuse to the King of Guzerat for his non-attendance, and returned to Mando, where he employed himself in repairing the fortifications. Bahadur Shah now plainly perceiving it was the intention of Sooltan Mahmood to avoid a meeting, marched towards the capital. On his entering Malwa, he was daily joined by deserters from Sooltan Mahmood's army, and among those of note was Shirza Khan, governor of D'har. Bahadur Shah having reached Mando surrounded it; and making his observations, marked out the ground for the mines and batteries. Sooltan Mahmood with three thousand men defended the place; but they were much harassed by the attempts made night after night by the besiegers to carry the fort by escalade; and though invariably repulsed, the garrison was worn out by incessant watching, till on the 9th of Shaban, in the year A.H. 932 (May 20, A.D. 1526), the banners of Guzerat appeared at daylight waving on the battlements. The Prince Chand Khan, the brother of Bahadur Shah, fled to the Deccan, and Sooltan Mahmood retired to his palace, which he resolved to defend till the last, but was at length induced to surrender. Bahadur Shah was disposed to treat him kindly, and even to restore to him his government; but the irritability of Sooltan Mahmood's temper and his pride combined hurried him away so far,

41. It has been already seen, in the Guzerat history, vol. iv. p. 68, that his arm was not broken; and that the accident, of whatever nature it was in reality, need not have prevented his visit to Bahadur Shah.

that he abused Bahadur Shah grossly to his face. He was in consequence ordered into confinement with his seven sons, and sent to the fort of Champanere under Asuf Khan,[42] who attended them with an escort. Five days afterwards, viz. on the 14th of the same month A.H. 932 (May 25, A.D. 1526), the detachment was attacked by two thousand Bheels and Kolies in camp at Dohud; and Asuf Khan, supposing this formidable assault was made for the purpose of effecting the release of the Malwa royal family, ordered the King and his sons to be put to death;[43] so that (excepting Sahib Khan, who had been formerly created Sooltan Mahomed, and was then in attendance on Babur Padshah), not a single male of the house of Khiljy remained; and the kingdom of Malwa, in the year A.H. 941 (A.D. 1534), became incorporated with that of Guzerat, until it was eventually conquered in the year 978, by Akbur Padshah, Emperor of Dehly.[44]

CONCLUSION OF THE HISTORY OF MALWA

ON the death of Sooltan Mahmood, and the subsequent occupation of Malwa by Bahadur Shah, that monarch gave over to Silhuddy Poorby, who had been the first person to join his standard, the districts of Oojein, Sarungpoor, and Raiseen; but we find in the Guzerat history, that some time afterwards he gave offence to Bahadur Shah, and being attacked in the field, he fled to Raiseen, where he put himself to death, and his son Bhowput made his escape from Malwa. Bahadur Shah then appointed Alum Khan of Kalpy governor of Raiseen. Budr Khan of Malwa was created governor of Oojein, and Yekhtiar Khan governor of Mando; after which the King returned to Champanere. At a subsequent period, when Hoomayoon Padshah of

42. This was the same officer who commanded the Guzerat auxiliaries in the battle of Gagrone.

43. During the confusion that occurred in the night-attack, Sooltan Mahmood disengaged the chains from his feet, and the sentries, fearing he might effect his escape, put him to death without orders. He was buried in the vicinity of the tank at Dohud; and his children, with the remainder of his family, were conveyed to Champanere.—*Moontukhib-oot-Towareekh.*

44. Here the Malwa historian ceases: the remaining part of the narrative Ferishta collects from the histories of Guzerat and Dehly.

Dehly seized Guzerat, he previously occupied Mando, and ordered public prayers to be read in his name, leaving his own officers in the government of Malwa; but shortly after his return to Agra, Mulloo Khan, one of the officers of the late Khiljy government, retook all the country lying between the Nurbudda and the town of Bhilsa after a struggle of twelve months against the Dehly officers; whom having eventually subdued, he caused himself to be crowned in Mando, under the title of Kadur Shah of Malwa. At this period, also, Bhowput and Poorunmul, sons of the late Silhuddy, marching from Chittoor, obtained possession of the fort of Raiseen, but acknowledged allegiance to Kadur Shah, and paid him tribute. Shortly after his accession, Kadur Shah received a firman,[45] with a seal on the face of it, from Sheer Shah Poorby Afghan, King of Bengal, stating that Hoomayoon Padshah was on the march to attack him, and that he desired the King of Malwa would make a movement towards Agra, which would distract the operations of the King of Dehly, and give the former an opportunity of acting with effect on that monarch's territory. On the receipt of this firman or order, Kadur Shah was so incensed that he insisted on his secretary writing a firman in return with the seal upon the face of it. When Sheer Shah received the answer, he tore off the seal, and putting it on the point of his sword said, "If it please God that I should ever meet with Kadur Shah, I will then put him in mind of his impertinence in putting his seal on the face of a letter to my address;" and in consequence, when that monarch ascended the throne of Dehly, he marched in the year A.H. 849 (A.D. 1445), to conquer the kingdom of Malwa. On his arrival near Sarungpoor, Kadur Shah, whose military resources were incapable of resisting those of Sheer Shah, determined to throw himself on his mercy. Accordingly, without the knowledge of any of Sheer Shah's officers, he suddenly made his appearance in durbar; and after having a secret conference with that monarch, received from him the greatest honours, was allowed to sleep in his private tent, and was presented with the dress which Sheer Shah wore at their meeting. On the next day Sheer Shah

45 Communications between equals are sealed on the back; of inferiors, at the foot of the writing; and of superiors and masters, on the top, and on the face of the letter, where, in Europe, we frequently affix the date.

marched to Oojein, where he required his minister and relative, Shooja Khan, to pay obedience to Kadur Shah as King of Malwa. But this kindness was not to last: for on the following day he told Kadur Shah that he conferred on him the district of Lucknow as a residence, of which he made him governor, and said that he expected him to remove with his family in a few days. Kadur Shah, astonished at this resolution, which he considered equivalent to perpetual banishment, fled with his family to Guzerat. Sheer Shah then made over the country around Oojein and Sarungpoor to Shooja Khan, and created him governor of Malwa, himself marching to Runtunbhore. Kadur Shah having made his escape, it became politic to secure the persons of the other Malwa nobles, to prevent their forming a junction with him at some future period. Shooja Khan first seized the person of Moyin Khan of Seevas, who was at that time in camp. This measure induced his son Nuseer Khan to revenge his father's cause; but Shooja Khan being joined by the Raja of Gualiar defeated Nuseer Khan in an action near Sarungpoor, whence he fled into the Gondwana hills. Subsequently to this event, information was received from Hajy Khan, the governor of D'har that Kadur Shah, with a large force, had arrived in his vicinity from Banswala, and that he expected an action to take place in a day or two. Shooja Khan no sooner heard the news than instantly proceeding in his palanquin to D'har, he arrived there in the evening, in time to make dispositions for a night-attack on Kadur Shah, which completely succeeded. Shooja Khan's activity enabled him in a few months to posses himself of the whole of Malwa without fighting another action. Having ruled Malwa for many years, an Afghan named Oothman Khan came one day into the Deevankhana, or Hall of Audience, of Shooja Khan, in a state of intoxication, and began to spit about on the carpets. The servants rebutted, and said they would be spoiled, but he took no notice, till at last they desired him to go out; on which he was so imprudent as to strike one of them in the face, and beat him severely. Shooja Khan, hearing of this circumstance, ordered Oothman Khan's hands to be cut off. Oothman survived the operation, and carried his complaint to Sulim Shah[46]

46. It is to be recollected that Sulim Padshah was himself of the tribe of Afghan.

of Dehly at Gualiar, who told him that he might, if he chose, take revenge on Shooja Khan, who would soon be at that city. When Shooja Khan heard this, he merely observed "Sulim Shah is a fool for his pain." Some days after, when going to the durbar, he saw Oothman Khan sitting in the corner of a shop wrapt up in an old mantle. Shooja Khan ordered his palanquin to stop, and was going to ask if he wanted any thing, and intended to relieve his distress; but Oothman Khan, who only waited such an opportunity, jumped up, and with the blade of a sword, which was fastened round his arm, made a blow at Shooja Khan, whose servants immediately attacked the ruffian, and put him to death. Sulim Shah was much vexed to hear that this affray had ended in the death of Oothman; not only because he had sanctioned the attack on his part, but his indignation had been roused against Shooja Khan for having called him a fool. Sulim Shah drew upon him the curses of the whole of Shooja Khan's family and servants, when they learned that their master had received a dangerous wound in the side from the hand of the ruffian Oothman Khan, who had been instigated to the act by the King himself. The irritation produced on account of this affair induced Shooja Khan to quit Gualiar without taking leave, and to march towards Sarungpoor; on which Sulim Shah ordered a detachment in pursuit; and in a few days after he marched himself to seize Shooja Khan's person and family, although that nobleman was one of thirty-six persons who were personally engaged in placing his father, Sheer Shah, on the throne. On the arrival of Sulim Shah near Sarungpoor, Shooja Khan declared that he never would suffer any one over whom he had power to draw his sword against the son of his old master, and he therefore fled to Banswara, leaving Sulim Shah at liberty to place Eesy Khan in the government of Malwa; after which he returned to Gualiar. But some time after, when Sulim marched towards Lahore,[47] he reinstated Shooja Khan in the government of Malwa. On this occasion the latter divided the country into the following districts: Oojein and its dependencies were placed in charge of his son, Dowlut Khan. Raiseen and Bhilsa were made over to Moostufa Khan, his youngest son. Hundia,

47. Vide vol. ii. p. 88. Sulim died in 1547, and Hoomayoon regained the empire of Dehly in 1555. Vide vol. ii. p. 108.

Seevas, and its dependencies to Mullik Bayezeed, his elder son, himself retaining the government of Sarungpoor. Some time elapsed before the government of Dehly was completely subjected by Hoomayoon Padshah, on his return from Persia; and during that period Shooja Khan, as well as the other chiefs of the empire, were on the point of declaring themselves independent, and of coining money, when cruel fate snatched the cup of prosperity from his lips, and death presented him with the potion of mortality. He died in the year A.H. 962 (A.D. 1554); and his eldest son, assuming the title of Baz Bahadur, took the reins of government into his hands.

The administration of Shooja Khan in Malwa, from first to last, was twelve years. Among the public works which do credit to his memory is the town of Soojalpoor, near the city Oojein, independent of which are many other memorials of his reign in different parts of the kingdom of Malwa.

After the death of Shoorja Khan, his eldest son, Mullik Bayezeed, marched from Hundia to Sarungpoor, and assumed charge of the government, taking possession of all his father's effects. His brother, Dowlut Khan, who had been a great favourite of Sulim Shah, and had the Sarungpoor division of troops to support him, asserted his claim to a partition of the kingdom; and after some negotiation, the districts contiguous to Oojein and Mando, together with some villages, were ceded to him. The districts of Sarungpoor, Seevas, Bheelwara, and the private estates of Shooja Khan, were considered as belonging to Bayezeed, and the districts of Raiseen and Bhilsa, with their dependencies, were left in the hands of Moostufa Khan. After this arrangement, Bayezeed marched to Oojein, on pretence of paying a visit of condolence to Dowlut Khan, on the occasion of their father's death. The latter, unsuspicious of any other motive, was put to death by his elder brother. The head of Dowlut Khan was sent to Sarungpoor, and hung up on one of the gates of that town; after which, having taken possession of many towns in Malwa which were previously almost independent, in the year A.H. 963 (A.D. 1555), Bayezeed was crowned, under the title of Sooltan Baz Bahadur. After this event he marched to Raiseen to expel his remaining brother, Moostufa Khan, who, after sustaining several actions, was eventually completely defeated, and his army dispersed. Moostufa Khan

fled from Malwa, leaving Baz Bahadur to take possession of the forts of Raiseen and Bhilsa.

About this period, having met with opposition from some of his officers, Baz Bahadur caused them to be seized and thrown into deep wells alive, where they were either drowned or starved to death. Some time after this he marched to invade Gondwara, in which campaign his uncle, Futteh Khan, was killed; after which he returned to Sarungpoor, and made preparations to reduce the fortress of Gurra. On his arrival in that vicinity, he was opposed by the troops of the Rany Doorgawutty, the widow of the late Ray Krishn Sing, who governed the country. Baz Bahadur was opposed by the Gonds, on the submit of a pass where their infantry were strongly posted, and having been drawn into an ambuscade, his troops were so completely routed that he was compelled to make his escape singly to Sarungpoor; but his army was completely surrounded and made prisoners, most of whom were put to death. Baz Bahadur was so much affected with this disgraceful termination of the war, in which his army had been destroyed, without being able to make resistance, that in order to drive away care he abandoned himself to sensual pleasures. At this period the science of music had attained considerable perfection in Malwa, and Baz Bahadur devoted himself entirely to its cultivation and encouragement; and his attachment to Roop Muny, a celebrated courtesan of that age, became so nortorious, that the loves of Baz Bahadur and Roop Muny have been handed down to posterity in song. Akbur Padshah of Dehly, taking advantage of the state of Malwa under Baz Bahadur, ordered an army commanded by Adhum Khan, in the latter end of the year A.H. 968 (A.D. 1560), to march and occupy that country. Baz Bahadur heard nothing of the movement of this force until it arrived within a short distance of his capital, when he collected his troops around Sarungpoor, but they had hardly time to join, before the Moguls were within two miles of the place. His eyes were now opened to his situation; and entering on the field of action with as little concern as if going into the company of females, he advanced impetuously, though without order, into the battle. He personally behaved with great gallantry; but his troops deserting him, he was obliged to fly, leaving Adhum Khan to occupy Sarungpoor. After some time Adhum Khan being recalled, Peer Mahomed Khan Sheerwany was sent in his stead to the government of Malwa. In the year A.H. 969

(A.D. 1571), Peer Mahomed Khan marched to oppose Baz Bahadur on the frontier, who had collected and force in conjunction with Toofal Khan, regent of Berar, and Meeran Moobarik Khan of Aseer. Peer Mahomed Khan advanced, in order to lay waste the country of Boorhanpoor; but the confederates so distressed him, that he was obliged to retreat to Malwa, whither they pursued him, and driving the Mogul troops out of Malwa, replaced Baz Bahadur on the throne. He had scarcely time to draw breath, when in the year A.H. 970 (A.D. 1562), Abdoolla Khan Oozbuk, another of the officers of Akbur Padshah, occupied Malwa. Baz Bahadur fled to the hills of Gondwana, from whence he made occasional sallies, and for a time took and retained possession of some small districts; but what he gained by force of arms he very soon lost again, owing to the indolent habits in which he indulged: at length he thought it best to deliver himself up to Akbur Padshah. In consequence he left his retreat in the year A.H. 978 (A.D. 1570), after a reign of seventeen years. He sometimes lived in the luxuries of a court, and at other submitted to the privations of a camp; and frequently wandered and begged assistance from one state to another, abiding in the woods and hills for whole months together, from an apprehension of being seized. In this year, having joined Akbur Padshah at Dehly, Baz Bahadur received a commission as an officer of two thousand cavalry. From that period till the present year, being A.H. 1018 (A.D. 1609), the kingdom of Malwa has been included among the provinces of the empire of Dehly.

CHAPTER VI.

HISTORY OF THE KINGS OF KANDEISH.

MULLIK RAJA FAROOKY

THE first person who assumed independence in the province of Kandeish was Mullik Raja, the son of Khan Jehan Farooky, whose ancestors were among the most respectable nobles at the Dehly Court, in the reigns of Alla-ood-Deen Khiljy and Mahomed Toghluk.

On the death of Khwaja Jehan, his son Mullik Raja was very young, and inherited only a small patrimony. He was diffident in his disposition, and, at the same time, too proud to thrust himself into notice through the throng of abject courtiers who usually attend on monarchs. When he arrived at a certain age, he found he had expended the little property which he inherited, and he therefore entered the King's army as a private horseman. He was excessively addicted to the chase; and one day having attracted the notice of some of the courtiers on a hunting party, while he attended the King, he was admitted into the *gholam khas*, or the life-guard of Feroze Toghluk. Some time after this, it happened when the King was on a sporting excursion in Guzerat that his Majesty followed an antelope thirteen or fourteen coss (from twenty-six to twenty-eight miles), and his attendants, excepting one or two, were all left behind. The King and his steed were completely exhausted. Far removed from the camp, and with his horse jaded, it appeared improbable that he could reach it for many hours. At this moment a horseman was described at a distance, leading a brace of greyhounds, whom the King's party beckoned towards them. Upon his arrival he was asked if any thing could be procured to eat. He replied, pointing to his steed, which carried some game, that he had some venison, and if his Majesty pleased he would instantly strike a light and dress it. The King, upon learning that his host was Mullik Raja, the son of the late Khan Jehan, an officer of respectability, resolved to promote him; and at the very first durbar raised him to the rank of an officer of two thousand horse, and shortly afterwards con-

ferred on him the districts of Talnere and Kuronde, situated on the borders of the Deccan.

In the year A.H. 772 (A.D. 1370), Mullik Raja marched with a force to his frontier, and not only took peaceable possession of his own small district, but reduced Bharjy, Raja of Buglana, to consent to the payment of an annual tribute to the King of Dehly. In this first expedition he received a tribute of five large elephants and ten small, besides a quantity of pearls and jewels as well as specie. On his return, he caused the elephants to be covered with velvet housings, embroidered with gold; and having laden several camels with muslins, and other manufactures of Kandeish, and also some pearls, he sent them as an offering to the King. Feroze Toghluk observed, that the very duty which the governor of Guzerat ought to have performed long ago had been fulfilled by Mullik Raja. He was, in consequence, honoured with the title of *Sipah Salar*[1] of Kandeish, and raised to the rank of a commander of three thousand horse. In the course of a few years he could muster twelve thousand horse, and levied contributions from the Rays of Gondwana as far as Gurra Mundla; and such was his fame, that the Ray of Jajnuggur, notwithstanding the distance, established a friendly intercourse with him.

After the death of Feroze, when Dilawur Khan Ghoory assumed independence in Malwa, an intimate connection took place between the latter and Mullik Raja, so much so, that Dilawur Khan gave his daughter in marriage to Mullik Nuseer, the son of the governor of Kandeish. At this period, Moozuffur Shah of Guzerat declared himself independent; and some internal commotions subsequently arising, Mullik Raja, relying on the support of Dilawur Khan, invaded the Guzerat provinces, and laid waste the districts of Sooltanpoor and Nundoorbar. Moozuffur Shah, though engaged in reducing the infidel Hindoos in his kingdom, on hearing of this inroad, made rapid marches to Sooltanpoor, from whence Mullik Raja was glad to retreat, and to seek protection in the fort of Talnere, wherein he was closely invested by the King of Guzerat. On this occasion Mullik Raja employed the most accomplished and learned men about him to negotiate a peace; and as Moozuffur Shah hoped to obtain assistance from the governors of Kandeish and Malwa, in reducing the infidels, he

1. Sipah Salar, Commander-in-chief.

consented to terms. After which period, Mullik Raja confined his military operations entirely to his own country, and was indefatigable in promoting the arts of civilisation and of agriculture during the rest of his life. Before his death, he sent for his two sons, Mullik Nuseer and Mullik Iftikhar. To the former he gave the "garb of desire and assent," which he received from his preceptor and tutelary saint, Sheikh Zein-ood-Deen of Dowlutabad, and nominated him his successor. On his younger son, Mullik Iftikhar, he bestowed the fort and district of Talnere; and on the 22d of the month of Shaban, A.H. 801 (April 28, A.D. 1399), Mullik Raja died, and was buried at the town of Talnere, after a reign of twenty-nine years.[2]

In the year A.H. 1013 (A.D. 1604), when the author attended the palanquin of the daughter of Ibrahim Adil Shah from Beejapoor to Boorhanpoor, he asked Mirza Ally Isfahany, after the capture of Aseer, if any history existed of the Farooky family. The Mirza replied, he knew of none; but said that he once saw a genealogy of the family down to Mullik Raja, which he copied and had by him, which contains the descent of the Farooky family. It is as follows :—

Mullik Raja, the first Mahomedan ruler of Kandeish, is descended from the Caliph Oomr Farook, and traces his pedigree thus : Mullik Raja, the son of Khan Jehan, the son of Ally Khan, the son of Oothman Khan, the son of Simeon Shah,[3] the son of Ashab Shah, the son of Armian Shah, the son of Ibrahim Shah of Bulkh, the son of Adhum Shah, the son of Ahmud Shah, the son of Mahmood Shah, the son of Mahomed Shah, the son of Azim Shah, the son of Asghur, the son of Mahomed Ahmud, the son of the Imam Nasir Abdoolla, the son of Oomr-ool-Farook, entitled Khuleefa, or representative of the last of the prophets.

Mullik Raja became the disciple of the holy saint Zein-ood-Deen of Dowlutabad, and from him received the "garb of desire and assent," which he delivered to his son Nusser, who in like

2. Several of the tombs of the early Farooky kings, constructed in a peculiar style of architecture, are still in tolerable repair at Telnere, but there are few, if any, inscriptions legible on them.

3. The word Shah, in its original signification, means Saint, and was first adopted by the Sofy kings of Persia, who engrafted the sacred title on that of royalty when they ascended the throne; and the kings of India subsequently assumed the title, without reference to its sanctified origin.

manner transmitted it to his son, and in this way it was handed down from father to son for nearly two hundred years; and Bahadur, the son of Raja Ally Khan, the last of the independent rulers of Kandeish, possessed this precious relic when he lost his kingdom.

MULLIK NUSEER

ENTITLED

NUSEER KHAN FAROOKY

In the reign of Mullik Nuseer this family greatly extended its power. Mullik Nuseer Khan also assumed the ensigns of royalty. Learned men were invited from all parts, and literature was much promoted. He received from the King of Guzerat the title of Khan, and caused the public prayers to be read in his name, realising the wish that his father carried with him to the grave, namely, that of assuming the royal pavilion and canopy. He also seized the fort of Aseer from Asa Aheer.[4]

As the story relative to the family of the original possessor of Aseer is interesting, I shall give it at full length. On the summit of a high hill in Kandeish lived a herdsman who possessed much agricultural wealth. He was, in reality, one of the principal landholders in that country. His ancestors had for nearly seven hundred years retained the estates, and at an early period built a wall round the hill of Aseer, in order to protect their numerous herds of cattle from the bands of robbers which infested the mountains. Asa succeeded to his father's property: being a thrifty person, his herds increased to the number of five thousand buffaloes, five thousand cows, twenty thousand sheep,

4. The word Aheer signifies cow-herd. It is worthy of note that many of the most ancient hill-forts in India have reference to the pastoral live of their possessors; and when the Indians are at a loss to fix an era for any ancient structure or sculpture they invariably refer it to the period of the shepherd kings. Among the most remarkable instances of hill-forts which occur to me at present are the following: Aseer, the cow-herd; Asa's dwelling; Gavulgar, the cow-herd's fort; Gollaconda (Golconda), the shepherd's hill; Yenna-conda (Inaconda), butter hill; and Gualiar, which has probably reference to the same origin.

and one thousand brood mares, independently of which he had two thousand retainers, who were employed in all purposes of husbandry, as well as for his protection. The farmers, both of Gondwana and Kandeish, whenever they were in distress, always found relief by applying to Asa Aheer, or the herdsman, for so he continued to be called, in spite of his wealth and power. It happened that a short time before the arrival of Mullik Raja at Talnere famine raged in Kandeish and in Gondwana, and not more than two or three thousand individuals of the Koly or Bheel tribes escaped its effects. Asa had at this time many storehouses, both in Gondwana and Kandeish, which his agents opened in order to sell the corn; but his wife, who was of a charitable disposition, prayed her husband to allow the grain to be served out to the poor without payment, and by that means secure to himself a good name in this world, and eternity in the next. It was to assist them, also, that he was induced to have the old walls of the town of Aseer levelled, and to cause a fort to be built a masonry, by which means he employed many labourers. He also distributed food to the aged and decrepid, who were unable to perform manual labour. This work went by the name of the fort of Asa Aheer, and was afterwards celled Aseer.[5]

Upon the assumption of the authority of all Kandeish by Mullik Raja, Asa, being a peaceable and unambitious man, was the first of all the landholders to acknowledge fealty to him; and, moreover, presented him with many things which he required on the establishment of his family. Mullik Raja very soon saw that a fortification like that of Aseer, in the hands of an ambitious chief, in the centre of his province, would enable such a person to shake the very foundation of his government; but he felt himself under too many obligations to Asa to wrest it by force out of his hands.[6] Mullik Nuseer, also, when he succeeded to the

5. The temple of Aseer is mentioned as the residence of Aswathama many centuries before this period. Whatever might have been its condition under the Hindoos, the mosque and battlements made to receive canon, with other modern improvements, attest that it owes much of its present efficiency to the Mahomedans.

6. Asa was, probably, one of the hereditary provincial governors of the court of Dewgur (Dowlutabad) before the conquest of the Deccan by the Mahomedans. On the extinction of the royal race at Dewgur the dependent chiefs became emancipated from all allegiance, and resisted the arms of the invaders as long as they could. Many of the

government, received many personal favours from Asa, and knew from his peaceable disposition that he never would give him a plea to attack him. He, however, resolved to seize Aseer, and to make it his capital, and adopted the following plan to carry his scheme into effect :—He sent a letter to Asa, saying, that the Rajas of Buglana and Antoor had collected large forces, and that they did not conduct themselves to him in the manner they had done to his father, the late Mullik Raja. The Raja of Kehrla also threatened him. The fort of Talnere, he said, agreeably to his father's will, was in the possession of his brother, Mullik Iftikhar, and that of Lulling was situated too near his enemies to offer him a safe retreat; he begged, therefore, that his family might be received into Aseer. Asa willingly consented; and ordering suitable apartments to be fitted up for the reception of Mullik Nuseer's ladies, directed that every attention should be paid to them. On the first day several dolies[7] with women came into the place, and were visited by Asa's wife and daughters. On the second day a report arrived that two hundred dolies, filled with the wife, mother, and the rest of Mullik Nuseer's family, were coming. Asa accordingly ordered the gates to be thrown open to receive them, and went with all his sons a considerable way from the female apartments to meet them; but what was his astonishment, when, instead of women, he found the dolies filled with armed soldiers, who leapt out and murdered him with the whole of his family, not leaving a male child of his race. The inhabitants of the fort were so dismayed that they fled with their families from a scene of such horror. Mullik Nuseer, who was at this time in the fort of Lulling, on hearing of the success of his plan, repaired to Aseer, and employed himself in strengthening the fortifications. It is, however, a well authenticated fact, that the property of Asa was never appropriated by any of the Farooky dynasty to their own use; and all the money and jewels taken on this occasion fell into the hands of Akbur Padshah, when he marched to the southward, and took the fortress of Aseer, two centuries afterwards.[8]

provincial chiefs, in that case, would naturally become independent; but we have no certain accounts of the fate of those of the Deccan, and. therefore, much must be left to surmise.

7. Covered litters, like palanquins, for the conveyance of females and sick persons. Vide vol. ii. p. 72.

8. Ferishta's Mahomedan feeling is quite absorbed in his indigna-

The moment that this news reached Sheikh Zein-ood-Deen of Dowlutabad, the tutelary saint of the family, he proceeded towards Kandeish to congratulate Mullik Nuseer on his success against the infidels; and the latter, with all his family, marched to meet the holy personage, and encamped on the western bank of the river Tapty. Sheikh Zein-ood-Deen arrived with a number of his disciples, and they pitched their tents on the eastern bank. Mullik Nuseer went over the river, and endeavoured to persue the Sheikh to return with him to Aseer; but he declined doing so, as he said he had not permission to cross the Tapty. After remaining some time in their respective encampments on the western and eastern banks, the Sheikh desired to take his leave; but Mullik Nuseer begged that he would condescend to accept of an estate in Kandeish. The Sheikh answered, that dervishes had no occasion for estates; but begged of Mullik Nuseer to build a town on the eastern bank of the river, and call it after himself, Zeinabad,[9] and a city on the western, where he was himself encamped, to be called Boorhanpoor, in honour of the famous Sheikh Boorhan-ood-Deen[10] of Dowlutabad; and he recommended, also, that he should make the latter his capital : both of which towns were accordingly built; and Boorhanpoor afterwards became the capital of the Farooky dynasty.

There is an old but a very true saying, that "a rug will contain ten dervishes, but a kingdom is too small for two rulers." So was it with that of Kandeish; for as soon as Mullik Nuseer obtained possession of Aseer he cast a jealous eye upon his brother's estate of Talnere; and in order to secure it he induced the King of Malwa to assist him. To this end, Mullik Nuseer marched, in the year A.H. 820 (A.D. 1417), towards Talnere with a force, and procured the aid of his brother-in-law, Sooltan Hooshung of Malwa. Mullik Iftikhar, astonished at the approach of his brother's army, remonstrated with him, and wrote, but in vain, to Ahmud Shah of Guzerat for assistance. Ghizny Khan, the son of Sooltan Hooshung, and nephew to Mullik Nuseer, arrived with

tion towards Nuseer Khan and his race. The observation regarding the property of Asa is meant to imply that Providence prevented Nuseer Khan's family from enjoying the benefit of its possession.

9. Jehanabad of the maps.

10. These two holy personages are buried at the town of Roza, near Dowlutabad, and their names are still held in great veneration in the Deccan.

a force of five thousand horse from Malwa, to support Mullik Nuseer; and by their united efforts, in a short time the fort of Talnere fell, and Mullik Iftikhar was taken prisoner, and sent to the fort of Aseer. After the capture of Talnere, it was agreed that the allied forces of Kandeish and Malwa should march and occupy Sooltanpoor in the name of the King of Malwa; for which purpose they absolutely moved and invested the fort of Sooltanpoor. On this, Ahmud Shah of Guzerat marched the whole of his army to the south, and sent a very considerable detachment under Mullik Mahmood Toork in advance. On hearing this, Ghizny Khan of Malwa fled to Mando, and Mullik Nuseer retreated to Talnere, wherein he was closely besieged by Mullik Mahmood Toork. Meanwhile, Ahmud Shah arrived at Sooltanpoor. Mullik Nuseer, thus deserted by the Prince of Malwa, was reduced to the extreme of distress in Talnere; and made overtures to some of Ahmud Shah's ministers with such success, that that monarch not only accepted the presents which he sent him, but in return bestowed on him the white canopy and scarlet pavilion, and honoured him with the title of Khan, which he assumed ever afterwards.

Some years after this event, Ahmud Shah Bahmuny of the Deccan, desirous of forming a respectable connection for his son, deputed ambassadors to Nuseer Khan, soliciting the hand of his daughter in marriage for the Deccan prince, Alla-ood-Deen. Nuseer Khan, who perceived that this connection would strengthen his power, readily assented; and the Kandeish bride was conveyed by the ambassadors in great state from Boorhanpoor to Ahmudabad Bidur.

In the year A.H. 833 (A.D. 1429), Raja Kanha, Ray of the district of Julwara, fled from the power of the King of Guzerat, and arrived at Aseer, where he presented to Nuseer Khan some elephants and other valuables, begging of him to assist him in recovering his country. Nuseer Khan replied, that he really had not the means to cope with the King of Guzerat; but that if he chose to apply to the King of the Deccan he would perhaps exert himself in his favour, and Nuseer Khan promised to give him a letter to that monarch on the subject. Ahmud Shah Bahmuny, at the instance of Nuseer Khan, put a small force at the disposal of the Raja to recover his country. When this detachment arrived at Nundoorbar it plundered the district, and the King of Guzerat

ordered a force to oppose it. An engagement ensued in consequence, in which the Deccanies were entirely defeated, and many slain. This disaster naturally involved the King of the Deccan in a war with Guzerat; for he conceived it necessary to retrieve the character of his arms. He accordingly deputed a large force to march under the command of the Prince Alla-ood-Deen for that purpose. When this army reached Dowlutabad it was joined by Raja Kanha and Nuseer Khan, and the whole proceeded towards Guzerat. Another battle[11] ensued, and the Deccan troops were again defeated, and Raja Kanha was compelled to take refuge in the Kandeish hills.

In the year A.H. 840 (A.D. 1436), Nuseer Khan received accounts from his daughter that she experienced ill treatment from her husband, Alla-ood-Deen Shah; in consequence of which her father suspended all amicable intercourse with him; and in the year A.H. 841 (A.D. 1437), at the instance of the King of Guzerat, invaded his country. He first entered Berar; and being supported by many malecontent Deccany chiefs caused the public prayers to be read in his name. He next invested the fortress of Narnala; but Alla-ood-Deen Shah having deputed Mullik-oot-Toojar with a large force to oppose him, Mullik Nuseer, accompanied by the Deccan officers, was compelled to fly. He was pursued by Mullik-oot-Toojar as far as Boorhanpoor, which city he completely sacked. Nuseer Khan then took refuge in the fort of Lulling, and solicited the assistance of the kings of Guzerat and Malwa. Mullik-oot-Toojar, determining to attack Nuseer Khan before reinforcements could arrive, pushed on by forced marches to Lulling, and reached that place with a select body of archers, amounting to about three thousand men. Nuseer Khan had with him only two thousand soldiers, but he attacked Mullik-oot-Toojar. After a severe action he was compelled to retreat, and with difficulty reached the fort. In this engagement he lost about twenty elephants and all his baggage; which disaster weighed so heavily upon his mind that he died in a few days after, on the 20th of Rubbee-ool-Awul, in the year A.H. 841 (Sept. 19. A.D. 1437), after a reign of forty years. Nuseer Khan was buried by his son in the family-vault at the Talnere by the side of his father; Mullik Raja.

11. This battle took place on the plain above the Manukpoonj pass, vide vol. iv. p. 16; but the Deccan historians have omitted to mention it.

MEERAN ADIL KHAN FAROOKY.

NUSEER KHAN was succeeded by his son Meeran Adil Khan, who instantly wrote pressing letters to the Kings of Malwa and Guzerat for aid. The Guzerat army shortly after arriving at Sooltanpoor compelled Mullik-oot-Toojar to raise the seige of Lulling, and to retreat into the Deccan. After this, Meeran Adil Khan reigned for about three years, and suffered martyrdom[12] in the city of Boorhanpoor, on Friday the 8th of Zeehuj, in the year A.H. 844 (April 28, A.D. 1441). As I have never been able to procure any satisfactory account of the manner of his death, I can give no information on the subject: he lies buried, however, at Talnere by the side of his father.

MEERAN MOOBARIK KHAN FAROOKY

MEERAN ADIL KHAN was succeeded by his son Meeran Moobarik; and all that we know of his history is, that he reigned without undertaking any foreign conquest, or drawing upon himself the hostility of his neighbours, for a period of seventeen years. He died on the 12th of Rujub, A.H. 861 (May 17, A.D. 1457), and was buried at Talnere.

MEERAN GHUNY

COMMONLY CALLED

ADIL KHAN FAROOKY I.

AFTER the death of Meeran Moobarik Khan he was succeeded by his eldest son Adil Khan; and the province of Kandeish, under his government, attained a degree of prosperity which it had never known under any of its former rulers. Adil Khan obliged the neighbouring rajas to pay him tribute, compelling those of Gondwana and Gurra Mundla to acknowledge fealty to him; and neither Kolies nor Bheels in his days infested the roads, nor disturbed the peaceable inhabitants of towns. This prince added consi-

12. The expression implies assassination.

derably to the fortifications of Aseer, and constructed the strong outwork called Mallygur; he also built the ark, or citadel, of Boorhanpoor, and raised many magnificent palaces in that town. It was in consequence of the great strength which he had acquired that he assumed the title of Shah-i-Jharkund (King of the Forests), and was induced, contrary to the practice of his ancestors, not only to withhold the annual tribute from the King of Guzerat, but openly declared that he owned no allegiance to that monarch. This was no sooner made known to Mahmood Shah Begurra than he directed his army to march into Kandeish, and not to return without having received all the arrears of the annual tribute which Adil Khan had so long withheld. For this purpose, in the year A.H. 904 (A.D. 1498), the Guzerat army marched, and that of Kandeish also moved to oppose it; but the latter was glad to effect its retreat within the walls of Talnere and Aseer, which places were both invested. Adil Khan was unable to cope with the power of Mahmood Shah, and in order to preserve his personal safety and government was compelled to pay the arrears of tribute before the Guzerat forces retired into their own country. Five years after this event, on Friday the 14th of Rubbee-ool-Awul, of the year A.H. 909 (April 8, A.D. 1503), Adil Khan died, after a reign of forty-six years. His body was buried at his particular request near the palace of the Dowlut Meidan[13] in Boorhanpoor.

DAWOOD KHAN FAROOKY

MEERAN ADIL KHAN leaving no male child to inherit his dominions, they devolved on his younger brother Dawood.[14]

13. The Dowlut Meidan, or Royal Circus, is a level spot of ground lying about a mile to the north of Boorhanpoor. The palace grounds extended over several acres, and a portion of it, like a park, was used to exercise and train the King's chargers. The place still preserves its name; but I had great difficulty, in the year 1821, when I visited Boorhanpoor, in finding the King's tomb, now situated in a wilderness of pomegranates, custard apples, guavas, and other fruit-trees, once the choicest of the land, and which served to grace the royal banquet. The trees and their scions have grown into an almost impenetrable shrubbery; and this edifice, together with other ruins with which the Dowlut Meidan is covered, has become the retreat of venomous serpents and wild beasts.

14. Ferishta, in concluding the reign of Mullik Raja, states, that when he visited Boorhanpoor, in 1604, he failed in procuring any history

Immediately after his accession, two brothers, Hoossein Ally and Yar Ally, Moguls, began to acquire great influence about the person of the Prince; so much so that he created the elder his

of the Farooky kings of Kandeish; but that he copied a genealogy of the family, which he obtained from Mirza Ally of Isfahan, who had somewhere seen it, and copied it also. That document only gives sixteen generations for a period of seven hundred and thirty years, which requires forty-five years seven months and fifteen days to each generation; an allowance far too great, according to Sir Isaac Newton and other chronologists.

The translator visited Boorhanpoor, in 1821, more than two centuries after Ferishta, and was equally unsuccessful in procuring any historical materials beyond a chronology preserved in the family of a highly respectable person (Shah Shums-ood-Deen), who claims to be a lineal descendant of Adil Khan I. though his son Azeez Khan, whose right to the throne was set aside by his uncle Dawood. As Azeez Khan is not mentioned by Ferishta, the authenticity of Shah Shums-ood-Deen's pedigree rests at present on his assertion. Certain it is, however, his family is entitled Farooky; and his hereditary landed property at Boorhanpoor has descended to him through a line of ancestors beyond the period of any records at present in that city.

The generalogy preserved by Shah Shums-ood-Deen is more complete than that of Ferishta, and furnishes thirty-seven generations for a period of eight hundred and nineteen years, which allows of twenty-two years one month and about nineteen days for each generation. The genealogy runs thus:—

The caliph Oomr Farook
Abdoolla
Oobeid Oolla
Nasir
Mahomed Ahmud
Azim
Mahomed
Mahmood
Ahmud
Adam
Ibrahim
Armian
Zoolkuful
Asheea
Daniel
Khwaja Tilla
Sikundur
Shaeeb
Simeon
Oothman
Ally
Khan Jehan
Mullik Raja, the first king of Kandeish
Nuseer Khan
Meeran Adil Khan
Meeran Moobarik Khan
Adil Khan I.
Azeez Khan
Keisur Khan
Raja Feroze Khan
Raja Kasim Khan
Meeran Moobarik Shah
Sahib Khan
Mohbut Khan
Mahomed Hoossein Khan
Mahbut Khan, entitled Baba Sahib
Shah Shums-ood-Deen, the possessor of the estates, and head of the family, at present residing in Boorhanpoor.

prime minister, with the title of Hissam-ood-Deen. At the instigation of this person, in the latter end of the year A.H. 909 (A.D. 1503), the King declared his intention of attacking some of the frontier towns of the kingdom of Ahmudnuggur. Ahmud Nizam Shah Bheiry, anticipating his movement, marched an army into the province of Kandeish. Dawood Khan retreated within the fortress of Aseer, and sent an envoy to Malwa, soliciting the assistance of Sooltan Nasir-ood-Deen. The King of Malwa, viewing him as a neighbour and relative, sent a force under Yekbal Khan to assist him; when Nizam Shah Bheiry, unwilling to become involved in a war with Malwa, retreated to Ahmudnuggur. Yekbal Khan, however, contined his march to Boorhanpoor, where he required Dawood Khan to cause the public prayers to be read in the name of Sooltan Nasir-ood-Deen; and having exacted from Dawood Khan two elephants, and sundry articles of value, the Malwa general returned to Mando. Some years after, Dawood Khan died on Wednesday, the 1st of Jumad-ool-Awul, in the year A.H. 916 (August 6, A.D. 1510), after reigning eight years. Mullik Hissam-ood-Deen and the rest of the officers placed Ghizny Khan, the son of the late King, on the throne; but after two days, for what cause God only knows, Mullik Hissam-ood-Deen caused the young king to be poisoned.

ADIL KHAN FAROOKY II.

ENTITLED

AZIM HOOMAYOON

On the death of Ghizny Khan, there being no other male relations living in Kandeish, the nobles sent a deputation to Ahmud Nizam Shah, requesting him to permit the Prince Alum Khan, a descendant of the Farooky family, then residing at Ahmudnuggur, to assume charge of Kandeish. At a council held by Nizam Shah Bheiry and Imad-ool-Moolk, King of Berar, those princes resolved to acknowledge Alum Khan[15] heir to the vacant throne of Kandeish; but Mullik Larun, an officer of the latter government, who

15. It is no where explained whose son Alum Khan was, or on what grounds his claim to the throne rested.

had command of the fort of Aseer, refused to acknowledge the new king. At the same time, Adil, the son of Hussun, and grandson of Nuseer Khan, by the daughter of Mahmood Shah of Guzerat, and who was then residing at Talnere, wrote a petition to that monarch, supported by one from his mother, begging to be placed in the government of his ancestor. Mahmood Shah, perceiving that the country of Kandeish was about to be involved in civil war, resolved to assume a right of interference in favour of his grandson, Adil Khan. For this purpose he marched in person to Kandeish, and Hissam-ood-Deen, becoming alarmed, wrote petitions to the kings of Ahmudnuggur and Berar to support Alum Khan. Both the latter kings sent detachments of troops, consisting of four thousand horse; but the Kandeish officers, perceiving themselves unable to cope with the Guzerat army, dispersed. Hissam-ood-Deen, seeing the course affairs had taken, despatched Alum Khan to the Deccan, and himself joined the King of Guzerat, as did also Larun Khan, who had previously secured the fort of Aseer. Mahmood Shah therefore placed Adil Khan in the government of Boorhanpoor, with the title of Azim Hoomayoon, and gave to him in marriage the daughter of Moozuffur Shah, sister by the same mother of Bahadur Shah of Guzerat, presenting him, at the same time, with a sum of three hundred thousand tunkas of silver.[16]

Mullik Larun received the title of Khan Jehan and the jageer of Ahwas, while Hissam-ood-Deen became ennobled under the title of Shehr-yar Khan, received the town of Danwur as an estate, and was placed in charge of Talnere. Titles and small jageers were also conferred on several other nobles; and Mahmood Shah Begurra returned to Ahmudabad.

When Adil Khan had, by the assistance of his maternal grandfather, been placed in the government of Kandeish, he removed his family and property from Talnere to Boorhanpoor, and Hissam-ood-Deen proceeded from the latter to the former place; the whole of which district he received as a jageer. Some time after this, the Prince, discovering that Hissam-ood-Deen was intriguing at the court of Ahmudnuggur, in order to replace Alum Khan on the throne, order him to appear at court. Hissam-ood-Deen, aware of the cause of this summons, determined neither to give umbrage by disobeying the order, nor to go so slightly attended

16. 20,000*l*.

as to render his imprisonment a matter of easy accomplishment. He in consequence went, at the head of four thousand horse, to Boorhanpoor, and was met at some distance by Adil Khan, who had only a small retinue of three hundred men with him. Hissam-ood-Deen received every attention, and the following was the day fixed for him to pay his visit in state; on which occasion the King gave instructions to have him murdered by his servants the moment he left the hall of audience. Hissam-ood-Deen, as was expected, came to the levee attended by all his officers, while the whole of his cavalry remained drawn up on the outside, with a view of overawing the King. After a long and formal visit, the King took Hissam-ood-Deen aside into a private apartment, under the plea of communicating something important, and on his return he was cut down by the royal guards. Mullik Boorhan, a Guzerat chief, who had been left by Mahmood Shah Begurra as the King's minister, immediately attacked Hissam-ood-Deen's officers, who were most of them put to death; while almost at the same moment a select body of Guzerat horse fell upon the Talnere cavalry, and completely dispersed them. This vigorous thought sanguinary measure restored to the King the whole of the Talnere district, which formed nearly half of his territory, and also removed an ambitious and powerful rival.

Some time afterwards, the King visited the fort of Aseer, where he found that Sheer Khan and Seif Khan, two Guzerat officers, had been intriguing with Nizam Shah Bheiry of Ahmudnuggur; and that monarch, accompanied by Alum Khan, actually arrived on the frontier for the purpose of again placing the latter in the government. The King immediately despatched a messenger to Moozuffur Shah II. of Guzerat, detailing the whole circumstances, and begging that he would send a force to his assistance. On receipt of this communication, Moozuffur Shah directed a sum of twelve lacks of tunkas to be sent to Adil Khan, to enable him to raise troops, and also despatched a large force under Dilawur Khan and Sufdur Khan to his aid; writing to him at the same time to say, that if it were necessary he would himself march to protect his rights. "As for Nizam-ool-Moolk Bheiry," said he, "who styles himself king, he is one of the slaves of the household of the kings of the Deccan; he shall suffer for daring to march against the lineal descendant of the house of Farook, and a prince who is my son-in-law." The same language was also made use

of to the ambassador of Ahmud Nizam Shah, resident at the Guzerat court, who was informed of the King's determination to support Adil Khan even at the risk of his crown. Ahmud Nizam Shah, seeing the turn affairs had taken, thought it prudent to retreat, while Sheer Khan and Seif Khan were permitted to retire to Gavulgur. After the arrival of Guzerat army Adil Khan employed it to levy the tribute from the Rapa of Galna, a dependent of the Ahmudnuggur government, from whom he raised a large sum of money; after which he returned to Boorhanpoor, and permitted the Guzerat army to proceed home-wards.

In the year A.H. 923 (A.D. 1517), Adil Khan II. accompanied his father-in-law, Moozuffur Shah, with a force to Mando, and assisted greatly in the Malwa campaign; but as the events of that war are detailed both in the Guzerat and Malwa histories, I have not thought it necessary to repeat them in this place.

In the year A.H. 926 (A.D. 1520), Adil Khan falling dangerously ill, died at Boorhanpoor, after a reign of nineteen years. He was succeeded by Meeran Mahomed, his eldest son, by the sister[17] of Bahadur Shah of Guzerat.

MEERAN MAHOMED KHAN FAROOKY

ENTITLED

MEERAN MAHOMED SHAH

AFTER the death of Adil Khan II. he was succeeded by his son Meeran Mahomed Khan. Shortly after his accession to the government, Imad Shah, King of Berar, and Boorhan Nizam Shah of Ahmudnuggur, were engaged in war with each other; and the former having lost his country, came to Boorhanpoor; when both Imad Shah and Meeran Mahomed Khan of Kandeish wrote to Bahadur Shah of Guzerat, requesting his interference in adjusting the differences with the King of Ahmudnuggur. Bahadur

17. This relationship is mentioned, because Moozuffur Shah of Guzerat had several children by different wives; but the Queen of Kandeish was by the same mother as Bahadur Shah of Guzerat, which accounts for her son, Meeran Mahomed Shah, being elevated to the throne of Guzerat after Bahadur Shah's death.

Shah, in consequence, deputed Ein-ool-Moolk, the governor of Puttun, to proceed to Boorhanpoor, and endeavour to mediate a peace. Boorhan Nizam Shah consented to an amicable adjustment of affairs for the present, in order to meet the wishes of the court of Guzerat; but shortly after the return of Bahadur Shah's ambassador, he attacked and took the fort of Mahoor, and reduced several other districts in Berar. In consequence of this, in the year A.H. 934 (A.D. 1527), Imad-ool-Moolk entered into a league with Meeran Mahomed Khan of Kandeish, who marched with all his army and elephants to the assistance of Imad-ool-Moolk, and joined him near the Godavery river. In a few days after and action took place with Boorhan Nizam Shah, in which the latter was defeated; but Imad-ool-Moolk, elated with his success, permitted his troops to disperse in search of plunder. This afforded the enemy an opportunity to rally; and Boorhan Nizam Shah, charging with a body of three thousand cavalry among the confederates, not only recovered the public property he had formerly lost, but captured several of the Kandeish elephants. Many of the Kandeish troops, too, were killed; and the late victorious army of Imad-ool-Moolk being routed, was closely pursued for upwards of eight miles. Meeran Mahomed Khan took the route of Aseer, while his ally, Imad-ool-Moolk, fled to Gavulgur, from whence they both wrote an account of their disaster to Bahadur Shah of Guzerat. After repeated solicitations, the King of Guzerat marched in person to Boorhanpoor, and from thence, accompanied by Meeran Mahomed Khan and Imad-ool-Moolk, entering the Deccan, penetrated as far as Jalna without resistance. On arriving there Bahadur Shah took measures for occupying Berar for himself, and threatened, by removing Imad-ool-Moolk, to place his own officers in the government. Imad-ool-Moolk, on discovering his intentions, consulted with Meeran Mahomed Khan what was to be done. The latter said, "This is the natural consequence of calling in foreign aid at all; and the only remedy to be now pursued is to read the prayers, and to coin money, in the name of the King of Guzerat, and to style yourself a tributary and servant of his government." However humiliating the proposal, Imad-ool-Moolk did not hesitate to adopt Meeran Adil Khan's advice. He therefore proposed it to Bahadur Shah, and recommended him to march immediately to Ahmudnuggur for the same purpose.

This pleased Bahadur Shah so much that he agreed to the whole arrangement, and proceeded, accompanied by the Berar and Kandeish troops, towards Ahmudnuggur, where (as has been formerly related in the Guzerat history) the public prayers were read in the name of the King of Guzerat. After this campaign Bahadur Shah proceeded to Baroah, and Meeran Mahomed Khan and Imad-ool-Moolk retired to their respective capitals.

In the year A.H. 939 (A.D. 1532), Bahadur Shah marched towards Malwa for the purpose of subjugating that kingdom, in which campaign Meeran Mahomed Khan was present at the reduction of the fort of Mando; after which he returned to Boorhanpoor. Boorhan Nizam Shah of Ahmudnuggur, alarmed at the occupation of the kingdom of Malwa, deputed an ambassador to Meeran Mahomed Khan, professing great regard for him, and requesting his interference with the King of Guzerat, to reconcile some differences which existed between them.[18]

Bahadur Shah, in the following year, marched to Boorhanpoor, where he was met by Boorhan Nizam Shah, on whom he conferred the white canopy and scarlet pavilion; after which the latter returned to Ahmudnuggur and the former to Malwa. Meeran Mahomed Khan also accompanied the King of Guzerat in his expedition against Chittoor, and was with him in his retreat before the arms of Hoomayoon Padshah to Mando. After the occupation of Guzerat by Hoomayoon, that monarch sent one of his principal officers, called Asuf Khan to levy contributions in the Deccan, and was himself on his march towards Boorhanpoor, which he no doubt intended to occupy: but the sudden irruption of Sheer Shah from Bengal into the Dehly territory obliged Hoomayoon to return through Malwa towards Agra. At that time Bahadur Shah made an effort to recover Guzerat, and requested Meeran Mahomed Khan to invade Malwa at the same time, and expel the Dehly officers. Meeran Mahomed Khan did so; and in concert with Mulloo Khan, the late Guzerat governor of Malwa, took possession of Mando. While Meeran Mahomed Khan was there, information reached him that Bahadur Shah[19] had sipped of the cup of martyrdom from the hands of the infidel Portuguese a Diu, and that his mother, in concert with the

18. This passage alludes to a transaction mentioned in the Deccan history, vide vol. iii. p. 135.

19. Vide history of Guzerat, vol. iv. p. 78.

nobles of Guzerat, had proclaimed Meeran Mahomed Khan of Kandeish king. A deputation shortly after arrived at Mando for the purpose of escorting him to Guzerat. Meanwhile he was formally crowned at Mando, and assumed the title of Meeran Mahomed Shah; but his reign was of short duration; for on the journey to Ahmudabad he was taken dangerously ill, and died suddenly on the 13th of Zeekad, A.H. 942 (May 4, A.D. 1535). His body was conveyed to Boorhanpoor, and interred in the vault of his father, Adil Khan II.

MEERAN MOOBARIK KHAN FAROOKY[20]

At the period of the death of Meeran Mahomed Shah, none of his children were of an age to take the reins of government; and his brother Moobarik, hearing of his decease at Boorhanpoor, immediately assumed the title of Shah. Shortly after his accession the nobles of Guzerat deputed Yekhtiar Khan, an officer of that kingdom, to demand the Prince Mahmood, son of Luteef Khan,[21] nephew of the late Bahadur Shah, whom that monarch had, during his lifetime, sent to Meeran Mahomed Khan of Kandeish, to be confined in a hill-fort during his life. Meeran Moobarik, who himself aspired to the throne of Guzerat, and to which his brother had been so lately elevated, threw obstacles in the way of the enlargement of the Prince Mahmood; but the Guzerat officers resented his detention so warmly, that Meeran Moobarik Khan was compelled, from motives of policy, to permit Yekhtiar Khan to take charge of him, and he was accordingly crowned at Ahmudabad in the year A.H. 943 (A.D. 1536).

At this period, also, Imad-ool-Moolk of Guzerat fled, and sought protection at Boorhanpoor. He was hospitably received

20. Although he assumed the title of Shah, or King, it was a dignity to which he had no right, as he did not succeed to the government of any kingdom. I therefore call him Khan, to prevent the confusion which might otherwise arise.

21. The efforts made by the Prince Luteef Khan, the brother of Bahadur Shah, to ascend the throne of Guzerat, have been fully detailed in the Guzerat history, vide vol. iv. p. 64. Mahmood could not have been more *conveniently* disposed of than in the hands of a foreign prince, between whom and the succession to Guzerat he alone intervened. Indeed, considering the times, it reflects some credit on the memory of Meeran Mahomed Shah that Mahmood was suffered to outlive him.

by Meeran Moobarik Khan, who encouraged him to collect a body of twelve thousand Guzerat horse. With this force they both marched for the purpose of placing Meeran Moobarik Khan on the throne. On the other hand, Duria Khan, accompanied by Mahmood Shah III., opposed them. The armies met, and a sanguinary contest ensued, in which the Kandeish troops were defeated. Moobarik Khan fled to Asheer, and Imad-ool-Moolk to Mando, where he sought protection with Sooltan Kadur of Malwa. The Guzeratties under Duria Khan, following up their success, plundered and laid waste the country of Kandeish, through which they passed, and compelled Meeran Moobarik Khan to pay a very heavy fine. Mahmood Shah, when in confinement in the fort of Aseer, promised, if ever he succeeded to the government of Guzerat, to give to Meeran Moobarik Khan the district of Nundoorbar; and upon this occasion he formally yielded it up to him.

In the year A.H. 969 (A.D. 1572), Sooltan Baz Bahadur, King of Malwa, was compelled to fly before the Mogul forces, and sought protection with Meeran Moobarik Khan. Peer Mahomed Khan, the Mogul chief, who had driven him from his seat of government, pursued him into the very centre of Kandeish, penetrating as far as Boorhanpoor, when he devastated the country, sacked the city, dishonoured the females, and committed enormities unfit to relate. Meeran Moobarik Khan wrote to Toofal Khan, governor of Berar, begging his assistance in this momentour crisis, who with the alacrity proportionate to the emergency marched the whole of his force to Kandeish, and joined Meeran Moobarik Khan and Sooltan Baz Bahadur. The ferocious bands of Peer Mahomed Khan had been so glutted by debauch, and so enriched by spoil, that they had little inclination to risk their booty in action; and their leader, contrary to his own will, was compelled to retreat to Malwa. Many of the soldiery were so desirous to reach their quarters, that they went off even before Peer Mahomed Khan, and left him to follow with a small force and all the heavy baggage and military stores. The allied forces under Toofal Khan pursued the Moguls; and having intimation of their dispersed state, made rapid marches, and overtook Peer Mahomed Khan on the banks of the Nurbudda. The allies immediately charged the enemy, who, overpowered by numbers, sought safety in flight. Many were drowned in the river; and

Peer Mahomed Khan himself, who ordered his elephant to be urged into the stream, was among the number. The confederates, following up their success, marched on to Mando, where Sooltan Baz Bahadur again assumed the reins of government; after which the allies returned to their respective countries. Meeran Moobarik Khan died, some years afterwards, on the night of Wednesday the 6th of Jumad-ool-Akhur, A.H. 947 (Dec. 24, A.D. 1566), after a reign of thirty-two years.

MEERAN MAHOMED KHAN FAROOKY

MEERAN MOOBARIK KHAN was succeeded by his son Meeran Mahomed. In the same year Chungiz Khan of Guzerat, instigated by Etimad Khan, the prime minister of Moozuffur Shah III., invaded the district of Nundoorbar, and having compelled the Kandeish officers to retreat, boldly pushed on to the fortress of Talnere. Meeran Mahomed Khan, hearing of this inroad, called on Toofal Khan for assistance; and the combined forces of Kandeish and Berar marched to the western frontier. On their arrival at Talnere, they found Chungiz Khan strongly posted with ravines on his flanks, and his artillery and carriages of all descriptions forming a barrier in his front. Meeran Mahomed Khan used every effort in vain, during the day of his arrival, to induce Chungiz Khan to quit his position; but during the night Chungiz Khan fled singly to Baroach, leaving his army and all his artillery in the hands of Meeran Mahomed Khan, who, on the following day, occupied the ground which the enemy had quitted. At this time the Guzerat government was in a state of the utmost confusion, and a civil war prevailed. Most of the nobles were of opinion that Moozuffur Shah III., who was merely a pageant in the hands of Etimad-ool-Moolk, was not the son of Mahmood Shah, and they refused to acknowledge his right to the throne. Meeran Mahomed Khan, therefore, conceiving himself to be the only rightful heir, and hearing that he might expect support from the Guzerat nobles, if he boldly asserted his claims, collected a force of thirty thousand horse, and marched to Ahmudabad. Chungiz Khan, who had, in the mean time, been successful in the civil war, was at the capital, whence he had expelled his rival Etimad-ool-Moolk and the King. On gaining information that Meeran Mahomed Khan,

with a large force, had arrived near Ahmudabad, Chungiz Khan marched to oppose him with only seven thousand men, supported by the Dehly Mirzas (who are mentioned both in the Guzerat and Dehly histories), and gained a complete victory. Meeran Mahomed Khan was glad to effect his retreat in safety to Aseer, leaving in possession of the Guzeratties his elephants, artillery, and all the royal equipage which the rulers of Kandeish assumed. A short time after this event, the Mirzas, having plundered great part of southern Guzerat, invaded Kandeish also; and before Meeran Mahomed Khan could collect an army sufficient to oppose them, they laid waste and levied contributions on several districts, and quitted the province.

In the year A.H. 982 (A.D. 1574), Moortuza Nizam Shah Bheiry of Ahmudnuggur invaded and subdued the country of Berar, and seized and confined Toofal Khan. One of the officers of his government came to Kandeish, and styling himself Imad-ool-Moolk, the representative of Toofal Khan, begged the assistance of Meeran Mahomed Khan. The latter was so deceived by this impostor that he actually sent a force of five thousand men to accompany him, in order to recover Berar. The impostor marched and laid waste the country; but Moortuza Nizam Shah, at the instance of Chungiz Khan[22] Isfahany, his prime minister, returned, and having dispersed the Kandeish troops like sheep, turned his attention towards meeran Mahomed Khan, who had been the means of this invasion. In consequence of which the King of Ahmudnuggur sacked Boorhanpoor, and moved on to Aseer, where after a close siege of considerable length Meeran Mahomed Khan was compelled to sue for peace, and paid to Moortuza Nizam Shah the sum of six hundred thousand moozuffuries,[23] a sum nearly equal to three hundred thousand siccas of silver, besides two hundred thousand moozuffuries to the minister Chungiz Khan.

In the year A.H. 984 (A.D. 1576), Meeran Mahomed Khan

22. It is a curious coincidence that both the ministers at Ahmudnuggur and Guzerat should bear the name of Chungiz Khan at the same time; but it is sufficient to bear in mind the distinction between the two kingdoms, and the reader will be prepared not to confound them.

23. According to this statement, a moozuffury was equal to half a rupee, fifteen-pence English money. It was a base silver coin, struck in the reign of Moozuffur Shah III. of Guzerat, which became current at this time in Kandeish; but has long since been extinct.

was seized by a fever, and after lingering some months, died. His only heir was his son Hoossein Khan, then a minor.

RAJA ALLY KHAN FAROOKY

ON the first intimation of the illness of which Meeran Mahomed Khan subsequently died, his brother Raja Ally, then at Agra, proceeded direct to Boorhanpoor, and arrived at the latter city three days after his death. The nobles went out to meet him; and in consequence of the minority of Hoossein Khan they deposed that prince, and placed Raja Ally on the musnud. At this period, the princes of Hindoostan, from Bengal to Sind, including Malwa and Guzerat, had been subdued by the victorious arms of Akbur Padshah; and Raja Ally Khan, in order to avoid so unequal a contest, dropped the title of king, which his brother had assumed, and wrote a letter to Akbur, begging that be might he considered as his vassal and tributary; and in order to convince him of his sincerity, sent him many rich and valuable presents. He also maintained a friendly intercourse for a period of years with the Kings of the Deccan. Raja Ally Khan was a person of superior talents: just as a governor, wise and prudent as a statesman, brave and intrepid as a warrior, and possessing a high spirit and a laudable ambition. He was the idol of his people, and neither engaged in wars of conquest nor patiently permitted his country to be invaded. He employed his time in reading with doctors of the Hunefy sect, and in the cultivation of the arts, until the year A.H. 1002 (A.D. 1593), when (during the secession of Moortuza Nizam Shah of Ahmudnuggur from public affairs) a dispute arising between Sulabut Khan, the Ahmudnuggur regent, and Syud Moortuza, the governor of Berar, a battle took place at the distance of twelve miles from Ahmudnuggur; wherein Syud Moortuza was defeated, and retreated with twelve thousand men, accompanied by some of his officers, to Elichpoor. On being closely pursued, these chiefs directed their march towards Boorhanpoor, and requested the assistance of Raja Ally Khan, who neither gave them encouragement nor a direct refusal. Meanwhile, impatient of delay, Syud Moortuza's soldiers sacked the city, and directed their march towards Agra. Raja Ally Khan pursued and defeated

this mutinous body on the banks of the Nurbudda, taking all its baggage and carriage-cattle; among the latter of which were one hundred elephants. Syud Moortuza, however, was enabled to cross the river, and proceeded to join Akbur Padshah, to whom he complained of the ill usage he had experienced from Raja Ally Khan, but more particularly from Sulabut Khan. Akbur, who had long been desirous of invading the Deccan, thought the present a good opportunity to carry his project into effect. For this purpose he received the Deccan refugees into his service, and gave them high military stations. Raja Ally Khan, on hearing of their elevation, foresaw the future destination of the Dehly arms, and therefore deputed an envoy to Akbur, to whom he presented all the elephants he had taken from the Deccanies, as also a considerable sum of money. The offering was accepted; and on the following year, viz. A.H. 1003 (A.D. 1594), Syud Moortuza and the rest of the Deccan chiefs were directed to proceed to Mando, whence Mirza Azeez Koka furnished a considerable force for the purpose of invading Berar, while Mirza Mahomed Tuky was deputed by the King of Ahmudnuggur to oppose them. When the Dehly force arrived at the town of Hundia, on the Banks of the Nurbudda, the commander sent a person to wait on Raja Ally Khan, in order that he might mediate an accommodation between the Ahmudnuggur and Berar officers; while, on the other hand, Mahomed Tuky, the Nizam Shahy general, was empowered to make overtures to Raja Ally Khan, to induce him to join the Deccan army. After the most mature deliberation, Raja Ally Khan thought fit to join the Deccanies, with whom he proceeded towards Hundia; and having arrived within two miles of the Moguls, intended to attack them on the following day. During the night, however, the Mogul general, leaving his tents standing and lights burning, decamped, and taking the road to Berar, plundered the country, and sacked the towns of Elichpoor and Belapoor. Raja Ally Khan and Mirza Mahomed Tuky, on hearing of this manœuvre, countermarched, but the Mogul rejoined the force he had left at Hundia[24] without encountering

24. The Mogul historian relates, that they retired out of Berar by the route of Sooltanpoor and Nundoorbar, which must be, I think, erroneous. They probably returned through the hills along the same route by which they entered Berar.

opposition; and the Deccan allies, having secured themselves from attack, returned to their respective governments of Ahmudnuggur and Kandeish.

After the death of Boorhan Nizam Shah II., in the year A.H. 1004 (A.D. 1595), the Prince Moorad Mirza, son of Akbur Padshah, and Khan Khanan, the son of Beiram Khan, marched for the purpose of subduing the Deccan. Raja Ally Khan of Kandeish accompanied them, and was killed, with many officers of distinction, by the explosion of a powder tumbrill, in the famous battle fought between Khan Khanan and Soheil Khan, general of the Ahmudnuggur forces.[25]

The reign of Raja Ally Khan lasted for a period of twenty-one years; and his body was carried to Boorhanpoor, where he was buried with due honours. (A.H. 1005, A.D. 1596).

BAHADUR KHAN FAROOKY

After the death of Raja Ally Khan in the year A.H. 1005 (A.D. 1596), he was succeeded by his son, Bahadur Khan, who was supported by Khan Khanan, the general of Akbur Padshah. This prince soon abandoned himself to the pleasures of the seraglio, and neglecting altogether state-affairs, diverted himself with minstrels and dancers. At the period of the death of the Prince Moorad Mirza, in the town of Shahpoor, the Prince Daniel Mirza succeeded him. Bahadur Khan neither sent condolence on his brother's death nor congratulations on his accession to the command of the forces in the Deccan, as is customary; and when Akbur Padshah, a few years afterwards, arrived at Mando with the avowed intention of invading the Deccan, Bahadur Khan, instead of adopting the policy of his father in relying on the honour of Akbur, and going with an army to co-operate with him, shut himself up in the fort of Aseer, and commenced preparations to withstand a siege. To this end he invited fifteen thousand persons, including labourers, artisans, and shop-keepers, into the place, and filled it with horses and cattle, in order that they might serve for work, and eventually for food and other purposes. When Akbur Padshah heard of these proceedings, he sent orders to Khan Khanan, and to the Prince Daniel Mirza,

25. Vide vol. ii. p. 169, and vol. iii. p. 186.

to continue the siege of Ahmudnuggur, while he himself marched to the south and occupied Boorhanpoor, leaving one of his generals to besiege Aseer. The blockade of this fortress continued for a length of time till the air from filth became fetid, and an epidemic disease raged, caused by the number of cattle which daily died. At this period a prevalent report was spread, and generally believed in the garrison, that Akbur had the power of reducing forts by the art of necromancy, and that magicians accompanied him for that purpose. Bahadur Khan, believing that his misfortunes arose from the above-mentioned cause, took no means to counteract the evils by which he was surrounded. He neither gave orders for the removal of the dead cattle, for the establishment of hospitals, nor for sending out useless persons, till at length the soldiers, worn out, became quite careless on duty; and the Moguls stormed and carried the lower fort called Mallygur. Nothing could exceed the infatuation of Bahadur Khan, who, although he had then ten years' grain, and money to an enormous amount, still kept the troops in arrears; and they, seeing that no redress was to be expected, resolved to seize him, and to deliver him over to Akbur Padshah. Before this project was carried into effect Bahadur Khan discovered the plot, and consulted his officers, who all agreed it was too late to think of a remedy. The pestilence raged with great fury, the troops were completely exhausted, and nothing remained but to open negotiations for the surrender of the fort, on condition that the lives of the garrison should be spared, and that they should marched out with their property. The terms were acceded to, with the exception of the last proposition regarding the Khan's private property, all of which fell into the King's hands; and Bahadur Khan, the last of the Farooky dynasty, humble himself before the throne of Akbur Padshah, in the year A.H. 1008 (A.D. 1599), while the impregnable fortress of Aseer, with ten years' provisions, and countless treasures, fell into the hands of the conqueror.

The town of Bahadurpoor, near the city of Boorhanpoor, was built by Bahadur Khan.

CHAPTER VII

SECTION I

HISTORY OF THE KINGS OF BENGAL AND BEHAR, COMMONLY CALLED POORBY

FUKHR-OOD-DEEN POORBY

THE first Moslem chief who invaded the kingdom of Bengal was Mullik Mahomed Bukhtyar, in the reign of Kootb-ood-Deen Eibuk, King of Dehly, in the year A.H. 587 (A.D. 1191). After whom, the several governors of that country were appointed from the capital, as is mentioned in the Dehly history. When Mullik Fukhr-ood-Deen put to death Kuddur Khan, the governor of Bengal, in the reign of Toghluk, he proclaimed himself king, and declared his independence from the throne of Dehly.[1]

Mullik Fukhr-ood-Deen was originally a soldier in the service of Kuddur Khan, governor of Bengal; but after slaying his master, he proclaimed himself king, and appointed his servant, Mokhlis Khan, to the command of an army, which he sent to enforce obedience among the inhabitants of the surrounding country. This officer was opposed by Mullik Ally Moobarik, who slew him in action; and having defeated his troops, proclaimed himself king, under the title of Alla-ood-Deen, in the year A.H. 739 (A.D. 1338). As Mullik Fukhr-ood-Deen was only just seated in his government, and by no means confident of the attachment of his subjects, he thought it imprudent to quit the capital. Alla-ood-Deen marched to Luknowty; and establishing a force in that place, resolved to attack Fukhr-ood-Deen, for which purpose he proceeded towards Bengal. Fukhr-ood-Deen, being now compelled to fight, met his opponent; and in a pitched battle, which took place in the year A.H. 741 (A.D. 1340), the former was defeated, taken prisoner, and put to death, having only survived his elevation two years and five months.

1. Vide vol. I. p. 244.

ALLA-OOD-DEEN POORBY

After the death of Fukhr-ood-Deen, Alla-ood-Deen succeeded to the government, and returned to Luknowty; where having firmly established his authority, he went to South Bengal. On his return, he found that Mullik Hajy Elias Mullahy[2] had succeeded in tampering with his army; and Alla-ood-Deen was shortly after assassinated, after a reign of one year and some months.

HAJY ELIAS

ENTITLED

SHUMS-OOD-DEEN POORBY

On the death of Alla-ood-Deen, Haji Elias assumed the title of Shums-ood-Deen Poorby Bhungera, and caused the public prayers to be read, and money to be coined, in his name, as King of Bengal. After his accession he did all in his power to gain the esteem of his subjects, and to secure the attachment of his troops. Shortly after, he led an expedition to Jajnuggur, in order to obtain elephants,[3] and returned to Luknowty. For thirteen years Shums-ood-Deen Poorby resisted with success the forces of the King of Dehly, who could never succeed during the whole of that period in making any impression upon him. At length. on the 10th of Shuval, in the year A.H. 754 (Oct. 14, A.D. 1353). Feroze Toghluk marched from Dehly towards Luknowty. On the approach of the enemy, Shums-ood-Deen retreated from his capital to the strong fortress of Yekdalla,[4] whither Feroze Toghluk advanced. On arriving in the suburbs, Shums-ood-Deen sallied from the fort, and gave the royal army battle; on which occasion, after many men were slain on both sides, he was defeated, and

2. The sailor.

3. The fact of Sooltan Hooshung of Malwa and Shums-ood-Deen of Bengal both having gone to Jajnuggur to procure elephants is very remarkable, and proves that those animals must have been excellent, as well as numerous, in that province.

4. This place is not to be found in the modern maps, though major Rennell, in his Bengal Atlas, placed it near Dacca.

obliged to retreat into Yekdalla, leaving all the large elephnats, which he had brought from Jajnuggur, in the hands of the enemy. At this period, fortunately for Shums-ood-Deen, the rainy season having commenced with violence, Feroze was compelled to raise the siege of Yekdalla, and to retreat to Dehly. In the year A.H. 755 (A.D. 1354), he sent an ambassador to Dehly with magnificent presents, and begged forgiveness for opposing the King's army. The ambassadors were honourably received, and dismissed with courtesy.

In the year A.H. 759 (A.D. 1357), another ambassador, Mullik Taj-ood-Deen, was again sent with magnificent offerings to Dehly. The ambassador was treated with distinguished honours; and in return, the King of Dehly deputed Seif-ood-Deen, kotwal, with a number of Arabian and Tartar horses, an elephant, and many valuable gifts, to Luknowty; but before the ambassador crossed the frontier, Shums-ood-Deen died, after a reign of sixteen years. Seif-ood-Deen, however, delivered over his horses and presents to Mullik Taj-ood-Deen to carry to Bengal, and returned in person to Dehly.

SIKUNDUR POORBY

On the death of Shums-ood-Deen, the nobles of the state elevated his eldest son to the throne three days afterwards. He had not long entered on his rule before his country was again invaded, in the year A.H. 760 (A.D. 1358), by Feroze Toghluk of Dehly. When the Dehly army arrived at Pundwa, Sikundur Poorby, following his father's example, took refuge in the fortress of Yekdalla, from whence he sent an agent to offer his submission, and to promise annual tribute; which induced Feroze to retreat, after having received twenty-seven elephants[5] and many other valuable presents. Sikundur Prooby reigned in peace for a period of nine years, and then died, A.H. 769 (A.D. 1367).

GHEIAS-OOD-DEEN POORBY

Gheias-ood-Deen succeeded his father, and reigned for a period of seven years and died in the year A.H. 775 (A.D. 1374).

5. Major Stewart, in his History of Bengal, whose information is probably better than that obtained by Ferishta, enumerates forty-eight

SOOLTAN-OOS-SULLATEEN POORBY

On the death of Gheias-ood-Deen, the nobles elevated his son to the throne, under the title of Sooltan-oos-Sullateen (or the King of Kings). This prince was benevolent, merciful, and brave; and after a reign of ten years he died, in the year A.H. 785 (A.D. 1383).

SHUMS-OOD-DEEN POORBY II.

On the vacancy of the throne, by the death of Sooltan-oos-Sullateen, it was filled by his son, Shums-ood-Deen II.; who after an inglorious reign of three years quitted this world of vanity for that of eternity, in the year A.H. 788 (A.D. 1386).

RAJA KANS POORBY

Subsequently to the death of Shums-ood-Deen II. a zemindar of the name of Kans made head against the Mahomedan power, and succeeded in placing himself on the throne of Bengal; but the Almighty withdrew his favour from him, and after a reign of seven years he died A.H. 795 (A.D. 1392).

JEETMUL,

ENTITLED

JULAL-OOD-DEEN

After the death of his father, Jeetmul called together all the officers of the state, and said, so strong a desire to become a convert to the Mahomedan faith had seized him, that he was resolved to embrace that religion; observing, at the same time, if the chiefs would not permit him to succeed to the throne, he was prepared to cede it to his brother. His officers declared they were disposed to accept him as their king, without any reference to the

elephants, besides money. He also states, that Sikundur Poorby was killed in action, in repulsing the troops of his rebellious son who succeeded him.

religion he might choose to adopt. So that several learned men among the Mahomedans of that country were summoned to witness Raja Jeetmul renounce the Hindoo religion, and profess that of the Moslems. He was at the same time entitled Julal-ood-Deen; and after ascending the throne, he ruled with such justice, that he became entitled to the appellation of the Nowsherwan of the age. He reigned with great splendour for a period of seventeen years, and died in the latter end of the year A.H. 812 (A.D. 1400).

AHMUD POORBY

THE Prince Ahmud, as heir-apparent, succeeded his father on the throne; and after reigning eighteen years, died A.H. 830 (A.D. 1420).

NASIR-OOD-DEEN GHOLAM POORBY

ON the death of Ahmud, one of his personal attendants had the audacity to usurp the place of his sovereign, and seizing the king's property, distributed it among his fellow-servants, in order to obtain their support; but the nobles of the state having discovered one of the descendants of Shums-ood-Deen Bhungera I., placed him on the throne, and deposed the usurper; who is stated by some historians to have reigned several days; others, only a few hours.

NASIR POORBY

AFTER Nasir-ood-Deen Gholam was put to death, he was succeeded by Nasir Shah, a lineal descendant from Shums-ood-Deen Bhungera. This prince reigned to the satisfaction of all classes of his subjects for a period of two years, when he died. A.H. 832 (A.D. 1428).

BARBIK POORBY

NASIR was succeeded by Barbik, who reigned peaceably for a period of seventeen years, and died A.H. 849 (A.D. 1435).

YOOSOOF POORBY

BARBIK was succeeded by Yoosoof, who reigned between seven and eight years, and died in the year A.H. 866 (A.D. 1457).

SIKUNDUR POORBY

YOOSOOF was succeeded by Sikundur; but he gave such offence to his nobles that they deposed him, and on the same day placed in his stead Futteh.

FUTTEH POORBY

THIS prince, after his accession, gave proofs both of his judgment and justice, and his liberality kept pace with his other good qualities. He raised the court of Bengal to a more respectable footing than it had hitherto attained. During his reign, he enlisted a corps composed of Paiks,[6] whom he retained as his personal guard. It was the custom in Bengal, at that time, for five thousand Paiks to mount guard daily over the palace, and for the King to see them every morning before they were relieved. On one occasion, one of the eunuchs of the palace having gained over the guard, murdered the King. This event happened in the year A.H. 886 (A.D. 1401), after the King had reigned seven years and five months.

THE EUNUCH SHAHZADA

WHEN the eunuch had succeeded in putting his sovereign to death, he assumed the title of Shahzada (Prince), and collected together all the eunuchs in the place, as also men of low station and desperate fortunes, who are ever ready to join in the cause of usurpers, with the hope of preferment. The chief officers and nobles of the state, however, resolved to depose this insolent upstart. Among these was Mullik Andeel, an Abyssinian chief who was at that period on the frontier. This chief was contriving the means of punishing the usurper, and of reaching the capital in

6. A description of Hindoo infantry.

safety to carry such a plan into execution, when the eunuch ordered him to the presence, for the purpose of seizing and putting him to death. Mullik Andeel, however, considered this order as fortunate, as it afforded him an opportunity to cover his design, and he accordingly proceeded to the capital. On his arrival, he found his own party so strong that the eunuch was deterred from any attempt on Mullik Andeel's life. In the mean time, the eunuch placing the Koran before him in durber, made Mullik Andeel swear that he would not put him to death. Mullik Andeel solemnly swore, that since he had ascended the throne he would never lay hands on him while he "*filled that seat.*" He, however, determined to revenge the death of his master, and for this purpose secured the good will of the eunuch's personal servants. One night, after a debauch, Mullik Andeel entered the eunuch's hall of audience, and found him sleeping. He was then laying upon "*the throne,*" and recollecting his pledge, Mullik Andeel refrained from hurting him; but the eunuch, at the same moment turning on his side, fell from the throne. Mullik Andeel, who now felt himself released from his vow, drew his sword, and made a cut at Shahzada. The sword only wounded him slightly, but roused him; and seeing a naked weapon opposed to him, he rushed (though unarmed) on Mullik Andeel, and as he was the stouter man of the two threw the latter. In the struggle the lights were extinguished. The eunuch had hold of Mullik Andeel by the throat, and the latter, who was undermost, held the eunuch by the hair. Mullik Andeel called on his accomplices for aid. Yoghrish Khan Toork ran in, and discovering that they were both on the ground, hesitated what to do, till Mullik Andeel contrived to call out, "Cut away: the hog is uppermost; and you cannot cut through him as to hurt me." Yoghrish Khan made three or four cuts, when the eunuch lay as if lifeless; but after the conspirators had left the room, he ran and hid himself. On discovering that he had fled, search was made, and he was betrayed by his door-keeper, and killed by Mullik Andeel's own hand. On the death of the eunuch Mullik Andeel sent for Khan Jehan, the prime minister to the late king; and having related to him the whole of the affair, he said it was now proper for the nobles to elect a regent, as the son of Futteh Shah was only two years old. The minister and the other officers went to the late king's palace, and asked the Dowager-queen whom she chose to appoint regent. She replied, that she had sworn to

support the claims of that person alone to the succession who should put to death the eunuch, the murderer of her husband. Mullik Andeel for a long time withstood her entreaties; but the rest of the nobles having unanimously declared that there was no one so fit for the situation as him, he at length consented, and ascended the throne under the title of Feroze. The eunuch reigned for a period of two months.

FEROZE POORBY

THE nobles having elevated Mullik Andeel, with the title of Feroze Poorby, to the throne of Bengal, he repaired to the city of Gour, where he gave universal satisfaction to all classes of his subjects for a period of thirteen years, and died A.H. 899 (A.D. 1493).

MAHMOOD POORBY

UPON the death of Feroze, Mahmood succeeded to the dignity of his father. He, however, yielded up the reins of his government into the hands of his slave, Hubbush Khan, who at length acquired such an ascendency, that the King retained nothing but the name. Siddy Budr Dewana (or the Madman), another slave, jealous of his fellow-servant, slew Hubbush Khan; and having got into his hands all the power of the state, bribed the commandant of the body-guard, who connived at his entering the palace unperceived one night, when he put his sovereign, Mahmood, to death.

Siddy Budr ascended the throne on the next morning, and calling together all the nobles, declared to them his intention of proclaiming himself King (A.H. 900, A.D. 1492). Mahmood Poorby reigned only during the space of one year.

Hajy Mahomed Kandahary states, that Mahmood was the son of Futteh Shah Poorby, and not of Feroze, and that Hubbush Khan was the slave of Barbik Khan, who, at the particular desire of Feroze before his death, placed Mahmood on the throne; but scarcely six months had elapsed before Hubbush Khan determined to usurp the throne. His project being discovered by Suddy Budr, he put Hubbush Khan to death, and subsequently slew his sovereign, and succeeded to the government, under the title of Moozuffur.

MOOZUFFUR HUBSHY.[7]

THIS slave proved a cruel and sanguinary monarch, putting to death great numbers of learned men and others, whose principles induced them to adhere closely to the tenets of the orthodox faith. At length, having headed his army against the infidels of Bengal, he slew many of them. He promoted Syud Shureef, an inhabitant of Mecca, to the office of minister, when the King eventually became subject to the will of that subtle statesman. Syud Shureef induced his master to disband the greater part of his standing army, and to reduce his force to so low a state, that many of the chiefs quitted the court. At length, in the year A.H. 903 (A.D. 1496), the disbanded officers, headed by the minister, collected a force and seized Moozuffur in the fortress of Gour, in which were five thousand Hubshies, and thirty thousand Bengalies and Afghans. The siege continued, according to some writers, only four days, while others asserted it lasted as many months, during which time several sallies were made from the fort, in which both parties lost many men. All the prisoners taken by the besieged were brought before Moozuffur, and put to death with his own hand. It is asserted that he slew in this way four thousand men. At last, making a desperate attack on the besiegers, among whom was his late minister, Syud Shureef, a general action ensued, and the loss on both sides amounted to twenty thousand men. Victory declared in favour of the Bengal nobles, and Moozuffur with many of his relatives were killed in the battle. Hajy Mahomed Kandahary relates, that during the reign of Moozuffur upwards of one hundred and twenty thousand persons, both Mahomedans and Hindoos, lost their lives. He also states, that the nobles of the government first revolted from Moozuffur, when Syud Shureef, taking advantage of the moment, gained the commandant of the Paik body-guard, and having one night entered the apartment of Moozuffur, attended by sixteen men, he put him to death (A.H. 904, A.D. 1497), after a short but sanguinary reign of three years.

ALLA-OOD-DEEN POORBY II.

ON the following morning, after the death of Moozuffur, Syud Shureef ascended the throne, and assumed the title of Alla-ood-

7. Abyssinian.

Deen. During his administration he imputed to his sovereign every vice, particularly that most unpopular one, of penury combined with avarice; but there is no doubt the minister not only encouraged these feelings, but he may be said to have fed his propensity to amass treasure, through the unpopular measure he recommended of disbanding his army. It was by these insinuations that this crafty politician managed to obtain the ascendency over his king, while at the same time he stimulated the military chiefs to revolt, by exposing him to their hatred, and succeeded in securing their good will towards himself. Moozuffur being removed, Syud Shureef met with no difficulty in assuming the lead in the government, and in subsequently obtaining the crown. On his accession he found himself obliged at first to permit the besiegers to sack the town of Gour, but in a day or two he commanded all plundering to cease; which order not being obeyed, he put to death twelve thousand of the marauders. By this means he not only stopped its further progress, but appropriated to his own use the property these people had secured for themselves. Amongst this booty were many golden vessels, out of which the people of Bengal of large property were accustomed to eat. This luxury was carried in those days to such excess, that whoever could produce most solid gold plate at an entertainment was considered the greatest man. This species of vanity is even at this period prevalent throughout Bengal.[8]

Alla-ood-Deen, who was a sensible man, shortly after his accession disbanded the Paik body-guard, which had been of late years the cause of the death of so many princes. He also dismissed the Abyssinians; and as this latter class had acquired the character of regicides, no town in Bengal, after their dismissal, would permit them to domicile therein, so that they were constrained, though reluctantly, to retire Guzerat and the Deccan. Alla-ood-Deen, in a short time, established such an excellent system of government as had not been witnessed in Bengal for many years. This prince ruled with justice for a considerably longer

8. Ferishta speaks of 1609. The taste for expense in Bengal and Behar does not seem to have diminished greatly even up to the period of our connection with that country. The splendour and munificence of Asuf-ood-Dowla, the Nabob of Luknow, within the last forty years, astonished Europeans, and have acquired for him among his countrymen the title of Lukbukhsh, the Bestower of Millions.

period than any of his predecessors, until the year A.H. 930 (A.D. 1523), when he died a natural death, after a reign of twenty-seven years.

NUSEEB POORBY

ON the death of his father, Nuseeb (the eldest son of Alla-ood-Deen) succeeded to the throne. Instead of confining or putting to death his brothers, as is often the practice, this young prince, with a manly generosity permitted them to retain their respective governments, and increased the comforts of their situations. When Babur Padshah slew Ibrahim, the son of Sikundur Lody, and ascended the throne of Dehly, many of the adherents of the Lody dynasty sought protection at the court of Bengal, and, among others, the Prince Mahmood (brother of Ibrahim Lody the late king) also took refuge there. These refugees were hospitably received, and estates were allotted to each; and in the end the daughter of Ibrahim Lody became the wife of the King of Bengal. In the year 930, when Babur Padshah marched and conquered the province of Joonpoor, he intended also to have subdued the whole kingdom of Bengal. Anticipating the demand for submission, Nuseeb sent an ambassador with magnificent presents to Babur which satisfied him, and induced him to return to Dehly; but when that monarch abdicated his throne in favour of his son Hoomayoon, the latter marched to conquer the kingdom of Bengal.

At this time, A.H. 939 (A.D. 1532), Nuseeb sent an embassy with presents to Bahadur Shah of Guzerat, who gave audience to the envoy in the fort of Mando. Some years afterwards, this prince's disposition appears to have undergone a complete change; for departing from that mildness of manner and suavity of temper, which procured for him, in the first instance, the esteem of his subjects, he pursued a system the most sanguinary and cruel; but the Almighty did not long suffer him to tyrannise over his subjects, for he died in the year A.H. 945 (A.D. 1538), after a reign of eighteen years. I was never able to ascertain whether he was murdered or died a natural death; be that as it may, after his death, Mahmood, one of his ministers, succeeded in usurping his throne.

About this period, Sheer Khan, who afterwards ascended the throne of Dehly, attacked and defeated Mahmood in ac-

tion, and eventually expelled him from Bengal; whence he fled to the court of Dehly, where representing his grievances, Hoomayoon Padshah marched with an army and took the kingdom of Bengal from Sheer Khan, whom he defeated in a general action. On this occasion, Hoomayoon caused the public prayers to be read in his name in the city of Gour, the name of which he changed to Jumalabad. Sheer Khan, rallying his defeated troops, in the year A.H. 949 (A.D. 1542), succeeded in reconquering Gour. On his death, and after the accession of his brother Sulim Shah to the throne of Dehly, the province of Bengal was made over to Mahomed Khan Afghan, one of the officers of his court, on the death of whom his son declared his independence, and proclaimed himself king, under the title of Bahadur.

BAHADUR AFGHAN

THIS Prince reigned for five years; but being deposed in the year A.H. 956 (A.D. 1549), he was succeeded by another of the nobles of Sulim Shah.

SOOLIMAN KIRANY

AFTER the death of Sulim Shah, in the year A.H. 961 (A.D. 1553), Sooliman threw off his allegiance from the throne of Dehly, without assuming the title of king. During his rule, he subdued the province of Orissa; and, notwithstanding he was virtually independent, he used frequently to send valuable presents to Akbur Padshah. Sooliman having reigned in Bengal for a period of twenty-five years, died in the year A.H. 981 (A.D. 1573).

BAYEZEED AFGHAN

SOOLIMAN was succeeded by his eldest son Bayezeed, who after a reign of one month was murdered by his first cousin Hansoo, who also fell a victim to his own treachery, having been killed by the servants of the king out of revenge.

DAWOOD KHAN

On the murder of Bayezeed he was succeeded by his younger brother Dawood Khan. This prince was much addicted to sensual excesses; and the propensity was rendered more degrading by his inclination to associate with persons of low origin and mean connections, by whom he was induced to attack the frontiers of the kingdom of Dehly. Moonyim Khan, entitled Khan Khanan, governor of Joonpoor, was ordered to punish this audacity; but, in the first instance, he only sent a detachment of his army against Dawood, which was opposed by the advanced guard of the latter under Lody Khan Afghan. Several skirmishes ensued; but at length a truce was concluded, and both parties resolved to return to their respective head-quarters. Akbur Padshah, hearing of the result of the campaign, was much dissatisfied, and again directed Moonyim Khan to invade Behar. At this period, a dispute arose between Lody Khan and his master, Dawood Khan; on which the former wrote letters to Moonyim Khan, the Mogul chief, promising to assist him in the capture of Behar. Dawood Khan, obtaining secret intimation of this correspondence, succeeded, by flattering promises of reconciliation, in inducing Lody Khan to come to the capital, where he was put to death. After which, Dawood Khan marched to oppose the Mogul army. A severe engagement took place in crossing the Soane near the village of Moonere, where that river and the Suroo fall into the Ganges. Dawood Khan was defeated, and a hundred of his boats fell into the hands of Moonyim Khan, who, having crossed the Soane, marched on to Patna, to which place Dawood Khan fled for protection. Moonyim Khan immediately invested the place, and was subsequently joined by Akbur Padshah; upon whose approach Dawood Khan fled to Bengal, and the forts of Patna and Hajypoor fell to the Mogul army. On this occasion, four hundred elephants, the property of Dawood Khan, came into Akbur's possession. Moonyim Khan followed up the fugitive as far as Gurhy, from whence Dawood Khan fled in Orissa, whither he was also pursued by a small field-detachment of the Mogul army, which was defeated by Jooneid Khan, Dawood Khan's son. This detachment was pursued by Moonyim Khan, who was opposed by Dawood Khan in person, when a severe battle took place, wherein the latter was defeated, and retired to a fort on the borders

of Cattack. Here he was also attacked; and finding escape impracticable, he marched out to oppose the Moguls. Moonyim Khan now proposed a truce, which ended in a solemn peace, by which Dawood Khan was invested with the government of Orissa and Cattack; and the other provinces of the Bengal kingdom were occupied by Moonyim Khan in the name of Akbur Padshah. After Moonyim Khan's death, Akbur placed the government of Bengal in the hands of Khan Jehan Toorkman; on which occasion Dawood Khan retook the province of Bengal from the nobles of the Dehly government. In the year A.H. 993 (A.D. 1584), Khan Jehan was appointed governor, and Dawood Khan attacked him on a spot between the villages of the Gohey and Nunda; when after a severe engagement the latter was taken prisoner, and suffered death as a rebel, while his son, who was severely wounded in the action, died a few days afterwards. From that period, the kingdom of Bengal, including the districts of Orissa and Cattack, was subdued, and fell under the subjection of Akbur Padshah. Thus ended the rule of the Poorby or independent eastern kings of Bengal. On the death of Akbur, an Afghan chief, by name Oothman Khan, made head against the Dehly government, and collecting a force of twenty thousand of his countrymen, proclaimed himself king; after which he attacked the country belonging to Jehangeer Padshah of Dehly, who ordered Islam Khan, the son of Sheikh Budr-ood-Deen of Futtehpoor, to march and subdue the usurper; and in the present year, being A.H. 1018 (A.D. 1609), the war still continues.

CHAPTER VII
(CONTINUED.)

SECTION II

HISTORY OF THE KINGS OF JOONPOOR, DENOMINATED SHURKY

KHWAJA JEHAN SHURKY

THE different rulers who have governed in the provinces of Joonpoor and Anturbede[1] are styled by historians the Shurky kings.

It appears from the Towareekh Moobarik Shahy, that Mahomed, the son of Feroze Toghluk, created one of his eunuchs (Mullik Survur) his prime minister, and honoured him with the title of Khwaja Jehan; that upon the death of Mahomed, and on the accession of his son Mahmood Toghluk, that monarch, in the month of Jumad-ool-Awul, A.H. 796 (March, A.D. 1394), conferred on his minister the additional title of Mullik-oos-Shurk,[2] and appointed governor of the eastern provinces of the empire, and Joonpoor became his capital. The governor soon succeeded in bringing all the neighbouring zemindars to acknowledge his authority, and recovered various forts and strong holds which the infidels had of late years wrested from the Mahomedans, and placed his own garrisons therein. The reign of Mahmood Toghluk was interrupted by serious internal commotions; and Khwaja Jehan took advantage of these circumstances to assume the title of Sooltan-oos-Shurk;[3] and having reduced Gorukpoor and Bheiraich, proceeded to subdue the provinces of Anturbede and Behar. The Poorby kings, who reigned at Luknowty in Bengal, instead of sending the accustomed presents to the King of Dehly, propitiated the Shurky monarch by sending them to him. His power was therefore daily increasing, when an untimely death snatched him from his worldly dignities. He died, A.H. 802 (A.D. 1399), after a short reign of six years.

1. The territory south of Dehly, lying between the rivers Jumna and Ganges, is denominated Anturbede.
2. The title signifies Chief of the Eas
3. King of the East.

GENEALOGY OF THE KINGS OF JOONPOOR,

ENTITLED SHURKY

- 1 Khwaja Jehan, entitled Mullik-oos-Shurk.
  - 2 Moobarik.
  - 3 Ibrahim.
    - Hussun.
    - 5 Hoossein.
    - 4 Mahomed.
    - Julal.

MOOBARIK SHAH SHURKY

ON the death of Khwaja Jehan he was succeeded by his adopted son, Mullik Kurrunful, who realised the wish that his predecessor carried with him to the grave; and, accordingly, on his accession, perceiving that the kingdom of Dehly was thrown into disorder and anarchy, he, with the consent of the officers of his government, assumed the regal canopy, and caused coin to be struck, and prayers to be read, in his name, under the title of Moobarik Shah Shurky.

No sooner did this information reach Dehly than Mulloo Yekbal Khan (who had lately usurped the throne, and expelled Mahmood Toghluk from his government,) marched, in the year A.H. 803 (A.D. 1400), with an army to attack Joonpoor. On reaching Kunowj, he found Moobarik Shah, with a force consisting of Moguls, Afghans, and Rajpoots, encamped on the eastern bank of the Ganges to oppose him. Mulloo Yekbal Khan halted on the western shore, and there the respective chiefs, as if apprehensive of each other, remained stationary for upwards of two months At length, being distressed for forage and provisions, they came to an accommodation, by which they agreed to return quietly to their respective capitals. News arrived some time after, that Mahmood Toghluk, emerging from his concealment in Malwa, whither he had fled, had now resumed the government of Dehly; and that Mulloo Yekbal Khan, accompanied by him, was again preparing to attack Joonpoor. In the mean time Moobarik Shah died, in the year A.H. 804 (A.D. 1401), after a short reign of eighteen months.

IBRAHIM SHAH SHURKY

ON the death of Moobarik, his younger brother, Ibrahim, was elevated to the throne. He was famous during his reign for the encouragement he afforded to literature; and we find that in those times of anarchy and confusion which prevailed in Hindoostan, Joonpoor became the seat of learning; as appears from several works now extant, dedicated to Ibrahim Shah.

In the early part of his reign, his kingdom was threatened by the invasion of Mulloo Yekbal Khan; who, having obtained pos-

session of the person of Mahmood Toghluk, marched a second time to attack the eastern provinces. Ibrahim Shah assumed the same position his brother had taken up before, on the banks of the Ganges, and Yekbal Khan encamped also on the opposite side, near the city of Kunowj. Mahmood Toghluk, though nominally king, was not only virtually deprived of all authority, but the semblance even of respect was denied him; and being disgusted more than ever with Mulloo Yekbal Khan, he one day took advantage of the circumstance of being on a hunting party to make his escape. He withdrew to Ibrahim Shah Shurky, in hopes that the latter would assist him either in regaining his power, or, at any rate, in subduing Mulloo Yekbal Khan; but Ibrahim Shah, dreading the effect of his presence among his troops, refused him support, and Mahmood, covered with disgrace, returned to Kunowj, in which city he succeeded in establishing his authority; so that both Mulloo Yekbal Khan and Ibrahim Shah Shurky, leaving him in quiet possession, returned to their respective capitals without fighting a battle.

In some histories it is related that Mahmood Toghluk went over to the Shurky court during the reign of Moobarik Shah, and that the latter prince died while Mahmood was with him; but that on the accession of Ibrahim, who was then at Joonpoor, Mahmood Toghluk occupied Kunowj, which he was permitted to retain. God only knows which account is correct.

According to the Dehly historians, Mulloo Yekbal Khan was killed in the year A.H. 808 (A.D. 1405), and Mahmood Toghluk recovered his authority. On that occasion he evacuated Kunowj, and on the following year, A.H. 809 (A.D. 1406), Ibrahim Shah Shurky marched to retake it. Mahmood Toghluk, however, appearing at the head of his troops, opposed him. The two armies encamped as before, on either side the Ganges, within their own boundaries, where having remained some time, they each returned to their respective capitals. Mahmood Toghluk now returned to Dehly, and disbanded his army, when Ibrahim Shah availed himself of the circumstance to invest Kunowj, and he took it after a siege of four months. Having halted at that city during the rains, he afterwards marched to the northward, for the purpose of making encroachments on the territory of Dehly. On being joined by many of the nobles of that kingdom, who deserted Mahmood Toghluk, he proceeded to the province of Sumbhul,

which was evacuated without resistance, and Tartar Khan was nominated governor. On the arrival of Ibrahim Shah Shurky on the Jumna, he heard that Moozuffur Shah of Gurzerat, having invaded Malwa, had defeated and taken prisoner Sooltan Hooshung,[4] and that he was at that time on his march to assist Mahmood Toghluk. Reports even went so far as to say that he intended to attack Joonpoor itself. Ibrahim Shah, in consequence, retreated hastily to his capital, while Mahmood Toghluk, instead of pursuing him with the Dehly army, contented himself with re-occupying the province of Sumbhul, and Tartar Khan returned to his master at Joonpoor.

In the year A.H. 816 (A.D. 1413), Ibrahim Shah again marched towards Dehly, but after a few days returned to his capital, where he led a peaceful life in the prosecution of literary pursuits, and in the promotion of the arts of civilisation, till, in the year A.H. 831 (A.D. 1427), Mahmood Khan of Mewat induced him to march his army to attack the fort of Byana, where he was opposed by the forces of Syud Moobarik, King of Dehly. The two armies lay entrenched at the distance of eight miles from each other for twenty-two days, during which period some trifling skirmishes ensued; when Ibrahim Shah Shurky, marching out from his entrenchments towards the Dehly army, brought on an action, which, though it lasted from noon till night, proved indecisive, the forces having mutually retreated in good order. On the following day, the two sovereigns concluded a hollow peace, and retreated to their respective capitals. In the year A.H. 839 (A.D. 1435), Ibrahim Shah Shurky proceeded to reduce Kalpy, where he was opposed by Sooltan Hooshung of Malwa; but on receiving intimation that Syud Moobarik of Dehly was in full march to attack Joonpoor, he countermarched without risking an engagement, and Kalpy fell into the hands of the King of Malwa.

In the year A.H. 844 (A.D. 1440), Ibrahim Shah Shurky, being taken dangerously ill, died, after a long reign of upwards of forty years. He was equally beloved in life, as he was regretted by all his subjects.

MAHMOOD SHAH SHURKY

AFTER the death of Ibrahim Shah, he was succeeded by his eldest

4. Vide vol. iv. pp. 6, 103.

son Mahmood. In the year A.H. 847 (A.D. 1443), he sent an envoy to the court of Malwa to inform Sooltan Mahmood Khiljy that Nuseer Khan, the son of Kadur Khan of Kalpy, had, within the last two or three years, disgraced the Mahomedan name by encouraging the Hindoo faith, and had carried his views of toleration so far as to permit Mahomedan females to dwell with infidels. He deemed it (he said) necessary to inform him of these proceedings, considering Nuseer Khan a dependent of Malwa since the reign of Sooltan Hooshung. In conclusion, he observed, that the scandal to Mahomedism was such, that if the King of Malwa did not deem it politic or convenient to send troops in order to restore the religious observances of the faithful at Kalpy, he would himself march to effect that object. Sooltan Mahmood replied, that he had heard of the proceedings of Nuseer Khan; but that his armies being at present employed against the infidels of Mewar and Kota, he was unable to spare them to operate against Nuseer Khan, and sanctioned the advance of Mahmood Shah Shurky to bring Nuseer to a due sense of his obligations as a true believer. Mahmood Shah, pleased with the reception of his envoy, immediately put his army in motion, having, in the mean time, sent twenty-nine elephants as a present to the King of Malwa. On his approach towards Kalpy, Nuseer Khan wrote petitions to Sooltan Mahmood Khiljy, soliciting his protection; and on ascertaining the plea for the attack of the Shurky troops, he promised to cause a reform in his administration, and to afford no reason for further complaint; reminding Sooltan Mahmood that his predecessor, Sooltan Hooshung, had made over the estate of Kalpy in perpetuity to his father, Kadur Khan, from whom it had descended to him. Sooltan Mahmood, moved by the penitence evinced by Nuseer Khan, wrote to Mahmood Shah Shurky, saying, that as Nuseer Khan had promised in future to conduct himself in a more cautious manner, he trusted that the King of Joonpoor would abstain from adopting any measures against him which communication was sent by an express courier. In the mean time, Mahmood Shah Shurky having reached Kalpy, sacked the town, and obliged Nuseer Khan to fly to Chundery, to which place Sooltan Mahmood of Malwa proceeded, in the year A.H. 848 (A.D. 1444), with his army.[5] On his approach, Mahmood Shah Shurky marched to

5. These events are fully detailed in the Malwa history. Vide

Eerich, where a partial engagement took place; when, through the mediation of Sheikh Jumal-ood-Deen Sudda, a peace was concluded, by which it was agreed that Nuseer Khan for the present should occupy the towns of Eerich and Rahut, and that four months after the return of the respective forces the district of Kalpy and its dependencies should be restored to him. Mahmood Shah Shurky, having recruited his army, took the field again for the purpose of reducing some refractory zemindars in the district of Chunar, which place he sacked, and from thence proceeded into the province of Orissa, which he also reduced; and having destroyed the temples and collected large sums of money, returned to Joonpoor.

In the year A.H. 856 (A.H. 1452), Mahmood Shah besieged the city of Dehly; but Bheilole Lody returning from Depalpoor, whither he had proceeded for the purpose of conquest, Mahmood Shah was compelled to retire, as he discovered that Duria Khan Lody, who had formerly deserted the King of Dehly and joined him, was now prepared to abandon him also. The reterat, however, was delayed till the last moment, which enabled Bheilole Lody to pursue the King of Joonpoor so closely, as to intercept and destroy his baggage; on which occasion Futteh Khan Hirvy, who commanded the Shurky rear-guard, was killed, and seven war-elephants were taken.

In the year A.H. 861 (A.D. 1456), Bheilole marched to reduce Etawa, where he was opposed by Mahmood Shah Shurky; a particular account of which transaction has been given in the Dehly history. The two armies having encamped near the town of Shumsabad, Kootb Khan Lody, first cousin to the King of Dehly, made a night-attack on the Shurky lines, which failed, and he was made prisoner. Affairs remained in this state, when, in the year A.H. 862 (A.D. 1457), Mahmood Shurky was seized with severe illness, and died in camp, after a reign of twenty years.

MAHOMED SHAH SHURKY

MAHMOOD was succeeded by his eldest son Bheekun Khan, who caused himself to be proclaimed King, under the title of Mahomed Shurky. On his accession formed a treaty with Bheilole Lody, which stipulated that each should retain what they then

vol. iv. pp. 127—129. They are only adverted to in this place in order to render each of the local histories complete within itself.

possessed. On his return to Joonpoor Mahomed Shah disgusted all ranks by his cruelty and irritable temper; which no one felt more severaly than his mother, the Dowager-queen. He had not long been crowned, when Bheilole Lody marched towards Joonpoor, in order to effect the release of his cousin Kootb Khan, who was made prisoner during a night-attack on the Shurky lines at Shumsabad, and who had not been released. On this occasion one Purtab Sing, a zemindar, who owned allegiance to the Dehly government, dreading the power of Mahomed Shah Shurky, joined him.

Mahomed Shah now proceeded towards Soorsutty, and was opposed at Rabery by the light troops of Bheilole Lody. During this campaign, Mahomed Shah Shurky wrote to the kotwal of Joonpoor to put to death his brothers, Hussun Khan and Kootb Khan. That officer replied, that the Dowager-queen, Beeby Rajy, was so careful lest any one should approach the princes, that he found it quite impossible to carry the project into effect. Mahomed Shah, therefore, requested that his mother might join him in camp, on the plea of consulting her as to the expediency of settling an estate for life on Hussun Khan, his younger brother. The Dowager no sooner left Joonpoor than the kotwal carried his instructions into effect, by murdering the Prince; and the Queen, Beeby Rajy, halted at Kunowj to perform the *matum*, or mourning ceremony for her son, where she remained in spite of Mahomed Shah Shurky's solicitations for her to proced to camp.

During this time, the princes Hoossein Khan and Julal Khan resolved to become independent of their brother the King; and they spread a report in the camp, that the Dehly army, then in their vicinity, proposed to make a night-attack on the Shurky lines. Mahomed Shah directed the Prince Hoossein Khan, accompanied by Sooltan Shah and Julal Khan Ajoodhuny, two of the Shurky generals, to proceed with a force composed of thirty thousand cavalry and one thousand elephants, to intercept the enemy. Hoossein Khan marched only to a short distance, and encamped; when Bheilole Lody, taking advantage of his separation from the army, sent a force to attack him. Hoossein Khan, conceiving himself unable to resist the Dehly troops, retreated towards Kunowj, and wrote to his brother, Julal Khan, to join him there. In attempting to effect this, Julal Khan was taken prisoner by the Dehly troops, and Bheilole Lody resolved to detain him till the release of his cousin, the Prince Kootb Khan.

Mahomed Shah, perceiving his army thus divided into factions, was induced to retire on Kunowj also, whither he was pursued by Bheilole Lody; after the latter returned to Dehly. The Prince Hoossein Khan was received at Kunowj by his mother with open arms; and assumed the title of King before the arrival of Mahomed Shah, whom he opposed at the Rajgeer passage of the Ganges. Mahomed Shah, deserted by his officers, was compelled to seek safety in flight; he was, however, overtaken, and would no doubt, from his well-known prowess, have slain many of his pursuers, but that his mother, having gained over his armour-bearer to her interest, persuaded him to take off the points from all the arrows in his quiver. It was in this defenceless condition that he was killed by an arrow entering his throat. A peace was soon after concluded between Hoossein Khan, who assumed the title of Shah, and Bheilole Lody; when it was agreed that a suspension of hostilities should take place for four years; after which, if it were found necessary, another treaty might be formed. Purtab Sing, who formerly joined Mahomed Shah Shurky on his march from Joonpoor, was induced by Kootb Khan to join the army of Bheilole Lody; and on the arrival of Hoossein Shah Shurky at the Howz-i-Burma, he sent for Kootb Khan from Joonpoor, and equipping him in handsome style, permitted him to return to Dehly. On his arrival there, the Shurky prince, Julal Khan, was also released, and joined his brother at Joonpoor. The reign of Mahomed Shah lasted only for the short period of five months.

HOOSSEIN SHAH SHURKY

THIS prince ascended the throne of the Shurky kings immediately after the death of his brother Mahomed Shah. One of the first acts of his government was to put to death several officers, who after his succession had headed a party against him. Shortly afterwards he led an army, consisting of thirty thousand horse and a hundred thousand infantry, besides four hundred elephants, for the purpose of conquering Orissa. On reaching that province he caused his troops to disperse in detachments, in order to lay waste the country. The Ray of Orissa, unable to oppose this sudden inroad, perceived no remedy but submission; and in order

to conciliate the invader, the Ray sent thirty elephants, a hundred horses, and various articles, including silken and other cloths; with which Hoossein Shah being satisfied, he returned to Joonpoor.

In the year A.H 870 (A.D. 1465), Hoossein Shah sent a considerable army to reduce the fortress of Gualiar; which was invested, and after some time the Ray made peace, and consented to pay tribute. Hoossein Shah had now attained such power, that he was prevailed on by his wife, a princess of Dehly, to lay claim to that throne. For this purpose he marched, in the year A.H. 878 (A.D. 1473), with an army composed of one hundred and forty thousand horse and foot, and one thousand four hundred elephants. On information of the movement of the Shurky army, Bheilole Lody deputed an embassy to Sooltan Mahmood of Malwa, promising to him the cession of the district of Byana for the services of his army, in order to oppose Hoossein Shah; but the envoy had scarcely reached the Malwa capital before the Shurky troops were already in possession of the suburbs of Dehly. Bheilole Lody, conceiving himself unable to withstand the army of Hoossein Shah, made overtures for peace, and agreed to cede the whole of the territory of Dehly, retaining for himself the city and a tract of country lying within a circuit of eighteen coss of the capital. Hoossein Shah, elated with pride, rejected these terms; and Bheilole, who repented of his offer the instant it was made, became glad of the opportunity of retracting. He therefore left the city with eighteen thousand cavalry, and encamped on the banks of the Jumna, opposite the Shurky troops. As the river was between the two camps, some time passed before any action occurred, till one day Bheilole Lody, taking advantage of the Shurky cavalry being absent on a foraging party, led his cavalry into the Jumna, and attacked the enemy at noon. The Shurky line, wholly unprepared for this assault, had no time to form, but fled, and the whole of the family of Hoossein Shah Shurky was taken; the ladies of which were treated with every mark of respect, and shortly after sent to Hoossein Shah. In the following year A.H. 879 (A.D. 1474), Hoossein Shah was again induced by his wife, Mullika Jehan, to march against Dehly, and having reached the vicinity of that capital, he was met by an envoy who offered terms; but the prosperity of the Shurky dynasty having arrived at its zenith, its decline commenced from this moment. Hoossein Shah mistaking for pusillanimity the

overtures of Bheilole for reconciliation rejected them, and boldly asserted that he would be content only with the possession of Dehly. Bheilole, in consequence, marched forth, and opposed the Shurky army in three successive actions. In the first battle, Hoossein Shah was defeated, as also in the second; when being followed by the Dehly troops he sustained a third defeat, and was individually so closely pursued that he left his horse and escaped on foot. The details of these circumstances have already been related in the Dehly history. The Dehly army advanced without any other check to Joonpoor, which fell to the arms of Bheilole Lody; while Hoossein Shah, abandoning his capital, was obliged to content himself with a small tract of country, yielding only a revenue of five lacks of rupees.[5] Bheilole Lody having delivered over Joonpoor and its kingdom to his son Barbik, enjoined him not to deprive Hoossein Shah of the small tract to which he was confined, terming it his family estate. On the death of Bheilole Lody, and on the accession of his eldest son, Sikundur Lody, Hoossein Shah Shurky incited the Prince Barbik of Joonpoor to march against his brother, and wrest the government out of his hands; but Barbik was defeated in the first action, and retired to Joonpoor, to which place he was pursued by Sikundur Lody. Joonpoor fell shortly after, and it was added to the kingdom of Dehly. Hoossein Shah was now induced to seek refuge with Alla-ood-Deen Poorby of Bengal, by whom he was treated with the respect due to his station till his death. The subversion of the Shurky dynasty may be dated therefore from the subjugation of that principality by Sikundur Lody, an event which occurred in the year A.H. 881 (A.D. 1476). The reign of Hoossein Shah Shurky lasted for a period of nineteen years.

5. 50,000*l*.

GENEALOGY OF THE KINGS OF MOOLTAN,

OF THE AFGHAN TRIBE OF LUNGA

1

Kootb-ood-Deen Lunga.

|

2

Hoossein.

|

Feroze.

|

3

Mahmood.

|

4

Hoossein II.

CHAPTER VIII

THE HISTORY OF THE KINGS OF MOOLTAN

SHEIKH YOOSOOF

THE introduction of the Mahomedan faith into Mooltan first took place in the latter end of the first century of the Hijra, by the conquest of that country by Mahomed Kasim; after whom, until the reign of Mahmood of Ghizny, no account is to be traced of its history. It is mentioned in the Ghizny annals that Mahmood conquered Mooltan from the infidels; but that on the decline of the Ghizny power, the inhabitants, taking to arms, succeeded in expelling the Mahomedans, and in establishing a separate government. From the period of its subjugation by Moyiz-ood-Deen Mahomed Ghoory, it remained tributary to Dehly until the year A.H. 847 (A.D. 1443), when the governor of that province, like most others of the kingdom at the same period, declared his independence; after which time several princes reigned in succession.

When the sceptre was transferred from the hands of Alla-ood-Deen, the son of Mahomed, the son of Feroze Toghluk, into those of Syud Khizr Khan, the Dehly empire fell into anarchy and disorder, and the province of Mooltan, wholly unprotected, became open to invasion from the contiguous kingdoms of Ghoor, Ghizny, and Kabul. Without a regular governor, and having suffered severely from these predatory inroads, the inhabitants of Mooltan, seeing the necessity of having a leader to direct their exertions, and to protect the country from their troublesome neighbours, assembled in the year A.H. 847 (A.D. 1443), and selected Sheikh Yoosoof, a man of learning, one wisdom, and high character, of the tribe of Kooreish, to be ruler over the people of Mooltan and Oocha, when the public prayers were read, and money coined, in his name. This prince fully repaid their confidence by re-organising the government, and gaining the esteem and friendship of the surrounding zemindars. Among other persons, was one Ray Sehra,[1] the chief of the town of Seevy and

1. My enquiry has failed in fixing the proper name of this Afghan chief: that in the text is probably an error in the manuscripts to which I have had access.

its neighbourhood, who sent a message of congratulation to Sheikh Yoosoof Kooreishy, stating that his ancestors and those of the Sheikh had known each other for many generations, and he therefore courted his friendship. He represented, also, that as Bheilole Lody had taken advantage of the distracted condition of the Dehly kingdom, and proclaimed himself king, it was but just of Sheikh Yoosoof to take into favour the tribe of Lunga, which was in his neighbourhood, and by enrolling himself and followers among his most faithful servants, afford them an opportunity of showing their attachment. As a proof of his regard, Ray Sehra offered to give his daughter to Sheikh Yoosoof, who having consented to the match, the marriage was celebrated according to the custom of kings. After this the Afghan chief frequently came from Seevy to Mooltan to visit his daughter, and generally brought some presents with him. On these occasions he used to occupy some spot outside of the town, where he pitched his tents, and came in to see his daughter and son-in-law without attendants. At last he came to Mooltan with a number of his tribe, having made up his mind to endeavour to seize Sheikh Yoosoof, and to usurp the government. On coming into the neighbourhood he sent word to his son-in-law that he had brought the whole of his tribe to Mooltan, in order to give the Sheikh an opportunity of seeing, and of allowing them to pay their respects to him. The simple Sheikh, unacquainted with the artifices and subtlety of the world, agreed. The Afghan arrived in the evening; and having remained in his tents some time after prayers, three separate messages were sent by his daughter for him to go into the town. He at length complied; and desired his servant, when he called for something to drink at dinner, to give him, instead of water, a cup full of fresh duck's blood, which the Afghan drank off. During the evening he complained of severe pains in his bowels; and on an emetic being administered he threw up the blood which he had just drank. This circumstance so alarmed the Sheikh that he sent for the Afghan's doctor from his camp, as also for several of his kinsmen and clansmen, who were admitted with their arms without suspicion. After a certain number had entered Ray Sehra threw off the mask, and seized the Sheikh. Sheikh Yoosoof only reigned for a period of two years.

KOOTB-OOD-DEEN LUNGA

RAY SEHRA, having secured the person of Sheikh Yoosoof, caused the public prayers to be read in his name, under the title of Kootb-ood-Deen Mahmood Lunga; and the inhabitants of Mooltan submitted to his government without murmur or discontent. After ascending the throne, he sent his predecessor, Sheikh Yoosoof, out of the city under a guard to Dehly by the south gate; and in commemoration of that event, he caused that entrance to be built up with brick and mortar; and I undertsand it is to be seen in the same state at this day being the year A.H. 1018 (A.D. 1609).

Sheikh Yoosoof on arriving at Dehly was met by Bheilole Lody, and was received with respect; after which such an intimacy arose between those two great personages, that the King of Hindoostan gave his daughter in marriage to Sheikh Abdoolla, the son of the deposed ruler of the province of Mooltan.

Kootb-ood-Deen Lunga reigned for a period of sixteen years, and died, much lamented, in the year A.H. 874 (A.D. 1469).[2]

HOOSSEIN LUNGA

AFTER the death of Kootb-ood-Deen Lunga, the principal nobles in Mooltan elected his son Hoossein to succeed him, and the public prayers were read in his name. This prince was not only a great promoter of literature, but himself a very learned man. He erected colleges, in which were some of the most eminent scholars of the time. In the beginning of his reign he marched to reduce the fort of Sheevur, at that time held by Ghazy Khan, who on hearing of the approach of the Mooltanies advanced to oppose them, to the distance of twenty miles from his capital; and although he behaved with great bravery in the war which ensued, he was compelled to fly, and before he could reach the fort of Sheevur was reduced to seek protection in Bheemra.

2. Some difference occurs between this narrative and that given by Sheikh Abool Fuzl in the Ayeen Akburry, who, in speaking of the sovereigns of Mooltan, assigns seventeen years for the reign of Sheikh Yoosoof instead of two. Kootb-ood-Deen Lunga in that work is styled Mahmood Shah, and is simply called a foreigner.

The members of his family who were in the fort of Sheevur, however, made a gallant resistance, and held out under the expectation of receiving aid from the town of Khooshab, then under Ameer Syeed Khan. Disappointed in these hopes, they eventually surrendered the fort of Sheevur, but obtained permission to proceed to Bheemra. Hossein Lunga having remained some time to recruit his army, marched towards the fortress of Hoot. Mullik Kazy Gukkur, who was nearly related to Ameer Syeed Khan, was governor of the place; and, for form's sake, having defended it for a few days, gave it up to Hoossein Lunga, who after remaining there a short period returned to Mooltan; and from thence he marched against Kotgirvur and Dhunkote, both of which places he reduced to subjection. Meanwhile Sheikh Yoosoof persuaded Bheilole Lody to assist him in recovering his country. At this time, when Hoossein Lunga had advanced so far to the eastward as Dhunkote, Bheilole Lody deputed his son, the Prince Barbik (who is mentioned both in the Dehly and Joonpoor histories), with an army to reduce Mooltan. Barbik having been joined by the forces of Tartar Khan Lody in the Punjab, proceeded towards Mooltan. The brother of Hoossein, who had been left in the fort of Kotgirvur after its fall, had proclaimed himself king, under the name of Shahab-ood-Deen. On receipt of this information, Hoossein Lunga marched to reduce the place; and having confined his rebellious brother in fetters, was on his return, when he heard that the Prince Barbik and Tartar Khan had arrived near the city of Mooltan, which they were on the point attacking. Hoossein Lunga moved his camp without delay; and making rapid marches, crossed the Indus, and threw himself into the fort, before the arrival of the Dehly army; and drawing up his soldiers, he thus addressed them:—"My brethren and fellow-soldiers, I do not suppose that every man in my army is necessarily a hero, nor do I expect too much from any of you. Some there are, however, who, seeking preferment, and ambitious for fame in the field of battle, lay aside all other considerations; while there are others whose attachment to their families will induce them to hold back, and merely keep their situations in the service, by not positively flying before the enemy. Both these classes have their value: the former are useful for foreign conquest, and the latter for protecting our homes. All those of the latter class will be required on the present occasion for the defence of the

garrison, while those of the former, I trust, will be ready to join me at daylight to-morrow morning under the walls." On the following day at sunrise twelve thousand men prepared to follow Hoossein, whom he led out against the invaders. After having brought his front opposite the Dehly forces, he directed his cavalry to dismount, himself showing the example, and then ordered the whole to discharge three rounds of arrows in rapid succession into the enemy's lines. This discharge shook the Dehly army, who were prepared only for skirmishing; and the Mooltany horse having mounted again, broke the enemy's ranks, and completed the defeat. Barbik Khan and Tartar Khan fled, passing by the fort of Sheevur, which they did not venture to attack; but proceeding direct to Hoot, they succeeded in obtaining possession of that fort by promising advantageous terms to the garrison, in the first place, after which they inhumanly put them to the sword.

At this period, one Mullik Sohrab Duvally with his two sons, Ismael and Futteh Khan, arriving from Mikran, engaged in the service of Hoossein Lunga, who gave over to them the country lying between Kotgirvur and Dhunkote, for the support of himself and tribe. Many other Bulochies, also, hearing of the reception of Mullik Sohrab, flocked in great numbers to Mooltan, and were also received into his service, and a portion of the country of Sind, lying contiguous to Bulochistan, was also given up to them; till at length all the country lying between Setpoor and Dhunkote was occupied by Bulochies. It was at this time, also, that Jam Bayezeed and Jam Ibrahim, of the tribe of Sahna, being offended with the treatment they experienced from Jam Nunda, King of Sind, came to the court of Hoossein Lunga of Mooltan.

The tribe of Sahna appears to be of obscure origin. The Sahnas seem originally to have occupied the tract lying between Bhukkur and Tutta, in Sind, and pretend to trace their pedigree from Jam Jumsheed,[3] King of Persia. Being a warlike race, Jam Nunda used to boast he was also descended from Jumsheed, though he was at variance with the tribe of Sahna. A dissension arising among the Sahna tribe, Jam Nunda took advantage of it to instigate them against Jam Bayezeed and Jam Ibrahim,

3. The ruins of the city of Persepolis, which was destroyed by Alexander, are, at this period, called the Tukht Jumsheed, or the Throne of Jumsheed, King of Fars.

two brothers, who being eventually compelled to seek safety in flight, found protection in Mooltan. Hoossein Lunga afforded them in asylum, and conferred the district of Sheevur on Jam Bayezeed, and that of Oocha on Jam Ibrahim.

Bheilole Lody of Dehly dying, and being succeeded by his son Sikundur, Hoossein Lunga deemed the opportunity favourable to gain the alliance of that court; and consequently deputed an ambassador with rich presents to Dehly, conveying letters of condolence and congratulation: the former, on account of the death of Bheilole, and the latter, on Sikundur Lody's accession to the throne.

On the arrival of the Mooltan ambassador, Sikundur Lody received the presents, and entered into a treaty of alliance, by which it was agreed that the respective armies of Mooltan and Dehly should keep within their present limits, but that, if required, they should assist each other in case of external invasion. It is related that Hoossein Lunga also sent ambassadors to Moozuffur Shah of Guzerat, the particular object of which was to procure architects, and to bring a plan and model of the several buildings at Ahmudabad. The envoy, Kazy Mahomed, having returned, the King questioned him as to the King's palace at Ahmudabad, and asked if such a one could be built at Mooltan. The envoy replied, "It behoves servants, when required to answer, to speak the truth; and I am, therefore, constrained to acquaint your Majesty, that I really cannot even describe the magnificence of the palace of Ahmudabad; and I doubt if the whole revenue of Mooltan were set aside for a year, whether it would defray the expense of such a building." Hoossein Lunga was offended at this blunt speech; and although he made no observation, he was evidently stung at the contemplation of his own relative insignificance. The prime minister, Imad-ool-Moolk, perceiving the King's dejection, remarked, that his Majesty had no cause to lament, since, though India might be the country of riches, yet Mooltan could boast of being a country of men, some of whom were famed in the field of battle, while others were as renowned for their literary acquirements. Among the latter he enumerated Sheikh Yoosoof Kooreishy, Sheikh Baha-ood-Deen Zacharia, and others brought up in the philosophic school of Hajy Abdool Wahab; besides Futteh Oolla and his disciple Azeez Oolla, both inhabitants of Mooltan, and who had each thousands of disciples. The King was pleased

at the ingenious turn which his minister had given to the conversation; but it is evident it had an effect on his mind; for very shortly afterwards he abdicated his throne in favour of his son Feroze, asserting as a reason that he was old, and found his faculties failing him. After this he retired from public life; and living in a humble style, contented himself by having about him holy personages, who expounded the laws of the prophet and explained the tenets of the faith.

On the accession of the Prince Feroze to the throne, Imad-ool-Moolk still held the office of prime minister; but the young king becoming jealous of the great popularity of Beilal, the prime minister's eldest son, he resolved on that youth's destruction, and employed one of his own servants to assassinate him, by shooting an arrow through his heart in the public streets. The minister, unable to obtain redress, and bent on revenge, caused poison to be administered to the young king, of which he died. On the death of Feroze, the old king Hoossein was again prevailed on to ascend the throne, and proclaimed his grandson, Mahmood, the son of the late Feroze, heir-apparent, and successor to the government. Imad-ool-Moolk conitnued to hold tne office of prime minister, nor did Hoossein Lunga openly profess to consider him the murderer of his son; but in due time he intimated to Jam Bayezeed, the Sahna emigrant, that he would confer on him the office of vizier, if he could get rid of Imad-ool-Moolk, who was accordingly seized the next day, and put in irons.

A few days after which, on Sunday, the 26th of Suffur, A.H. 908 (Aug. 29, A.D. 1502), (but according to some 904), Hoossein Lunga, King of Mooltan, quitted this perishable state of existence for that of eternity, after a reign of thirty or of thirty-four years. I regret that the Towareekh Bahadur Shahy,[4] which contains the history of this prince, is so full of errors; to detail which would be useless, and only tend to lengthen the work to no purpose.

MAHMOOD LUNGA

On the day after the death of Hoossein Lunga, Jam Bayezeed,

4. This is the work which Ferishta also speaks of in the same strain, vol. iv. p. 79; and which the author of the Mirut Iskundry declares to be absolutely unintelligible.

the prime minister, in concert with the other nobles, placed Mahmood Khan, the heir-apparent, on the throne; but this youth being very young, and silly withal, chose the society of low fellows, who administered to his foibles and vicious propensities, and prevented the approach of respectable people to his person, so that they withdrew from court, leaving him to his own favourites. These profligates resolved to displace Jam Bayezeed, the minister, from office; and he, having obtained intimation of their plan, feigning indisposition, confined himself to his house, built on the banks of the Chunab, where he transacted the public business. Jam Bayezeed having one day sent for some of the revenue collectors of the neighbouring towns, they behaved disrespectfully, and even insolently, to the minister, who ordering their heads to be shorn, caused each of them to be mounted on an ass, with his face to the tail, and to be exposed in this state through the city of Mooltan. The minister's enemies, exaggerating the circumstance, represented that he had disgraced some of the King's personal servants, and had, without any cause, for some time transacted public business at his own house, without consulting the King, excepting through the means of his son Alum Khan. They said that such conduct was degrading to his Majesty, and that the minister was in reality assuming the entire control of the state. Some days after this, when Alum Khan, the minister's son, was at the durbar, a few of the King's associates attacked him in the most abusive language, regarding the conduct of his father. Alum Khan, the most elegant young man of the times, unaccustomed to such usage, stood in amazement, without uttering a word. From abuse they proceeded to threats, and at length commenced kicking and beating him in the presence. The King rose, and though he did not actually assist yet did not check them. Alum Khan, recovering himself a little from his surprise, drew his dagger, and in brandishing it to clear his way it came in contact with the King's head, and intered the skin just over a vein, which bled profusely. The sight of the King's blood, fortunately for Alum Khan, withdrew the attention of the assailants from him to the monarch, who in a minute or two fainted, and Alum Khan effected his escape to his father's house. Jam Bayezeed directed him immediately to fly to Sheevur, and collect the army at that place; while he, assembling all his Mooltan adherents, also left the city to ioin him. Mahmood Lunga now deputed

a force after the minister, who being overtaken, halted to give battle, in which he defeated the royal army. He then proceeded to Sheevur, and caused the public prayers to be read in the name of Sikundur Lody of Dehly. At the same time he addressed a petition to that throne, giving in detail an account of the whole of the late proceedings. Sikundur Lody sent an honorary dress, and appointed him his governor of Sheevur. He also directed Dowlut Khan Lody, governor of the Punjab, to aid him in case he required his assistance.

Mahmood Lunga having collected his army marched towards Sheevur, to reduce his revolted minister; but the latter, and his son Alum Khan, quitting Sheevur, proceeded to the Ravy,[5] and applied to Dowlut Khan. Before he arrived, however, the contending armies were absolutely engaged. Dowlut Khan, on reaching the ground, sent some respectable officers to Mahmood Lunga; and it was eventually agreed that the river Ravy should from the boundaries between the country of Jam Bayezeed and Mahmood Lunga. After which, Dowlut Khan having accompanied Mahmood Lunga to Mooltan, also visited Jam Bayezeed at Sheevur, from whence he returned to Lahore. Notwithstanding this treaty, to which such a person as Dowlut Khan became guarantee, it was not long before some of the principal articles were broken, the origin of which was as follows:—One Meer Jakur[6] Zund, with his two sons, Meer Sheheed and Meer Shahida, came from Solypoor to Mooltan. Nizam-ood-Deen Bukhshy states, that Meer Shahida was the first person who disseminated the principles of the Sheea faith in India; but he leaves us quite in the dark as to who this Meer Jakur Zund was, from whence he came, or what was his origin, his family, or connections. Mullik Sohrab Duvally having great influence with Mahmood Lunga, prevented the reception of Ameer Jakur in Mooltan, who out of revenge went over to Jam Bayezeed, by whom he was graciously received, and who gave him a jageer in the district of Oocha, to the great vexation of Mahmood Lunga. Jam Bayezeed was a man of strong mind, exceedingly learned himself, and a liberal patron of literature. Some ignorant writers have stated that he used to send

5. Hydroates.

6. The name of Jakur occurs before among the Suljook Toorks. Vide vol. i. p. 64.

provisions ready cooked, as daily food, from Sheevur to Mooltan, down the river Chunab, for the holy persons residing in the latter city; but such idle stories are too absurd to merit belief.

In the year A.H. 930 (A.D. 1523), Babur Padshah having conquered the country of Punjab proceeded to Dehly; from whence he wrote an order to Hoossein Arghoon, governor of Tutta, informing him that he intrusted him henceforward with the direction of affairs in Mooltan. That chieftain, in consequence, crossed the Indus, near the city of Bhukkur, with a large army. Mahmood Lunga of Mooltan no sooner heard of this circumstance than he deputed Sheikh Baha-ood-Deen Kooreishy to wait on Hoossein Arghoon, accompanied by Mowlana Bheilole, one of the most learned men of the age. The ambassadors, on reaching Hoossein Arghoon's camp, were received with all possible politeness. He replied to their remonstrances against his approach, by assuring them that he was only going to Mooltan to carry into effect some new regulations ordered by Babur Padshah, and also to pay his devotions at the shrine of Sheikh Baha-ood-Deen Zacharia, Mowlana Bheilole replied that there appeared no necessity for his going in person to enforce his regulations; for he had only to express them ,and his master would carry them into effect; and that with regard to his visit to the shrine of Sheikh Baha-ood-Deen,[7] he himself had come to anticipate his steps. Hoosein, however, was not to be thus averted from his purpose, but continued his march, and the ambassadors returned. Shortly afterwards, Mahmood Lunga, being seized with the cholic, died A.H. 931 (A.D. 1524), after a reign of twenty-seven years.

HOOSSEIN LUNGA II.

ON the death of Mahmood, one Lushkur Khan, at the head of the tribe of Lunga, deserted to Hoossein Arghoon, having previously laid waste the small villages surrounding the city of Mooltan. The rest of the army, left without leaders, sought protection in

7. It will occur to the reader that the ambassador's name was Sheikh Baha-ood-Deen, and the descendant of Zacharia; the evasion of the Mowlana was a play upon his name.

the fortress; and the Ameers raised the son of the late King, although a minor, to the throne, under the name of Hoossein Lunga II. Notwithstanding the title which the boy received, he was only a pageant in the hands of his sister's husband, Shooja-ool-Moolk, who assumed the office of protector, under the appel·lation of vizier; and although he had not a month's provisions in the fort, he was so fool-hardly as to prepare to stand a seige; and Shah Hoossein Arghoon, conceiving the capture of the city as already accomplished, marched to invest it. The place had been attacked but a very short time, when provisions becoming scarce, the cavalry officers went to the protector, proposing that they might be led out against the enemy while their horses had yet strength, and adopt the only method of raising the siege. Shooja-ool-Moolk gave no answer to this proposition at the moment; but afterwards, having sent for the officers, rejected their offer, by stating that the King was not yet firmly seated on his throne; that the army had no personal attachment to him, and that it was probable many of the soldiers would go over to the enemy, while the few who did fight would fall victims, without conferring any good on their country. From a document in my possession in the hand-writing of Mowlana Sad-oolla of Lahore, who was himself in the city during the seige of Mooltan, I have made the following extract :—"After the garrison had been besieged for some months, and the place so closely invested that it was impossible for any one either to enter or quit it, the distress for provisions was so great, that if one of the garrison could catch a dog or cat he killed it, and hoarded up the flesh as a treasure. Besides this, Shooja-ool-Moolk promoted a vagabond by the name of Jooma to the command of the fort, and placed him at the head of three thousand militia infantry. Wherever this monster heard of any grain, he used to march down with a party and seize it; so that the inhabitants were driven to the alternative either of submitting to die by famine, by the sword of the enemy, or, by throwing themselves over the walls, attempt, if possible, to escape. At length, at midnight, in the year A.H. 932 (A.D. 1525), Mooltan was carried by escalade, and many poor creatures were killed. On the following morning all the inhabitants between the ages of seven and seventy years were imprisoned, among whom were my father and myself. When our situation became

known we were released from fetters, but the treatment we experienced brought my poor father's grey hairs to the grave. The city of Mooltan thus fell into the hands of Hoossein Arghoon. The young prince was kept a state prisoner; and the place so completely sacked, and the habitations so destroyed, that no one could then suppose it would ever regain its former splendour; but Hoossein Arghoon left one of his Ameers, called Shums-ood-Deen, in charge, with orders to rebuild it; and having nominated Lushkur Khan Lunga his deputy, he returned to Tutta. Lushkur Khan was the means of rebuilding Mooltan; after which, having procurred a party to assist him, he expelled Shums-ood-Deen and assumed the title of governor."

When Babur Padshah abdicated the throne in favour of his son Hoomayoon, the latter prince gave the country of Punjab in jageer to Mirza Kamran. On his arrival at Lahore, he sent for Lushkur Khan and appointed a place for him to reside in, which is now included in one of the mohullas or wards of Lahore, and is called after him. At the same time he made over the district of Kabul to him, in lieu of that of Mooltan; since which time the kingdom of Mooltan has continued a province of the empire of Dehly.

CHAPTER IX

THE HISTORY OF SIND AND TUTTA

MAHOMED KASIM

It is related in several histories, such as the Kholasut-ool-Hikayat, the Huj-Nama, and the history of Hajy Mahomed Kandahary, that the first establishment of the Mahomedan faith in the country of Sind occurred under the following circumstances:—

Hijaj (the son of Yoosoof Shukfy), governor of Bussora at the time when Wuleed, the son of Abdool Mullik, was ruler of the provinces of both Iraks, resolved on invading India. Accordingly, in the year A.H. 87 (A.D. 705), he deputed Mahomed Haroon with a select force into Mikran, who subdued that country, and made converts of many of the inhabitants called Bulochies; and having there estabilshed a regular government, the Mahomedan faith may be said to have prevailed in that country from the period alluded to.

We are told that in those days, also, the inhabitants of the island of Selandeep (Ceylon) were accustomed to send vessels to the coast of Africa, to the Red Sea, and to the Persian Gulf, a practice prevailing from the earliest ages; and that Hindoo pilgrims resorted to Mecca and Egypt for the purpose of paying adoration to the idols, to which they looked with the utmost veneration. It is related, also, that the people trading from Selandeep became converts to the true faith at as early a period as the reign of the first caliphs, and that having thus had intercourse with Mahomedan nations, the King of Selandeep despatched a vessel laden with various rare articles, the produce of his country, to the caliph Wuleed at Bagdad.[1]

1. I have been unable to procure the original works quoted by Ferishta at the head of this chapter; but it is to be hoped they are attainable in Europe, and that on consulting them some light may be thrown on the intercourse said to prevail between India and Egypt previously to Mahomedism. This subject is full of interest, and opens an extensive field of investigation for the Oriental antiquary, as leading to the development of the history of a period at which India and Egypt

On this vessel arriving at the entrance of the Persian Gulf it was attacked and captured by orders of the ruler of Deebul,[2] together with seven other boats, in which were some Mahomedan families going on pilgrimage to Kurbula. Some of the captives making their escape carried their complaint to Hijaj, who addressed a letter to Raja Dahir, the son of Sasa, ruler of Sind, and sent it to be forwarded from Mikran by Mahomed Haroon. Raja Dahir replied, that the act of hostility was committed by a powerful state, over which he had no control.

On the receipt of this letter, Hijaj obtained the consent of Wuleed, the son of Abdool Mullik, to invade India, for the purpose of propagating the faith; and at the same time deputed a chief of the name of Budmeen, with three hundred cavalry, to join Haroon in Mikran, who was directed to reinforce the party with one thousand good soldiers more to attack Deebul. Budmeen failed in his expedition, and lost his life in the first action. Hijaj, not deterred by this defeat, resolved to follow up the enterprise by another. In consequence, in the year A.H. 93 (A.D. 711), he deputed his cousin and son-in-law, Imad-ood-Deen Mahomed Kasim, the son of Akil Shukhfy, then only seventeen years of age, with six thousand soldiers, chiefly Assyrians, with the necessary implements for taking forts, to attack Deebul. This army proceeded by the route of Shiraz and Mikran. On reaching the towns of Deboon and Dursila, on the confines of the Sind territory, Mahomed Kasim halted; and having taken the necessary steps for advancing he marched on to Deebul, situated on the banks of the Indus, which town is now called Tutta.

were closely connected, as must once have been the case, from the identity which seems to pervade the mythology, astronomy, and the calculation of time, of both nations. The travels of Ibn Batoota, a learned Mahomedan of the fourteenth century, is now in the hands of Mr. Professor Lee of Cambridge, who is about to publish an English translation, with copious annotations. From a hasty view of this work, I am led to suppose a vast deal of valuable information on the intercourse carried on between the early Arabians and the coast of India will be found; and it is to be hoped that such gentlemen as Professor Lee, who devote themselves exclusively to literature, will, in time, develope the rich materials of Oriental history and science that lie hidden in the depths of languages so little cultivated, so vaguely understood, and so meanly appreciated.

2. Modern Tutta, on the Indus.

On reaching this place, he made preparations to besiege it, but the approach was covered by a fortified temple, surrounded by a strong wall, built of hewn stone and mortar, one hundred and twenty feet in height.[3] After some time a bramin, belonging to the temple, being taken, and brought before Kasim, stated, that four thousand Rajpoots defended the place, in which were from two to three thousand bramins, with shorn heads, and that all his efforts would be vain; for the standard of the temple was sacred; and while it remained entire no profane foot dared to step beyond the threshold of the holy edifice. Mahomed Kasim having caused the catapultas to be directed against the magic flag-staff, succeeded, on the third discharge, in striking the standard, and broke it down. In a few days after which the place fell. Mahomed Kasim levelled the temple and its walls with the ground, and circumcised the bramins. The infidels highly resented this treatment, by invectives against him and the true faith. On which Mahomed Kasim caused every bramin, from the age of seventeen and upwards, to be put to death : the young women and children of both-sexes were retained in bondage; and the old women being released, were permitted to go whithersoever they chose.

The booty of the temple amounted to a large sum, one fifth of which was sent to Hijaj, together with seventy-five female slaves. The rest of the plunder was distributed among the soldiery. Mahomed Kasim, having come for the purpose of propagating the faith, proceeded to invest the town of Deebul, from whence Foujy, the son of Dahir, with a party of soldiers, forced his way to the fort of Braminabad[4]; to which place he was pursued by Mahomed Kasim, who having closely invested it for some time, the lives of the besieged were spared, and they were allowed to retain their private property, on condition of surrendering.

Mahomed Kasim marched thence into Seevustan, to a place called Sehwan, the inhabitants of which country, being bramins,

3. The Mahomedan historians seem to have confounded Deebul, properly Devul, meaning *the Temple*, with the town of Tutta. The defence of which Hindoo temples are capable has been frequently exemplified. The reader of modern Indian history will find several instances mentioned by Orme in the wars of the Carnatic, particularly those of Chilumbrum, and of Seringham at Trichinopoly.

4. The Hindoo name of Bamunwasy is evidently sunk, and the Mahomedan appellation is given by the author.

represented to their chief, Kucha Ray, the cousin of Dahir, governor of Sind, that as the spilling of blood was contrary to the tenets of their religion, it appeared to him advisable to submit quietly to the payment of the tribute required by Kasim. Kucha Ray, despising the idea of this compromise, refused compliance, and the Mahomedans proceeded to invest Sehwan. After a week's seige, a party from the garrison, making their escape by night, fled to the Ray of Sulim,[5] in order to gain reinforcements; but the bramins gave up the place on the following morning, and Mahomed Kasim distributed the property among the troops, reserving one fifth for Hijaj. From hence he marced to the fortress of Sulim, which he also reduced, and divided the spoils according to the practice of those times.

At this period, Hully Sa[6] the eldest son of Raja Dahir, having collected a large force, marched to oppose Mahomed Kasim; and the latter took up a strong position, and entrenched himself. In this situation his resources being contracted, and many of his carriage-cattle dying, the soldiers became discontented and at length broke into open mutiny; Mahomed Kasim, however, encouraging his trroops with the hope of aid, wrote to Hijaj Bin Yoosoof, who having heard of his situation before his letters arrived, had already despatched a reinforcement of one thousand horse, with other requisities, to Sind. On receiving this seasonable assistance, Mahomed Kasim again took the field, and attacking the young Ray, several battles ensued, though neither party appears to have obtained any advantage of consequence. Raja Dahir having consulted his astrologers and bramins on the present crisis of his affairs, they declared that it was written in the ancient books,[7] that "at a certain period a prophet would arise from among the people of Arabia, who would succeed in converting many nations to a new persuasion : after which, in the lunar year 86, the Arabian forces would invade the borders of Sind, and in the year 93 they would subdue all those countries." Raja Dahir having in many instances found the predictions of his astrologers verified placed great reliance on them, but resolv-

5. The early Mahomedan writers have so mutilated the Indian names, that they are frequently not to be recognised.

6. Perhaps Hurry Sa.

7. In this prophecy the flimsy veil of the Mahomedan historian is easily penetrated.

ed to defend himself with a courage becoming his rank and family. The cup of his life being now filled to the brim, he joined his son's army, of which he assumed the command in person; and on Wednesday the 10th of Rumzan, in the year A.H. 93 (A.D. 711), with a force consisting of fifty thousand men, composed of Rajpoots, Sindies, and Mooltanies, he marched to attack the Mahomedans.

Mahomed Kasim, with barely six thousand troops, mostly Arabian cavalry, waited the onset. Raja Dahir at first took up a position near the Mahomedan lines, and endeavoured by skirmishes and manœuvres to entice the enemy from the strong position which he occupied; but failing in every attempt he resolved to storm it. Part of the Arab cavalry quitting the entrenched camp galloped fort and engaged the Indians singly; a mode of warfare in which the Arabians had the advantage, from the superior management of their horses, and their skill in the use of the sword. At length the action became more general, and Dahir with his relations led on the Indians into the centre of the enemy. On this occasion, one of the Arab firemen threw a naphtha ball[8] on the white elephant of Dahir, which became so alarmed at the terrible effect of the liquid flame, that he ran off to the river, in spite of the efforts of his driver, and plunged into the stream. The temporary absence of the Raja communicated a panic to his army, which instantly followed. Mahomed Kasim pursued the fugitives; but the elephant having come out of the water Raja Dahir again drew up his troops, and made a resolute stand on the banks of the Indus, when receiving an arrow wound he fell. He, however, insisted on being placed upon a horse; and although the wound was very severe, he charged in the most gallant manner into the midst of the Arabian horse, where he died like a hero. On his death, the Hindoo troops fled in confusion towards the fort of Ajdur. The Mahomedans gained a vast quantity of plunder by

8. Naphtha balls thrown from engines, and arrows to which lighted tow dipt in naphtha was affixed, were used for the purpose of setting fire not only to the linen trappings of the enemy but also to thatched houses, barns, and stacks of corn and straw. The naphtha, or petrolium, is a substance not unlike tar floating on the surface of water. The translator saw several pits of this resinous oil in Persia, where it abounds.

this victory. Mahomed Kasim now proceeded to Ajdur.[9] Hully Sa, the son of Dahir, after leaving a sufficient garrison in that fort, proposed to meet the Mahomedan forces in the field; but his counsellors dissuading him, he retired to the fort of Braminabad.

The widow of Raja Dahir resolved to adopt the measure abandoned by her son; and with a truly masculine spirit, placing herself at the head of fifteen thousand Rajpoots, prepared to meet the Mahomedans. Mahomed Kasim, however, giving orders to his troops not to attack, they merely stood on the defensive; and the Rajpoots quietly withdrew with their female chief into the fort of Ajdur, which was now closely invested. The siege being protracted to a great length of time, the garrison were nearly starved out, when they came to the final alternative of performing the Jowhur, a ceremony which requires the Hindoos to sacrifice their women and children on a burning pile; and the men, after bathing, rush on the point of the enemy's lances sword in hand. This dreadful step being taken, the gates of the fortress were thrown open, and a body of Rajpoots, headed by the widow of Dahir attacked the Mahomedans in their camp, and all lost their lives.

The heroes of Assyria having repulsed this attack forced their way into the fort, where they slew six thousand Rajpoots, and took prisoners three thousand more. Among the latter were the two daughters of Raja Dahir. These princesses were sent by Mahomed Kasim to Hijaj, to be received into the seraglio of Wuleed; and after having placed all the towns of Sind under Arab governors, Mahomed Kasim proceeded to reduce Mooltan, which was also subject to the authority of Dahir. On reaching Mooltan, Mahomed Kasim also subdued that province; and himself occupying the city, he erected mosques on the site of the Hindoo temples.

When the two daughters of the King of Sind arrived at the court of Hijaj at Bussora, he forwarded them to the seraglio of the Caliph Wuleed at Damascus, where they remained until the year A.H. 96 (A.D. 714), when having sent for them into his presence he enquired their names. The elder replied that she was called Surpa Devy, and the younger Burreel Devy.

9. This may perhaps have been Oocha. The Persian or Arabic letters would admit of the words being mistaken by copyists.

The Caliph becoming enamoured of the elder, wished her to submit to his embraces, when she burst into tears, and told him that she was unworthy of him, since she had been disgraced on three successive nights by Mahomed Kassim. The enraged Caliph, whose will was the law, wrote with his own hand an order to Mahomed Kasim, requiring him to clothe himself in a raw hide, and embrace that death which he so richly merited. The faithful Kasim submitted to this unjust decree; and caused himself to be sown up in a raw skin, which produced his death. After which his body was sent to the Caliph. Upon the arrival of the corpse, the Caliph, sending for Surpa Devy, said, "Behold Mahomed Kasim in his shroud: it is thus I punish the sins of those servants who insult the deputy of the prophet of God." Surpa Devy replied, with a smile full of triumph and of sarcasm, "Know, Oh Caliph, that Mahomed Kasim respected my person as that of his own sister, and would no more have polluted my bed than that of his mother He, however, put to death my father, my mother, my brother, and my countrymen, and in his death, indifferent to my own fate, I have gratified that revenge which has so long been consuming me."[10] The Caliph became much disconcerted; and having dismissed the damsel, he lamented over the body of his faithful and innocent servant.

On the death of Mahomed Kasim, a tribe who trace their origin from the Ansaries established a government in Sind; after which the Zemindars denominated in their country Soomura, usurped the power, and held independent rule over the kingdom of Sind for the space of five hundred years; but neither the names nor the history of these princes are, I believe, at present extant, since I have failed in my endeavour to procure them. In the course of years (although we have no account of the precise period), the dynasty of Soomura subverted the country of another dynasty called Soomuna, whose chief assumed the title of Jam. During the reigns of these dynasties in Sind the Mahomed kings of India Proper, such as those of Ghizny, Ghoor, and Dehly, invaded Sind, and seizing many of the towns, appointed

10. It is difficult to give credence to this romantic tale; but the gratification of revenge in Indians, where their honour is concerned, is so strong, the fortitude of Hindoo females so great, and the devotion of the servants of the caliphs so pure and disinterested, that the story may be allowed to hold its place among others not less remarkable in the annals of the world.

Mahomedan governors over them. Among these rulers, Nasir-ood-Deen Kubbacha asserted his independence, and caused the public prayers to be read in his name as King of Sind. I shall therefore introduce my reader to him as the first Mahomedan king of Sind of which we have any authentic account. With respect to the first invasions of the Ghizny, Ghoory, and Dehly troops into Sind, accounts of them have been already given in their proper place. I shall record, therefore, this history of Sind from such scanty materials as I have been enabled to collect of the Soomura and Soomuna dynasties, though they be imperfect and unsatisfactory.

NASIR-OOD-DEEN KUBBACHA

Notwithstanding that former historians have ranked Nasir-odd-Deen among the servants of the kings of Dehly, and denied him a place in the list of Indian monarchs, proably on account of his low origin, the compiler of this work, deviating in this instance from the practice, of his predecessors, has elevated him to that station in history to which, as the ruler of a considerable empire, he appears justly entitled. His pedigree is obscure, and all that seems known of him is, that he was one of the Toorky slaves of Shahab-ood-Deen Mahomed Ghoory; from which situation, having risen to the dignity of a throne, he proved himself wise, brave, generous, and polite. The greater part of his life was spent in the service of Shahab-ood-Deen; and when that monarch engaged the Suljooks, Nasir-ood-Deon Kubbacha was left in charge of the government of Oocha. Previously to this period, however, he espoused the daughter of Kootb-ood-Deen Eibuk, viceroy of India, and after the death of his first wife he married her sister. Subsequently to taking possession of his new government, he frequently came to Dehly, in order to pay his recpects to his sovereign and father-in-law, Kootb-ood-Deen; after whose death, having seized many of the towns subject to the Sind government, he reduced the territory of the Soomuras, whose subject were a mixture of Mahomedans and Hindoos, to the small tract of country around Tutta, bounded by the desert. At first the inhabitants fled to the hills, but his proclamations of protection soon brought them back to their respective homes;

after which he declared himself King of Sind, and caused public prayers to be read, and money to be coined, in his name, thus relinquishing his allegiance to the throne of Dehly. Besides Sind, his kingdom embraced the provinces of Mooltan, Kohram, and Soorsutty. He was twice attacked by Taj-ood-Deen Yeldooz of Ghizny, but he successfully repelled both these invasions.

In the year A.H. 611 (A.D. 1214) the armies of Khwaruzum and Khulij, having reached Ghizny, made some impression on the Seevustan frontier; on which occasion Nasir-ood-Deen Kubbacha opposing them slew many of the Tartars; but he was at length compelled to fly before the army of Ghizmy, commanded by the minister Mooveiud-ool-Moolk Sunjurry.

In the year A.H. 614 (A.H. 1217), Nasir-ood-Deen having marched for the purpose of subduing Lahore, conquered in that campaign the province of Surhind; but being pursued by Shums-ood-Deen Altmish of Dehly, the successor of Kootb-ood-Deen Eibuk, Nasir-ood-Deen fled through the Punjab to the banks of the Neelab; which river not being fordable, the Dehly morarch dashing his charger into that rapid stream, was followed by part of the army. Many were drowned; but the King, with a few of his troops, gained the opposite bank, and gallantly attacking the Sindies, completely defeated them, compelling Nasir-ood-Deen to retreat, and make the best of his way to Mooltan; on which occasion his standard and kettledrums fell into the hands of the conquerors.

On the invasion of Chungiz Khan into Tooran, the nobles of Khorassan, Ghizny, and Ghoor having fled to the court of Nasir-ood-Deen Kubbacha at Mooltan, found honourable employment in his service; till at length Julal-ood-Deen, the son of the King of Khwaruzm, having been expelled from his own country by the resistless forces of Chungiz Khan, marched to the south, and attacked the country of Nasir-ood-Deen.

The following seems a correct account of this event:—Julal-ood-Deen having been driven from Khwaruzm retreated towards India, and arrived on the banks of the Attock, where he was overtaken by the forces of Chungiz Khan. In this situation there appeared no alternative but to perish in the waters or repel the enemy. He chose the latter resource, and gallantly opposed the infidel Tartars, many of whom he slew with his

own hand; but at length his army being broken, he retired with seven hundred horse. He was again pursued, and again defended himself for several hours in the most gallant manner; but was at last compelled to seek safety in flight, his horse being scarcely able to support him. In his retreat he joined his sons, and mounting afresh charger, once more checked the pursuing enemy; at last, on being quite overpowered by numbers, he retired fighting desparately till he reached the bank of the river Indus, where, having taken off his armour and secured his royal canopy, he swam the stream with only seven followers; and on the opposite bank he caused his canopy to be erected in sight of the Tartar army. It is said Chungiz Khan came to the bank of the river to witness the spectacle, and expressed his admiration of his character, saying, "Julal-ood-Deen is indeed the lion of battle, and the crocodile of the waves." Some of his troops having volunteered to cross and seize him, Chungiz Khan rebuked them, and said, "No! such a hero should only fall in the heat of action." He remained concealed in the neighbourhood of the river for two or three days; and having collected between fifty and sixty of his followers, who had escaped without their arms, he attacked a post consisting of about two hundred men, who, unconscious of any enemy near, were regaling themselves with a feast. The attack made on them is thus represented : —Julal-ood-Deen having ordered each of his people to cut a good large stick from the jungle, he dispersed the party of soldiers who were feasting, and plundered them of their arms and property. He then mounted his own men on their horses, and was enabled next day to muster a troop of one hundred and twenty men. In a few days after, hearing of a guard composed of three thousand men being near him, he suddenly assaulted them, and obtained so large a quantity of money as enabled him, in a short time, to appear in considerable force, and make several successful attacks on the troops in the Punjab, driving them before him like sheep, till at length his army amounted to four thousand cavalry. When Chungiz Khan heard of these successes he detached some of his best officers accross the river to attack Julal-ood-Deen; but the moment the Tartars advanced, he fled before them towards Dehly, plundering the country as he proceeded. On his arrival near Dehly, he deputed one of his principle officers to wait on Shums-odd-Deen Altmish, relating his

misfortunes, and requesting a small tract of country to reside on; unless indeed, he thought fit to furnish him with a sufficient force to oppose Chungiz Khan, and enable him to regain his crown.

Shums-ood-Deen determined not to permit so dangerous a person to remain in his dominions; and it is even said he caused his ambassador to be privately murdered. He however sent some valuable presents to Julal-odd-Deen; but declared that the air of India was so unwholesome to strangers, that he could not recommend any spot on which he might take up his residence. Julal-ood-Deen, comprehending the purport of this message, retired towards Gukkurs, among the hills of Bilala and Nikala, from whence he sent Taj-ood-Deen Khiljy, one of his officers, to plunder in the Jod hills. Julal-ood-Deen, having collected about twelve thousand men, deputed an ambassador to proceed to the court of the Gukkur chief, who had some time before been converted to Mahomedism, soliciting the hand of his daughter in marriage. To this the Gukkur readily assented; and deputed his son to escort the Princess to Julal-ood-Deen, at the same time stipulating for his assistance in repelling the frequent attacks of Nasir-ood-Deen Kubbacha, King of Sind. Julal-ood-Deen at this time conferred on his wife's brother the title of Khullij Khan, and shortly after deputed his Barbik (Usher), one of the most distinguished of his officers, with a body of seven thousand men, to accompany the Gukkur prince. This force proceeded to the banks of the Indus, and encamped near the city of Oocha, where it was opposed by Nasir-ood-Deen with twenty thousand men. A sanguinary conflict ensued, wherein the latter was defeated, and compelled to seek safety in a small boat, in which he crossed the Indus, and retired to the fort of Nuggur.[11] On this news being transmitted to Julal-ood-Deen, who had just learned that an army from Dehly was on its march to attack him, he left the hills of Bilala, and marching to Oocha occupied Nasir-ood-Deen's palace. From thence he wrote, desiring him to deliver into his hands one Anwur Khan and his family, who had deserted him on the day of the battle of Attock with Chungiz Khan. Nasir-ood-Deen complied with his request, and also sent to Julal-ood-Deen some valuable presents, himself retiring to Mooltan; in consequence of

11. I am not aquainted with any town of the name in that part of India. Colonel Tod says there were seven towns, or nuggurs, called Oocha; this may, therefore, be one of them.

which, the latter returned to the country of Bilala, whence he had come. On the march he attacked a small fort, where he received an arrow wound in his arm; and his troops became so irritated at the event, that upon the capture of the place they indiscriminately slaughtered men, women, and children. At this period Julal-ood-Deen heard that Choghtay, the son of Chungiz Khan, was on his march to seize and convey him to the presence of the Tartar conqueror; but as he was unwilling to cope with his former enemies, and conceiving that Nasir-ood-Deen bore no ill will towards him he marched to Mooltan, and there demanded some mules for the transport of his baggage. Nasir-ood-Deen, who expected the Tartar forces would invade his country on Julal-ood-Deen's account, refused his assistance, and he returned from Mooltan to Oocha; where not meeting with the support he expected, he laid that city in ashes, and marched to the south towards Tutta; and whenever he arrived at one of Nasir-ood-Deen's villages on the route, he either laid it under heavy contributions or destroyed it. On reaching Tutta, the Ray, whose name was Jeisee, of the dynasty of Soomura, fled; and putting all his baggage and family in boats on the Indus, departed for some of the contiguous islands. Julal-ood-Deen now occupied Tutta, destroyed all the temples, and built mosques in their stead; and on one occasion detached a force to Nehrwala (Puttun), on the border of Guzerat. In the year A.H. 620 (A.D. 1222), having heard that his brother Gheias-ood-Deen had established himself as King of Irak, Julal-ood-Deen abandoned his views in India, and proceeded through Mikran to Persia; and as the acts of the subsequent part of his life are related in the Persian histories, I shall leave them to furnish the reader with any further account of this prince, and returned to Nasir-ood-Deen Kubbacha. The Prince Choghtay Khan having reached Mooltan, laid siege to that place; but Nasir-ood-Deen conducted himself with such bravery, that he compelled the Tartars to withdraw. The Tartar prince marched to the south, and invading both Mikran and Kech laid waste those countries, and wintered at Kalinjur, a place situated on the borders of Sind; but finding provisions scarce in his camp, he put to death ten thousand Indians of all classes, whom he had taken prisoners, rather than liberate them. Notwithstanding this barbarous act, famine and plague both raged shortly afterwards,

which compelled him to move; and having heard no more of Julal-ood-Deen, he returned to Tooran.

In the year A.H. 622 (A.D. 1224-5), Shums-ood-Deen Altmish, King of Dehly, made several attempts to remove Nasir-ood-Deen from his government, and even marched for that purpose as far as Oocha; but Nasir-ood-Deen having made preparations for a siege, took post with a respectable force in the town of Bhukkur. The King of Dehly sent his general, Nizam-ool-Moolk Mahomed, (the son of Aby Syeed Jooneidy, to whom the Jama-ool-Hikayat is dedicated,) to attack the latter place, while he engaged in the attack of Oocha, which fell to the Dehly arms after a siege of two months and twenty days. On receipt of this intelligence, Nasir-ood-Deen deputed his son, Alla-ood-Deen Beiram, to Oocha, to treat for peace; but before it was concluded the garrison of Bhukkur became so straitened for supplies, that Nasir-ood-Deen, accompanied by his family, embarking in boats, proceeded down the Indus for the purpose of taking possession of one of the islands. During the voyage he was, however, unfortunately drowned. Another, and probably the most authentic account of this invasion states, that when Shums-ood-Deen Altmish arrived at Oocha, he left the army with his minister, Nizam-ool-Moolk Jooneidy, to besiege that place, which after two months he succeeded in reducing; that from thence the King proceeded to the attack of Bhukkur, to which place Nasir-ood-Deen had retreated; but having no hopes of eventually repelling the arms of the Dehly monarch, he placed his family and personal attendants, with his treasure, in boats, and endeavoured to occupy a contiguous island; but a storm coming on, the boat in which he had himself embarked foundered, and every person perished. This monarch reigned in Sind and Mooltan for a period of twenty-two years.

ACCOUNT OF THE DYNASTY OF SOOMUNA,[12] ENTITLED JAM

THE zemindars of Sind were originally of two tribes or families,

12. Colonel Tod observes, that this race of Jam was of Rajpoot origin, and of the Jureja branch of Yadoo, descended from Shama or Sama, the black god Krishn.

the one denominated Soomuna and the other Soomura, and the chief of the former was distinguished by the appellation of Jam. In the latter end of the reign of Mahomed Toghluk of Dehly, Sind owned allegiance to that monarch; nevertheless, occassionally taking advantage of local circumstances, the Sindies contrived, for a considerable period, to shake off their allegiance. The first of the family of which we have any account was.

JAM AFRA

Of this prince we have no further notice than that he died a natural death, after a reign of three years and six months (A.H. 740, A.D. 1339).

JAM CHOBAN

Jam Choban was nominated by his predecessor to succeed him in the government of Sind. We are told he was famed for his forbearance and moderation, and reigned peaceably for a period of fourteen years (A.H. 754, A.D. 1353).

JAM BANY

On the death of Jam Choban, his nephew Jam Bany, the son of Jam Afra, having set up his claims to the government, established them, and succeeded his uncle Jam Choban. During his reign he publicly asserted his independence from the throne of Dehly, and refused to pay the accustomed tribute. Owing to this, in the year A.H. 762 (A.D 1360), Feroze Toghluk of Dehly marched with an army to Sind. Jam Bany, incapable of making resistance, fled, but having previously secured a large quantity of provisions and forage for his cattle, he laid waste by fire for many miles the surrounding country. By this stratagem his enemies were reduced to the utmost distress for forage, and compelled to fall back on the cultivated plains of Guzerat, where Feroze remained during the rainy season. After which the grass having grown, and being too green to be burned, Feroze was enabled to prosecute his march into Sind. Jam Bany was now

reduced to submit to the Dehly arms, and threw himself on the mercy of Feroze Toghluk, who appointed his own governor over the provinces of Sind and Tutta, and returned to Dehly accompanied by Jam Bany, and other principal Sind chieftains in his train. Being some time after perfectly satisfied of their fidelity, he reinstated Jam Bany in his government, which he resumed with all his former dignities. Shortly after this he died (A.H. 769, A.D. 1367) having reigned for a period of fifteen years.

JAM TIMMAJY

On the death of Jam Bany, he was succeeded by his brother Timmajy, who after having passed a peaceable reign of thirteen years died (A.H. 782, A.D. 1380). It appears from the foregoing few names that the Sind princes were hitherto bramins.[13]

JAM SULAH-OOD-DEEN

After the death of Timmajy, he was succeeded by Jam Sulah-ood-Deen, who reigned for a period of eleven years, and then died (A.H. 793, A.D. 1391).

JAM NIZAM-OOD-DEEN

On the death of his father, Jam Nizam-ood-Deen succeeded to the government; but after a short reign of two or three years he died (A.H. 796, A.D. 1393).

JAM ALLEY SHEER

Jam Ally Sheer succeeded his father, Nizam-ood-Deen, and from the first period of his reign to its close, we are told that his government assumed a shape more respectable than any of his predecessors; but his reign, like that of the world, was of comparatively short duration, and he was snatched from his affectionate

13. By bramins, Ferishta, perhaps, simply means Hindoos.

subjects after the short space of six years, when he died (A.H. 812, A.D. 1409), universally and deservedly lamented.

JAM GIRAN

ALLY SHEER was succeeded by Jam Giran, the son of Jam Timmajy; but fate being jealous of his good fortune deprived him of his dignities on the second day of his accession.

JAM FUTTEH KHAN

UPON the death of Jam Giran, a consultation of the chiefs of the Sind tribes was held; and we find they elected Futteh Khan Soomuna, the son of Iskundur Khan, to the government. He ruled over that country for a period of fifteen years, and died (A.H. 827, A.D. 1423).

JAM TOGHLUK

FUTTEH KHAN was succeeded by his younger brother, Toghluk, who was universally beloved. During his reign, the empire of Dehly being reduced to a state of anarchy, and the King obliged to fly from his throne, Jam Toghluk looked towards Guzerat, that had lately declared its independence, for support. To obtain this end, he opened a friendly intercourse with this kingdom, which continued during the period of the Soomuna dynasty. Jam Toghluk died (A.H. 854, A.D. 1450), after a reign of twenty-seven years, and was succeeded by his kinsman, Jam Moobarik, who was deposed, after a short reign of three days.

JAM SIKUNDUR

THE chiefs of the tribles having deposed Moobarik on the third day after his accession, placed in his stead Sikundur, the son of Jam Futteh Khan, and nephew to the late Jam Toghluk; but his reign was also of short duration, for he died (A.H. 856, A.D. 1452) in the space of eighteen months after his elevation.

JAM SUNJUR

SIKUNDUR was succeeded by Sunjur, a desendant of the former kings of Sind, who was elected from among the people as their ruler, not only on account of his descent, but from his personal virtues. He reigned with justice for a period of eight years, and was succeeded (A.H. 864, A.D. 1460) by Jam Nizam-ood-Deen, commonly called.

JAM NUNDA

NIZAM-OOD-DEEN NUNDA was a prince who promoted the prosperity of his country. He was contemporary with Hussun Lunga, King of Mooltan. We find that in the year A.H. 890 (A.D. 1485) Shah Beg Arghoon made a descent from Kandahar, and besieged the fort of Sewly, then commanded by Bahadur Khan Sindy, which he took by assault; and having left his younger brother, Mahomed, in charge, he retreated to Kandahar. Jam Nunda deputed one Moobarik Khan to retake Sewly. Upon his approach he was opposed by Mahomed Beg Arghoon; and several engagements took place, in one of which the latter was killed, and the fort of Sewly again reverted to the government of Sind. The moment the King of Kandahar heard this, he appointed Mirza Eesy Turkhan to occupy the post of his brother; and Jam Nunda collected an army, and sent it, under the command of Moobarik Khan, to oppose him. A severe engagement occurred on the frontier, in which the Sindies were defeated with great loss, and Moobarik Khan, who was himself wounded, fled to the fortress of Bhukkur. Shah Beg Arghoon, hearing of the success of his general, collected a still larger force, and marched in person to Bhukkur, where he was opposed by Kazy Kavun, who was at last obliged to submit, and Fazil Beg Gokultash was left in the government of that province. Shah Beg then proceeded to Sehwan, which he also reduced; and having placed Khwaja Baky Beg in charge, and deeming these conquests sufficient for his first campaign, he returned to Kandahar.

Jam Nunda expended large sums for the purpose of collecting a force in order to recover the fortress of Sewly, but was unsuccessful in every attempt. Indeed the Sindies, who had once been defeated by Eesy Turkhan, could never be brought to face

the Toorkmans again. Such was the dread which prevailed at that time among the Sindies, that one day a Toorkman having dismounted for the purpose of fastening the girth of his saddle, was surrounded by a party of forty Sindies. The astonished Toorkman mounted his horse in dismay, in order to effect his escape; but the Sindies imagining it was to attack them, the whole troop dispersed over the face of the country, and the Toorkman rode up quietly to his comrades, who were at a considerable distance. Historians relate that this circumstance, connected with others equally disgraceful to the credit of his subjects, broke the heart of Jam Nunda, who died (A.H. 894, A.D. 1492) after a reign of thirty-two years.

JAM FEROZE

ON the death of Jam Nunda, he was succeeded by his son Feroze, who appointed his relation, Duria Khan, to the office of prime minister; shortly after which, Jam Sulah-ood-Deen, a distant relative, set up his pretensions to the government, when, after several engagements with Jam Feroze, he fled to Guzerat. Moozuffur Shah of Guzerat espoused a first cousin of the Sind pretender, and was induced to send troops to assist him in deposing Jam Feroze. On reaching the confines of Sind, Sulah-ood-Deen gained Duria Khan over to his interest, and took many of the towns on the confines. Jam Feroze, however, enentually succeeded in repelling these attacks; and although Duria Khan, in the first instance, joined Sulah-ood-Deen, he subsequently returned to his allegiance to Feroze, and compelled the pretender to retreat to Guzerat, covered with shame and confusion.

Moozuffur Shah of Guzerat, notwithstanding his late disappointment, again assisted Sulah-ood-Deen with a force, in the year A.H. 926 (A.D. 1519), with which he marched, and succeeded in expelling Jam Feroze, and himself occupied Sind. Reduced government of Sind reverted to Jam Feroze. Shah Beg Arghoon for assistance, who deputed one Soombul Khan with a respectable force to expel the usurper, and re-establish Jam Feroze in his father's government. The two armies met near Sehwan, where a bloody engagement took place, in which, though Sulah-ood-Deen distinguished himself by his valour, he fell, and the

government of Sind reverted to Jam Feroze. Shah Beg Arghoon having long contemplated the entire subjugation of Sind, availed himself of the present moment to accomplish it; and considering that no one would be more interested in wresting it out of the hands of Sulah-ood-Deen than Feroze, he permitted the troops to act in his name, but after his success he determined to seize the country for himself. This period had now arrived; and, accordingly, in the following year, A.H. 927 (A.D. 1520), Shah Beg marched to conquer Sind, and occupied the whole country, even to the possession of Tutta itself.

On the re-assumption of the government by Jam Feroze, Duria Khan was restored to the office of prime minister, and subsequently fell in action against the troops of the King of Kandahar, while his master, who attempted for sometime to collect a force to recover his throne, was eventually compelled to fly his country and seek safety in Guzerat; but upon his arrival, finding that Moozuffur Shah had died, and had been succeeded by Bahadur Shah, he returned to Sind; when seeing no chance of recovering his government, he resolved to enter into the the service of Bahadur Shah of Guzerat. From this period may be dated the downfal of the Soomuna dynasty, and the establishment of that of Arghoon.

SHAH BEG ARGHOON

THE founder of this dynasty was the son of Mirza Zoolnoon Beg Arghoon, the commander-in-chief and head of the nobles at the court of Sooltan Hoossein Mirza, King of Khorassan,[14] his family having always been considered, since the invasion of Chungiz Khan, as the first in the empire Sooltan Hoossein Mirza, in the year A.H. 884 (A.D. 1479), nominated Zoolnoon Beg Arghoon to the government of Kandahar, and the provinces of Zemeen-Dawur, Samira, Lowluk, and Ghoor, notwithstanding one of the princes of the blood-royal was styled Prince of Kandahar, and sometimes, for form's sake, went to visit his principality. Zoolnoon Beg, at length taking advantage of circum-

14. Sooltan Hoossein Mirza is the fourth descendant of Tamerlane by his son Oomr Sheikh, King of Khorassan, vide Genealogy of the Great Mogul, vol. ii. p. 1.

stances, declared himself independent. On this occasion he nominated his son Shooja Beg, commonly called Shah Beg, to the government of Kandahar. The provinces of Samira and Lowluk were given in charge to Abdool Ally Turkhan, and the government of Ghoor to Ameer Fukhr-ood-Deen, while he himself spent the remainder of his days in the government of Zeemeen-Dawur. About the period when he established his independence, lucky incident occurred which secured it for him. The Prince Budee-ool-Zuman Mirza having quarrelled with the King, retired in disgust to his old friend, Mirza Zoolnoon Beg, who not only received him with hospitality, but even gave him his daughter in marriage; and on the reconciliation of the father and son, Zoolnoon was not only forgiven, but the interest obtained through the marriage of his daughter procured for him confirmation in his government. Mirza Zoolnoon Beg was subsequently killed in action; and after his death the province of Kandahar devolved on his son Shah Beg, who after having first reduced the towns of Sewly and Bhukkur, as before mentioned, resolved to extend his conquests over Sind. At this period, Babur Padshah having invaded the province of Kandahar, Shah Beg, in spite of his efforts, was unable to resist him, he therefore availed himself of the opportunity that occurred, in the differences between Jam Feroze and Sulah-ood-Deen, to carry his favourite project into effect; and having subdued Sind, settled himself as king in that country. His reign was, however, but of short duration, for he died two years after the conquest, in the year A.H. 930 (A.D. 1523).

Shah Beg was exceedingly well read, and is mentioned as the patron of literature by many authors in their works. His courage was so fierce as to be nearly allied to rashness; he always led his own troops into battle. He has been often heard to say, after an action, that he was as much astonished at himself, as others who related his conduct, and constantly confessed that he lost all self-control after the first charge.[15]

15. How many instances of this temporary frenzy do we meet with among men who can form plans of attack with coolness, precision, and judgment, yet when they go into battle are bereaved of all reflection, and who, instead of attending to their troops and to the events passing before them, seem wholly devoted to the exercise of their own personal prowess. As such men seldom survive many actions,

SHAH HOOSSEIN ARGHOON

AFTER the death of Shah Beg, he was succeeded by his eldest son Hoossein, who, following in the path of his father, reduced those towns in Sind which had not yet been subdued by his predecessor. He also rebuilt the fort of Bhukkur, and strengthened that of Sehwan.

At the period that Babur Padshah directed his generals to reduce Mooltan, in the year A.H. 931 (A.D. 1524), Mahmood Lunga deputed some officers to wait on him, entreating him to forego the conquest of his country; to which Babur consented, on his acknowledging fealty, and paying tribute. But Mahmood dying suddenly, was succeeded by his son Hoossein Lunga. Shah Hoossein Arghoon of Sind scarcely gave him time to ascend his father's throne, when he invested his capital; and after a close siege of fifteen months took it by storm, putting to death some of the inhabitants. Many, however, were taken prisoners, among whom was Hoossein Lunga himself. Having placed the fort of Mooltan in the hands of Khwaja Shums-ood-Deen, he returned to Tutta. After quitting Mooltan, an insurrection of the inhabitants occurred in favour of one Shumsheer Khan, a noble of the Lunga government, who expelled Shums-ood-Deen, and Shah Hoossein did not find it convenient at that time to take revenge for the revolt.

In the year A.H. 947 (A.D. 1540), when Hoomayoon Padshah was driven from India by Sheer Shah, and endeavoured to collect troops from all quarters, he marched from Lahore into Sind, and halted near the city of Bhukkur. Thence he sent an order to Shah Hoossein Arghoon to assist him. Shah Hoossein, doubtful of the sincerity of Hoomayoon, delayed his visit for six months, and then returned an answer sufficiently indicative of his determination not to visit him at all. Hoomayoon, incensed at this neglect, invested his uncle, Yadgar Nasir Mirza, with the government of Bhukkur, and proceeded himself to Tutta. Shah Hoossein promised his daughter in marriage to Yadgar Nasir Mirza, and also offered to assist in rendering him king of Sind; in proof

they are usually to be found among the junior ranks of the army. Some of my military readers, however, may be able to bring to their remembrance individuals, in whom this courageous frenzy prevailed, who had been so fortunate as to attain high rank in the army.

of which he caused the public prayers to be read in the name of Yadgar Mirza. At the same time, Shah Hoossein, having embarked in a boat, landed near the royal army, and succeeded in cutting off Hoomayoon's supplies, owing to the influence he possessed among the inhabitants. Hoomayoon, thus situated, was compelled to sue for peace, and deputed as his ambassador Beiram Khan Bharloo, a Toorkman chief. Affairs being amicably adjusted, Hoomayoon procured from Shah Hoossein camels, boats, and other necessary equipments for his journey. After having remained two years and a half in those countries, he marched towards Kandahar, Shah Hoossein, having gained his point, by separating the interests of Hoomayoon and Yadgar Nasir Mirza, did not hesitate now to drive the latter out of Bhukkur, and compelled him to retreat to Kabul.

In the year A.H. 952 (A.D. 1545), Kamran Mirza, the son of Babur Padshah, having separated from Hoomayoon, joined Shah Hoossein, by whom he was treated with every attention. He even gave him his daughter in marriage; and presenting him with a large casket of jewels Kamran proceeded to Kabul, in order to establish his claims in that province. Shah Hoossein, after having reigned for a period of thirty-two years, died A.H. 966 (A.D. 1554).

On the death of Shah Hoossein, the government of Sind was divided between two rivals, Mahmood the governor of Bhukkur, and Mirza Eesy Turkhan governor of Tutta; who both assumed the title of king, and between whom frequent dissensions arose, and battles were fought.

Mahmood of Bhukkur was either mad, or such a monster of iniquity and cruelty as we seldom read of; such, at least, is the character given of him by historians. Akbur padshah, on coming to Lahore, deputed Mohib Ally Khan to conquer Sind, and that officer reduced the whole province of Bhukkur, exclusive of the fort; till at last Mahmood being reduced to extremities, wrote a petition to Akbur Padshah, saying, that he was ready to give up his only remaining fortress to any other officer, but would not surrender it to Mohib Ally Khan. Akbur Padshah in consequence deputed Geesoo Khan to receive it; but Mahmood died before his arrival, in the year A.H. 982 (A.D. 1572), after a reign of twenty years. Bhukkur thus fell without farther opposition, by which Akbur Padshah became possessed of Upper Sind, and put an end to the hopes of the race of Mahmood.

MIRZA EESY TURKHAN

MIRZA EESY TURKHAN also died, after a reign of thirteen years (A.H. 975, A.D. 1470); but as we have no account of the transition of the dynasty of Arghoon to that of Turkhan we cannot form any probable conjectures on that head. It appears to me, from all I have read, and from what I can learn on the subject, that Mirza Eesy Turkhan was a Toorkman, and commander-in-chief of Shah Beg's army.

MIRZA MAHOMED BAKY TURKHAN

AFTER the death of Mirza Eesy Turkhan, his two sons, Mirza Mahomed Baky and Khan Baba, both set up as rivals for the government; but the elder brother, Mirza Mahomed Baky, having collected the more numerous force, succeeded in establishing himself; and during his rule he always maintained a friendly intercourse with Akbur Padshah of Dehly, frequently sending presents, and acknowledging fealty to that monarch; but during the life of Mahmood of Bhukkur, like his predecessor he was sometimes engaged in war, and sometimes at peace. He died, after a reign of eighteen years, in the year A.H. 993 (A.D. 1584).

MIRZA JANY BEG TURKHAN

UPON the death of Mirza Mahomed Baky, he was succeeded by his grandson, Mirza Jany Beg. Akbur Padshah, who before the death of Mirza Mahomed Baky had gone to Lahore and remained there for some years, expected a personal visit from the ruler of Tutta; but being disappointed, and having already taken Bhukkur, he proceeded to take measures for the subjugation of Tutta, the remaining province of Sind. In the year A.H. 999 (A.D. 1590), therefore, he presented the government of Mooltan and Bhukkur to his commander-in-chief, Mirza Khan, the son of Beiram Khan, directing him to proceed and occupy it in his name.

This officer, in the first instance, attacked the fort of Sehwan; on which occasion Mirza Jany Beg collecting a large force, and being aided by the zemindars, embarked in boats and ves-

sels, and went up the river towards Sehwan. Mirza Khan raising the seige, proceeded to attack Jany Beg's forces. On reaching Nuseerpoor, within eight coss of the Sindian army, he found that Mirza Jany Beg had with him upwards of one hundred large vessels, exclusive of two hundred boats filled with archers, musketeers, and artillery, though he had only twenty-five vessels. With these he boldly bore down to engage the Sindy fleet, himself taking up a commanding position on the bank of the river Indus, whence he not only surveyed the events of the action, but erected a battery on shore to act against the enemy. A shot having struck one of the Sindy boats, it caused confusion, which enabled the Mogul fleet to capture seven of the Sindy vessels, in which they put to death two hundred men. The action occurred on the 26th of Mohurrum, A.H. 1000 (Nov. 3, A.D. 1591), and lasted for a whole day and night, when the Sindies were eventually defeated. After this, Mirza Jany Beg taking up a position flanked on each side by a marsh on the bank of the river, strengthened it by throwing up a breast-work all round. Mirza Khan now proceeded to invest this entrenched camp; and daily skirmishes took place between the two armies, in which neither gained any apparent advantage, though many lives were lost. The Sindians, however, having cut off the supplies from Mirza Khan's camp, reduced it to a state of absolute famine, and compelled him to desist from the attack. Mirza Khan now marched to the south, and encamped at Ahwan (near the city of Tutta), detaching a force to renew the siege of Sehwan. Mirza Jany Beg, conceiving himself able to cope with that detachment, marched to intercept it. Mirza Khan, hearing of this movement, detached Dowlut Khan with reinforcements to join the Sehwan division; and Jany Beg gave battle, but was defeated, and taking to his boats fled to Arnool, where he prepared for another attack. The victorious army pursuing him, invested Arnool, where they were shortly afterwards joined by Mirza Khan in person. The besieged held out obstinately, though reduced to eat their horses and camels. But eventually Mirza Jany Beg offered to acknowledge fealty to the King of Dehly, to surrender the place, and to proceed to the presence in three months from the date of the peace, while it was agreed by Mirza Khan, on the other hand, to refrain from all hostile measures till orders could be received from court. Mirza Khan shortly after celebrated the nuptials of

his son Mirza Eerich with the daughter of Mirza Jany Beg. After the rainy season of the year A.H. 1001 (A.D. 1592), having occupied the forts of Bhukkur, Sehwan, and Tutta, Mirza Khan accompanied Mirza Jany Beg to the presence of Akbur Padshah, who created him a noble of the realm, and his dignities were enrolled in the public records, while Mirza Khan received great honours, also, from his sovereign; and from that date the whole kingdom of Sind reverted to the sovereignty of the empire of Dehly, as it continues at this day.

CHAPTER X

THE HISTORY OF KASHMEER

THE following brief account of Kashmeer is extracted from an interesting and authentic work on that country written by Mirza Heidur Doghlat, who is himself mentioned in the course of this history:—

Kashmeer lies to the N. E. of the district of Pugly, in the Punjab; it is almost surrounded by mountains; and the valley called Kashmeer is one hundred coss in length, and from ten to twenty in breadth. The soil is in general rich and produces fine crops both of grain and suffron the latter of which is particularly good; but the meadows on the banks of rivers being in general too moist for the purposes of cultivation, they are allowed to lie waste, and are covered with fine grass, interspersed with shamrocks, violets, and iris. The climate of Kashmeer, different from that of Hindoostan, is divided into four seasons as in northern countries. In summer the artificial aid of fans is not requisite, as a cool refeshing breeze constantly blows over the valley from the mountains; while the piercing cold of winter is tempered by its proximity to those hills covered with snow, which shield this favoured spot from the bleak blasts that prevail in the neighbouring steppes of Thibet and Tartary. Fires are commonly used in houses in winter, and are often absolutely necessary.

The houses in Kashmeer are high, most of them having five stories; they are commonly built of ebony. The streets are paved with cut stone. They have no bazars as in India; and there appear to be no open shops, except those of money-changers and linen-drapers. The butchers, cooks, bakers, and grocers, used not to expose their goods as in other countries; and even now the artisans take in work and execute it in their own houses. Since the invasion of the Choghtay Tartars (Moguls), the people expose their articles for sale. Kashmeer has always been famed for its fruit; it abounds with mulberries, cherries, and other fruits of the north, all of which are of excellent quality. The former, both large and small, are in great

plenty, but seldom eaten by the natives; as the trees are cultivated for the sole purpose of feeding the silk-worm, the produce of which is in great demand for exportation. Among the curiosities of Kashmeer are the Hindoo temples, the walls of which are composed of blocks of hewn stone laid so even upon each other, that they look, at a short distance, as if entirely one solid slab; they are neither cemented by mortar nor connected with leaden bars; many of the stones are from forty to sixty feet in length, and from three to fifteen feet in thickness and in width. Most of these edifices are surrounded by square walls from five to six hundred feet in length, and in many parts nearly one hundred feet in height. The temples are situated within these squares, and generally erected upon a stone terrace supported massive solid columns, each of a single stone; the apartments within are small, being in general only about twelve feet square, and on the walls are sculptures of human figures, some representing mirth, others grief. In the middle of one of the temples is a throne cut out from the solid rock, on which is a minaret with a dome.[1] The temples in Kashmeer are, on the whole, so magnificent, that I find myself unequal to give an adequate idea of them; and I imagine there are no such buildings of the kind in the known world. Near to Kashmeer is a district called Tirma,[2] wherein, at the foot of a hill, are some hot springs; which, though dry all the year round besides, gush out from the rock boiling hot when the sun enters the sign Taurus; and during that period two or three mills are kept in motion by the rapidity of the stream; but after a certain time this phenomenon ceases, and the spring dries up.[3] The mouth of the cavity from whence it takes its rise has been frequently built up with hewn stones cemented with lead; but the force of the water has in the ensuing year invariably expelled them. There is a remarkable willow in the district of Nakm, which has grown to such a height that it would be difficult to shoot an arrow over it; notwithstanding which, if you shake one of its

1. These appear to have been like the Cyclopeian cities of which we read, and which are occasionally discovered even in modern times.

2. It is celebrated for its shawl-manufactory. The best are called Tirma shawls.

3. Bernier visited the spring, and ascribes the phenomenon of its running only in the hot months to the melting of the snow at its source, which he conceives to be remotely situated within the mountains.

branches, the whole of the tree is put in motion. Among other curiosities in Kashmeer, is the reservoir of hot water at Dewsur. This piece of water is about sixty feet in length, around which are five shady trees overhanging it. The native consider the spot sacred, and say that when one wishes to know if any undertaking will prosper, he must take an earthen vessel, fill it with rice, and having secured the mouth so that water may be excluded, throw it into the holy font; if on coming up the rice is boiled, it is deemed a fortunate omen, but unpropitious if otherwise. The vessel has been known not to appear for five years, but never longer; though it sometimes appears in five days, five weeks, or five months; but it usually gives the decision on the same day on which the person consulting the oracle throws in the vessel.

In the town of Alwur is the palace of Zein-ool-Abid-Deen, one of the kings of Kashmeer. This building is elevated on a terrace thirty feet high, and six hundred feet long. The edifice was originally built of the lapis lazuli, and is situated in a garden which has perhaps never been surpassed for beauty. This monarch also built a handsome palace in his capital of Serinuggur, twelve stories high; in some of which stories are fifty different apartments. The whole is of wood, and considered more beautiful than the Husht-Behisht at Tabreez (Tauris), or the Bagh-i-Ragh, the Bagh-i-Sufeed, or the Bagh-i-Shehry of Hirat, the Ray-Afzay, the Dilgoosha, or the Tuvuloody of Samarkand; all of which are reckoned magnificent of their kind. The author of the Zuful Nama gives the following account of this province:—Kashmeer being seldom visited by travellers is, consequently, but little known. It is, however, a beautiful valley situated in 33°54′ north latitude. It is bounded on the south by Hindoostan, on the east by Little Thibet, on the north by Kashghar, and on the west and south-west by the country of the Afghans. The plain in which it is situated is, from the best of my information, in length, from east to west, one hundred coss; and in breadth, from north to south, twenty-five coss. It is entirely surrounded by mountains, and is said to contain one thousand villages. In consequence of the coldness of the climate at one season of the year, none of the tropical fruits, such as dates, limes or oranges, will flourish, but they are imported from the warmer countries contiguous. The town of Serinuggur, the capital of Kashmeer, like Bagdad, is situated on a river which

flows through it, and is larger than the Tigris. This river takes its rise in the Kashmeer hills, at a spot called the spring of Deebur. Three bridges of boats, as at Bagdad, are thrown across, by which people pass. The river changes its name when it leaves Kashmeer, and in some places is called the Dundana, in others the Jamna, till passing through the Punjab it falls into the Chunab; which rolling under the walls of Mooltan joins the Indus, and eventually reaches the sea of Ooman (the Indian ocean), near Tutta in Sind. This fortunate valley, situated in the midst of mountains, is by nature almost impregnable to an invading army. There are three roads which lead out of it. The first, towards Khorassan, is exceedingly difficult, and almost inpassable for cattle; but where these obstacles present themselves there are porters[4] whose business it is to transport goods and merchandise on their backs to a spot where cattle may be laden and procured. The road to India is equally bad, but the best and most practicable is that towards Thibet. On this road, however, is a plain, on which no other vegetable grows but a poisonous grass that destroys all the cattle which taste of it, and, therefore, no horsemen venture to travel that route. The inhabitants of Kashmeer, at the period of the Mahomedan invasion, were worshippers of the sun, adoring it as the emanation of an invisible Deity. In the reign of Futteh Shah, King of Kashmeer, one Shums-ood-Deen arrived from Irak, and began to disseminate doctrines different from those of any other known sect. His followers assumed the title of Noorbukhsh (Illuminati), but the holy men of the Mahomedan faith succeeded in putting down these sectarians; so that at the present period, the author of this history, Mahomed Kasim Ferishta, having been at some pains to ascertain what religion the inhabitants of Kashmeer now profess, has reason to think that the common people are Mahomedans of the Hunefy persuasion, though the soldiery are commonly Sheeas, as well as some few of the learned men. The King of Little Thibet, contiguous to Kashmeer, is so prejudiced in favour of Sheeas that he allows no man of any other faith to enter his towns. The tribe of Chuk, in Kashmeer, contends, that Meer Shums-ood-Deen of Irak was a Sheea, and that he converted many thousands of people, after which he was crowned in the name of the twelve Imams; and that

4. Franklin describes the porters, and their mode of expediting travellers over the mountains and chasms in the rocks.

the Ahowita, the book containing the tenets of the Noorbukshsh religion, is not the composition of that venerable personage, but the production of some ignorant infidel. God only knows on whom we are to depend.

SHUMS-OOD-DEEN

In the compilation of this history of Kashmeer, I pass over the series of years during which the infidels reigned over that country, the details of which are neither interesting nor authentic.[5] I shall, therefore, proceed to the period of the first establishment of the Mahomedan faith, which only took place within the last two or three centuries. The original inhabitants of Kashmeer appear to have been followers of Bramha, until the year A.H. 715 (A.D. 1315), during the reign of Raja Sena Dew, when a person called Shah Meer, coming to Kashmeer, was admitted into the service of that prince. This man traced his pedigreo thus: Shah Meer, the son of Tahir, the son of All, the son of Koorshasp, the son of Neekodur, a descendant from Arjoon an infidel; an account of whom is to be found in the Mahabharut, a work translated by order of Akbur Padshah.[6]

Shah Meer remained some time in the service of the Raja, and so entirely gained his confidence, that upon the death of Sena Dew he was appointed prime minister to his son and successor, Raja Runjun, and also succeeded to the high and responsible situation of governor to the next heir, Chundur Sein.

5. Ferishta wrote to enlighten his countrymen on the progress of the Mahomedans in India. To him, therefore, the Hindoo histories, which are usually mingled with mythology, would not only have been uninteresting but for the most part unintelligible. We have no reason to believe the Mahomedans ever studied Sanscrit. Sheikh Feizy, in the time of Akbur, appears to be the only exception of whom we have any account.

6. Shah Meer, a Persian, is the son of Tahir, an Arab, the son of All (of whom it would be difficult to trace an origin), who is the son or Koorshasp, a fire-worshipper, the son of Neekodur, another fire-worshipper, a descendant from Arjoon Pandoo, one of the Hindoo princes of Hustnapoor (Dehly), who lived at a period beyond historical research. It is surprising that a person of Ferishta's sagacity should have overlooked the evident absurdity of this pedigree.

Shortly afterwards, on the death of Raja Runjun, one Raja Anund Dew came from Kashghar,[7] and asserted his claim to the throne, as the nearest relation who had attained the age of manhood. Anund Dew also made Shah Meer his minister, and provided handsomely for his two eldest sons, Jumsheed and Ally Sheer. Shah Meer had also two other sons, called Siamook and Hindal. The whole of this family not only gained great ascendency over the Raja but also over the minds of the people, till the Raja, becoming jealous of their power, forbade them the court.

This exclusion drove Shah Meer and his sons into rebellion, when having occupied the valley of Kashmeer with their troops, most of the officers of the Raja's government also joined them. This insurrection soon brought the Raja to the grave, who died of a broken heart, in the year A.H. 727 (A.D, 1326). His wife, Rany Kowla Devy, who wished to take the reins of government out of the hands of the stranger, wrote to Shah Meer, entreating him to place Chundur Sein, the son of Raja Runjun, on the throne; and Shah Meer not assenting, the Rany collected an army, and marched to oppose him; but she was defeated, and taken prisoner. It appears, however, that she afterwards consented, though reluctantly, to become the wife of Shah Meer, and to embrace the Mahomedan faith; an event which secured to him the country which he had before nearly usurped. The second day after his marriage Shah Meer imprisoned his wife, and proclaimed himself King, under the title of Shums-ood-Deen, causing coin to be struck, and public prayers to be read, in his name, and he established the Hunefy doctrines of the Mahomedan religion throughout Kashmeer. On his accession, he took off the heavy imposts under which the people laboured, protected them from the annual exactions of Diljoo, chief of Kashghar, and fixed the assessment on land at seventeen per cent. on the gross produce.[8] The inroads and predatory incursions of the surrounding nations, especially those of Diljoo, which during the reign of Sena Dew had laid waste the whole valley, were now checked by the valour of Shums-ood-Deen, who, upon one occasion, marched

7. It is probable this Hindoo prince had been compelled to seek safety in Kashghar, being the nearest heir to the crown of Sena Dew.

8. Would that Shums-ood-Deen's assessment had extended throughout India !

in to Kashghar, and severely retaliated on the Tatars for their former incursions.

During the reign of Shums-ood-Deen, he divided the inhabitants of Kashmeer into two classes, the one called Chuk, the other Makry, and would not entertain any man as a soldier who was not of one or other of these tribes. After having established certain other rules and regulations, he abdicated his throne in favour of his two elder sons, Jumsheed and Ally Sheer, and in the same year died, after a reign of twenty-three years (A.H. 750, A.D. 1349).

JUMSHEED

On the death of Shums-ood-Deen, his eldest son, Jumsheed, aided by many of the nobles, ascended the throne; but shortly afterwards the soldiery being attached to his younger brother, Ally Sheer, induced him to proclaim himself at the town of Mednypoor. Jumsheed immediately marched with an army against his rival, and proposed to negotiate a peace rather than draw his sword against his brother; but Ally Sheer, aware he could gain nothing by an amicable settlement, made a night-attack on Jumsheed's army, and completely defeated it After his retreat Jumsheed again returned to the charge, and took the town of Mednypoor, which was carried by storm, after a desperate resistance by the garrison, which was almost entirely cut to pieces. Ally Sheer, who had previously left Mednypoor, now returned with his army, and compelled Jumsheed to fly to Gujraj; while Siraj-ood-Deen, his prime minister, having invited Ally Sheer to Serinuggur, he was there received as King. Jumsheed made no further efforts to regain his government, but shortly afterwards, died after a reign of fourteen months (A.H. 752, A.D. 1351).

ALLA-OOD-DEEN

On the death of Jumsheed, Ally Sheer was proclaimed King, under the title of Alla-ood-Deen; and he appointed his younger brother, Siamook, to the office of minister. During his reign a

severe death was experienced in Kashmeer, to which many people of both sexes fell victims. About the same period, some bramins endeavoured to emigrate to Kashghar; and the King, supposing it to be for the purpose of creating revolt, caused them to be seized and confined for life. A law was enacted during this reign, by which no woman convicted of being false to her husband could inherit his property. Alla-ood-Deen founded the city of Allapoor, near the town of Bukhshypoor, where he died, after a reign of thirteen years (A.H. 763, A.D. 1363).

SHAHAB-OOD-DEEN

On the death of his elder brother, Siamook succeeded to the government, with the title of Shahab-ood-Deen. He was the first of the Kashmeer monarchs who appears to have marched for the purpose of making foreign conquests; for shortly after his accession he proceeded with an army through the Punjab, and encamped on the banks of the Indus, where he was opposed by the Jam of Sind, whom he completely defeated. The fame of this event reached even the provinces of Kandahar and Ghizny, whose governors were apprehensive he would next make a descent upon them. Having passed through the city of Ashnuggur, he invaded Pishawur, where he put to death many of the inhabitants who opposed him, and thence marched to the Hindoo Koosh; but finding those mountains inaccessible, he retraced his steps, and encamped on the banks of the Sutlooj. Here he was met by the Raja of Nagrakote, who had returned from a plundering excursion into the Dehly country; and having come back laden with spoils, he placed them at the feet of Shahab-ood-Deen, and acknowledged fealty to that monarch. On his return to Kashmeer he was met by an envoy from the King of Little Thibet, who begged that he would not invade his country. Shortly after which he created his younger brother, Hindal, heir-apparent. His own two sons, Hussun Khan and Ally Khan, being outlawed and expelled the kingdom at the instigation of his second wife, fled to Dehly. And although he recalled the former before his death, Alla-ood-Deen died previously to his arrival at Jummoo.

The towns of Lutchmynuggur and Shahabpoor were built by this prince. He reigned for a period of twenty years, and died A.H. 785 (A.D. 1386).

KOOTB-OOD-DEEN

On the death of Shahab-ood-Deen, his brother Hindal ascending the throne, assumed the title of Kootb-ood-Deen. This prince was remarkable for his extreme attention to public business, which he transacted in person, and generally with justice and moderation. In the latter part of his reign he deputed an officer with a force to reduce the fort of Lohkote, then in a state of revolt. After some several actions on both sides the Kashmeer officer was killed; and Kootb-ood-Deen shortly after recalled his nephew, Hussun Khan, who, upon the news of his father's death, retired from Jummoo to Dehly. Hussun Khan having reached Kashmeer became so popular as to excite the King's jealousy, who resolved to secure his person; but the Prince being warned of his danger by Ray Rawul, fled to Lohkote, and gave additional confidence to that rebellious garrison, Kootb-ood-Deen now seized the person of Ray Rawul, but he effected his escape, and joined Hussun Khan, with whom he concerted additional plans of revolt; but in their attempt to gain the surrounding zemindars, they were betrayed, seized, and sent to the King, who ordered Ray Rawul to be executed, and his nephew, Hussum Khan, to be imprisoned. In the latter part of his reign, it pleased God to give to the old King two sons, the one called Sugga and the other Heibut Khan. After having reigned for a period of fifteen years, Kootb-ood-Deen died in the year A.H. 799 (A.D. 1396).

SIKUNDUR BOOTSHIKUN
OR
ALEXANDER THE ICONOCLAST

Kootb-ood-Deen was succeeded by his son Sugga, who assumed the title of Sikundur, and subsequently acquired the surname of Bootshikun, or the Iconoclast. In consequence of his tender years, his mother, the Dowager-queen, whose name was Soorut Rany, exercised the supreme control for a considerable period;

during which time she caused her own daughter and son-in-law to be put to death, because she discovered they had entered into an intrigue against her son, the young king. The prime minister, Ray Makry, secretly poisoned the King's younger brother, Heibut Khan, for which, when the King heard of it, he swore he would take revenge at some future period, for the minister had too great power at that time to admit of his attempting it. Ray Makry, perceiving that he was suspected as the cause of Heibut Khan's death, proposed to the King to permit him to lead an army against Little Thibet, in order to evade his master's vengeance, and the latter, not without hopes that he might fall a victim in the expedition, allowed him to march. So far from it, however, Ray Makry succeeded in reducing the kingdom of Little Thibet, and added to his reputation and strength, so that he actually marched against Kashmeer to subvert the government. He was opposed on the Thibet frontier by the King in person, and sustained a total overthrow at the town of Nere. Ray Makry sought temporary safety in flight, but being subsequently seized, he was kept in confinement; in which situation he put an end to his existence by poison, while the King was occupied in making the proper arrangements for settling the newly acquired province of Thibet.

At this period, Ameer Teimoor (Tamerlane), being about to invade India, sent an ambassador with a present of an elephant to Sikundur in Kashmeer, who, on ascertaining the future intentions of that conqueror, sent word that he was ready to join him with his army at any place he might appoint. Ameer Teimoor replied, that he should require his services and assistance in the Punjab, after his return from the conquest of Dehly. On Ameer Teimoor reaching the Punjab, after having crossed the Sewalik mountains, Sikundur of Kashmeer marched to meet him; but on learning that he expected him to bring three thousand horses and one hundred thousand pieces of gold as an offering, he returned to his capital; and a serious offence might have been taken by Teimoor, had he not early explained himself, by denying his having ever entertained any such expectations. Sikundur now proceeded to pay his respects; but in the mean time Teimoor crossed the Indus, and being in full march to Samarkand, the King of Kashmeer returned to Serinuggur.

Sikundur gave great encouragement to literature, and rendered his capital as famous for learning as Irak and Khorassan.

In these days he promoted a bramin, by name Seeva Dew Bhut, to the office of prime minister, who embracing the Mahomedan faith, became such a persecutor of Hindoos that he induced Sikundur to issue orders proscribing the residence of any other than Mahomedans in Kashmeer; and he required that no man should wear the mark on his forehead, or any woman be permitted to burn with her husband's corpse.[9] Lastly, he insisted on all the golden and silver images being broken and melted down, and the metal coined into money. Many of the bramins, rather than abandon their religion or their country, poisoned themselves; some emigrated from their native homes, while a few escaped the evil of banishment by becoming Mahomedans. After the emigration of the bramins, Sikundur ordered all the temples in Kashmeer to be thrown down; among which was one dedicated to Maha Dew, in the district of Punjhuzara, which they were unable to destroy, in consequence of its foundation being below the surface of the neighbouring water. But the temple dedicated to Jug Dew was levelled with the ground; and on digging into its foundation the earth emitted volumes of fire and smoke,[10] which the infidels declared to be the emblem of the wrath of the Deity; but Sikundur, who witnessed the phenomenon, did not desist till the building was entirely rased to the ground, and its foundations dug up.

9. The consequence of prohibiting the marks on the forehead of Hindoos was deeply felt by our own government in the year 1806; that of prohibiting suttees has yet to be tribed. It is useful to have had experience of the effects produced in the one instance; and a knowledge that the abolition of the latter practice was one of the measures adopted by a powerful Mahomedan king, in the midst of a Mahomedan population, by way of striking a death-blow at the Hindoo religion, is not without its value. In the progress of knowledge in India, every rational advance towards what we term civilisation in Europe may be fairly anticipated; but woe to the hand that ventures to tear aside with violence the veil of superstition, in that or any other country, before its people are prepared to remove it through the efforts of reason, and the effects of liberal education !

10. The spontaneous fire-pits of Badkoo, or Bakou, on the western shores of the Caspian, will probably be in the recollection of most of my readers; and the same phenomenon at Kashmeer, in nearly the same parallel of latitude, ought not, therefore, to surprise us.

In another place in Kashmeer was a temple built by Raja Bulnat, the destruction of which was attended with a remarkable incident. After it had been levelled, and the people were employed in digging the foundation, a copper-plate was discovered, on which was the following inscription:—

"Raja Bulnat, having built this temple, was desirous of ascertaining from his astrologers how long it would last, and was informed by them, that after eleven hundred years, a king named Sikundur would destroy it, as well as the other temples in Kashmeer." The King was surprised, though vexed, that the Hindoo prophet should have predicted the truth, and declared, if they had placed the plate against the wall, he would have preserved the temple to believe the prophet. Having broken all the images in Kashmeer, he acquired the title of the Iconoclast, "Destroyer of Idols." Among other good[11] institutions of Sikundur was the prohibition of vending wine, and the relinquishment of all export duties. At length, in his old age, having contracted a violent fever, he sent for his three sons, Ameer Khan, Shady Khan, and Mahomed Khan, to whom he gave his blessing; and declaring Ameer Khan his successor, with the title of Ally Shah, he died A.H. 819 (A.D. 1416), after a reign of nearly twenty years.

ALLY SHAH

In consequence of the veneration for the memory of Sikundur, his eldest son, Ameer Khan, was acknowledged King of Kashmeer, under the title of Ally, although as yet a minor. In the beginning of his reign, the whole of the affairs of the state devolved upon Seeva Dew Bhut, the prime minister. That statesman, with all the zeal of a convert, persecuted the few bramins who still remained firm to their religion; and by putting all to death who refused to embrace Mahomedanism, he drove those who still lingered in Kashmeer entirely out of that kingdom. Shortly after the King's accession, the minister, being seized with a spitting of blood, died. Ally immediately appointed his younger brother,

11. The civilised European will not very readily allow that the prohibition of the sale of fermented liquors could possibly be considered a *good* institution.

Shady Khan, to transact the business of the state in his stead; and in a very short time took the resolution of travelling in foreign countries. He, in consequence, associated his youngest brother, Mahomed Khan, with Shady Khan, and went to visit his father-in-law, the Raja of Jummoo. This prince strongly dissuaded Ally Shah from prosecuting his design, and advised him by all means to re-assume charge of his government. His two brothers, however, flatly refused to acknowledge him. The Raja of Jummoo, therefore, in conjunction with the Raja of Rajoory, collected troops for the purpose of reinstating Ally Shah. Shady Khan was obliged to fly and take refuge at Seealkote, with Jusrut, the brother of Sheikha Gukkur, who had made his escape from Teimoor, and settled in the Punjab. Jusrut, espousing the cause of Shady Khan, attacked Ally Shah and defeated him; on which occasion it is asserted by some, that he fell into the hands of the conqueror, while others affirm, that having fled from the scene of action he was pursued by Shady Khan into Kashmeer, whence he was obliged to fly his country, and Shady Khan was crowned at Serinuggur in his stead. Ally reigned for a period of seven years, and his brother ascended the throne in the year A.H. 826 (A.D 1422).

ZEIN-OOL-ABID-DEEN

SHADY KHAN ascended the throne under the title of Zein-ood-Abid-Deen, and immediately sent a large force, with Jusrut Gukkur, to conquer the Punjab, and eventually to attack Dehly. Although unable to cope with the King of Dehly, Jusrut completely subdued the Punjab. Zein-ool-Abid-Deen, meanwhile, marched towards Thibet; and having subjected great part of that country to his authority, he associated his brother, Mahomed Khan, in the government, and determined to abolish the odious persecution adopted by Seeva Dew Bhut, the late prime minister. Preliminary to all other measures, he recalled the bramins who had been expelled, and caused a general toleration of all religions to be publicly notified. Temples were again permitted to be built, and each individual worshipped his God agreeably to the faith in which he was educated. The King superintended in person the construction of several canals and aqueducts; and

established a code of laws which were engraved on copper-plates, and placed in all the public markets and halls of justice. His lenity was carried to such lengths, that he never put to death any individual of the state for theft or petty crimes; but robbers of all descriptions were fettered, and obliged to gain their livelihood by hard work, in the construction of public edifices. With all these regal virtues, he associated that domestic one so rarely practised, of strict fidelity to his only wife. He encouraged literature and the arts; and the science of music in his days was much improved by the different books written on the subject.[12] During his reign, the Raja of Thibet sent a pair of birds caught on the lake of Mansurowur. They were excessively beautiful, and were called the royal geese; and possessed the extraordinary faculty of separating particles of milk from water, if they were mixed, after which they used to drink each separately.[13]

In the beginning of his reign, Zein-ool-Abid-Deen nominated his brother Mahomed Khan to the office of prime minister, and associated him in the government; and after his death, he invested his son Heidur, with all the dignities of his father. The King also honoured his two foster-brothers, Musaood and Sheeroo, with great confidence and high offices; but having had a dispute, Sheeroo put his elder brother, Musaood, to death, for which the King caused him to be tried and executed; but afterwards distributed a crore of rupees, equal to four hundred seers[14] of solid gold among the poor, for the salvation of his soul.

Zein-ool-Abid-Deen had three sons, Adhum, Hajy, and Beiram; the eldest he always disliked; and though the second was his favourite, yet he gave to the third a large tract of country, over which he appointed him governor. After arriving at the age of manhood, the three princes becoming jealous of each other evinced symptoms of direct hostility, and the King thought it better to divide them : he therefore placed the eldest son, Adhum Khan, at the head of an army to invade Thibet, and sent his second son against Lohkote. The former succeeded in overrunn-

12. The science of music seems to be almost lost in India, though there are books on the subject in the Sanscrit language, the stores of which are as yet scarcely penetrated by our best oriental scholars.

13. The royal goose of lake Mansurowur is the swan of Europe: but we have never heard of its possessing the remarkable quality here alluded to.

14. Eight hundred pounds weight.

ing Thibet, and returned, covered with glory, and laden with spoils, to the capital, while the favourite son, Hajy Khan, having subdued Lohkote, marched with his army against his father in Kashmeer. Zein-ool-Abid-Deen collected his troops, and in the mean time sent letters full of kindness and advice to his son, but without effect. He therefore marched with his army, and encamped on the plain of Buleel. Hajy Khan wished to decline attacking his father; but his troops commenced the action without orders, and many brave officers were killed on both sides. Adhum Khan behaved in the most gallant manner during the battle; and Hajy Khan, unable to withstand the brunt of the royal forces, after a severe engagement, which lasted from sunrise to sunset, was defeated, and fled to Heerpoor, whither he was followed by Adhum Khan, who was restrained by his father from further pursuit. Hajy Khan having collected a small part of his force at that place retreated to the town of Nere. Meanwhile the King, returning to his capital, caused a pillar to be built, round which were suspended the heads of those rebels who had been taken prisoners in the engagement. At this time he deputed Adhum Khan with a force to march and attack the fort of Gujraj; where having seized several of those persons who first promoted the insurrection, he executed them, and seized their property. This measure had the effect of inducing the few Gujraj soldiers who were with Hajy Khan to desert, and go over to Adhum Khan, whom the King at this period declared his representative, and heir to the throne. Adhum Khan ruled for a period of six years, when the inhabitants, suffering severely from his mal-administration, made their complaints to the King at Serinuggur, who sent repeated injunctions to his son. Adhum Khan paid no attention to these communications; but collecting a force at Kootb-ood-Deenpoor, he threatened to attack the capital. The King, however, made terms with him, and pointed out the province of Gujraj as a fit object to gratify his ambition. After his march thither, however, Adhum Khan was reduced to the humiliation of beseeching the assistance of his exiled brother, Hajy Khan. Instead of rendering it, Hajy Khan attacked his brother, but was defeated at the town of Seevapoor, which Adhum Khan laid in ashes. On receipt of this information, the King sent his whole army to attack Adhum Khan, when a severe action took place, in which the latter was defeated, many of his best soldiers killed in the retreat; and, of

those who fled to the town of Seevapoor, on the Behut, upwards of three hundred were drowned. The King after this victory joined his army, and marched to Seevapoor, while Adhum Khan was encamped on the opposite bank of the Behut. At this period, Hajy Khan, the King's favourite son, arrived at the town of Baramoola. The King sent his youngerest son, Beiram Khan, to congratulate him on his arrival. Adhum Khan now fled with his force by the route of Shahabad to the banks of the Neelab, and the King returned to his capital. At this time he proclaimed his favourite, and now penitent son, Hajy Khan, heir-apparent; who endeavoured to atone for his misconduct by assiduity and attention to his father in his old age. The King was, however, distressed to perceive with what indifference this young man received his advice, with respect to abstaining from the use of wine, and from other licentious habits. Hajy Khan, who conducted all public affairs, was now seized with a bloody flux, and the King's age prevented his transacting business. Seeing matters in this state, the chiefs sent secretly for Adhum Khan, who, appearing at the capital, visited the King, but he refused to forgive him. The Prince Adhum Khan, however, profited by his presence at the capital, and carried on an intrigue against his brother, wishing to be again acknowledged heir; a measure to which he could not induce the chiefs to accede without the King's assent. These chiefs daily urged his Majesty to declare in favour of one or other of his sons, which he obstinately declined; and it is supposed that the dissensions in the palace speedily put an end to the torments of his mind, as he died shortly after, in the sixty-ninth year of his age, A.H. 877 (A.D. 1472), after a reign of nearly fifty-two years.

Before the death of the King, the youngest prince, Beiram Khan, gained so much advantage over his eldest brother, Adhum Khan, that the latter, finding himself completely deserted, marched to Kootb-ood-Deenpoor, where he was frequently attacked by the King's forces, commanded by two younger brothers, Hajy Khan and Beiram Khan; and being at length compelled to fly, he took the route of Badral to Hindoostan, while Hajy Khan's party was strengthened by the arrival of his son Hussun Khan; so that on the death of the King, Hajy Khan ascended the throne without opposition.

HEIDUR

AFTER the burial of the King, his second son, Hajy Khan, was crowned at Sikundurpoor by his brother Beiram, and assumed the title of Heidur. The new king's first act was to raise his son Hussun Khan to the office of Ameer-ool-Omra, bestowing upon him, at the same time, the district of Gujraj as an estate for life, and proclaiming him heir to the crown. He also conferred the district of Nakam on his younger brother, Beiram Khan, and dismissed with presents the several rajas who had come to Sikundurpoor to celebrate his coronation. His subsequent conduct, however, by no means realised the hopes which the nation had entertained of him. He gave himself up entirely to scandalous excesses, and permitted his ministers to exercise flagrant acts of injustice and oppression on his subjects. As an instance of which, he formed a disreputable connection with one Booby, a barber, who, becoming the medium of communication between the King and the people, took from them large bribes for his pretended or real services. Hussun Kechy,[15] an officer who had distinguished himself in supporting the claims of Hajy Khan to the throne, suffered death through the intrigues of this miscreant. Affairs were in this state, when Adhum Khan, returning from Hindoostan to Jummoo, induced the raja of that province to support his claim; but in the mean time, an attack being made on Jummoo by a party of Moguls, Adhum Khan was killed by an arrow, which entering the mouth, penetrated his skull. When the King heard of the death of his brother he caused his body to be brought to Kashmeer, and buried in the vault with his father. In consequence of the shameful conduct of the King, the nobles intimated to his younger brother, Beiram Khan, their willingness to aid in deposing Heidur. This plot coming to the ears of Futteh Khan, the son of the late Adhum Khan, he resolved to try his fortune, and therefore marched to the capital, in order, as he stated, to lay at the King's feet the spoils which he had taken from the surrounding countries. Having appeared at court, however, without the royal permission, many of the courtiers whispered stories against him, which induced the King to refuse to see him, or to employ him in any public capacity. Such was the state of

15. An inhabitant of the province of Kech, contiguous to Mikran.

parties at the court, when the King, who was one evening carousing on the terrace of his palace, became much intoxicated. On attempting to go below, his foot slipped, and falling from a great height, he was killed, after a short and inglorious reign of fourteen months, A.H. 878 (A.D. 1473).

HUSSUN

HEIDUR was succeeded by his son Hussun, through the zealous assistance of one Ahmud Ahoo. Having imprisoned all his opponents, the King established his capital at Nowshehra, appointing Ahmud Ahoo his prime minister, with the title of Mullick Ahmud, and his son, Nowroze, to the office of Ameer-i-Dur.[16] The King's uncle, Beiram Khan, quitted Kashmeer in disgust, and went to India. Hussun renewed the laws and edicts of his grandfather, Zein-ool-Abid-Deen, which had fallen into disuse during the short reign of his father; but some malecontents, who disliked the new order of things, and expecting to derive advantage from a change in the government, invited Beiram Khan to return, persuading him that he would easily succeed in establishing himself on the throne. Beiram Khan marched from India by the route of Kurmar with this view, and penetrating through the hills, arrived without opposition in the province of Gujraj. The King, who had moved towards Depalpoor, now proceeded to Seevapoor, in order to attack his uncle. He was persuaded by some of his officers to invade India; but his minister, Mullik Ahmud, recommended him to suspend all other objects till the force of his uncle was dispersed. A large detachment under Mullik Taj Bhut opposed Beiram Khan, who on his part expected to be joined by many officers of the Kashmeer army. In this hope he was disappointed; and in an action which took place at Looloopoor, Beiram Khan was defeated, and fled to Zeinpoor; and both he and his son being taken prisoners were brought before the King. Hussun ordered his uncle's eyes to be put out, and he only survived the operation three days. This rebellion being subdued, the King deputed his commander-in-chief, Mullik Taj Bhut, at the instigation of the Raja of Jummoo, to march

16. Ameer-i-Dur, or the Lord of the Entrance, answers to the Kapouchy Bashy of European Turkey.

with the united forces of Kashmeer and Jummoo, by the route of Rajoory, against the King of Dehly. Ajeet Dew, the Raja of Jummoo, having joined and taken command of the allied army, was opposed by Tartar Khan, the Dehly governor of the contiguous district, when the Kashmeer troops were defeated, and Tartar Khan, penetrating into Jummoo, sacked the town of Seealkote. At this period, the King had two sons born, the eldest (Mahmood Khan) he delivered over to Mullik Taj Bhut, and the youngest (Hoossein Khan) to Mullik Nowroze, the son of his minister Mullik Ahmud. Unfortunately, about this period, disputes arising between Mullik Ahmud and Mullik Taj Bhut, dissensions spread among the nobles, which eventually caused much bloodshed. These civil feuds went so far, that the combatants, on one occasion, absolutely entered the royal appartments with Mullik Ahmud at their head. Such a mark of disrespect induced the King to imprison the minister, who died in confinement of a broken heart. Syud Nasir, one of the King's favourites, who had been distinguished at the court of Zein-ool-Abid-Deen, was so banished, and he shortly afterwards died. The King, however, made the family of the latter some reparation, by inviting his son, Syud Hussun, from Dehly, and appointing him prime minister. That nobleman entirely disappointed the hopes entertained of him; for as soon as he obtained sufficient influence he exercised it in effecting the destruction of many of the other nobles, and in confining the commander-in-chief, Mullik Taj Bhut. Among other officers who fled from his persecution was Jehangeer Makry, who took protection in the fort of Lohkote. Shortly afterwards, the King being taken dangerously ill, by a relapse of his old complaint, the flux, and seeing that he could not long survive, sent for his minister, and thus addressed him:—"All my own children are too young to be placed in charge of the government; it is, therefore, my wish, that one of my nephews, either Yoosoof Khan, the son of Beiram Khan, or Futteh Khan, the son of Adhum Khan, should succeed me." The minister, pretending submission, promised obedience, and the King shortly afterwards died. But we are not informed of the exact time when this event happened, and, consequently, are unable to fix the precise limit of his reign, which, I am led to believe, must have been about nineteen years (A.H. 891, A.D. 1486).

MAHOMED

IMMEDIATELY after the burial of the King, his prime minister, Syud Hussun, elevated the Prince Mahomed (the late monarch's eldest son) to the throne of Kashmeer, at the age of seven years. On which occasion the contents of the royal treasury, together with the robes and armoury, being displayed before him, the child put aside the jewels and splendid apparel, and laid hold of a bow; from which circumstance a happy omen was drawn that the young king would be a great warrior. The minister, Syud Hussun, being proclaimed regent, prevented any person from having communication with him; which giving offence to the other nobles, they obtained the support of Pursaram, the Raja of Jummoo, and put Syud Hussun and thirty other Syuds to death; after which, having crossed the Behut and broken the bridge, they encamped on the opposite bank of the river, and collected a force. Syud Mahomed, the son of the regent, and the King's uncle,[17] mustered the royal guards, and proceeded to the palace for his protection. The inhabitants of the city were desirous of releasing Yoosoof Khan, the son of Beiram Khan, and placing him on the throne, or, indeed, any member of the royal family who had attained manhood, and who was able both to defend his own rights, and protect his subjects from the horrors of another civil war. The Syud party, on obtaining the first intimation of the feeling of the people, rushed into the person of the unfortunate Yoosoof, headed by Syud Ally Khan and murdered him. Their hands were yet reeking with his blood, when they encountered Mullik Taj Bhut; who, boldly upbraiding them for their conduct, also fell a victim to their fury on the spot. Syud Ally Khan, being now at the head of a large body of Syuds, opposed the opposite party, and some severe actions occurred. During these dissensions the town became much infested by thieves. In this state of affairs the Syud dug a ditch round the city. They confiscated the property, and levelled the houses, of those citizens who joined their enemies on the opposite side of the river: while Jehangeer Makry who had previously sought safety in the fort of Lohkote, joined them, in spite of advantageous offers made to him by the Syuds. Shortly afterwards, Dawood, the son of Jehangeer, crossed the bridge with a small party of the insurgents, and attacked the Syuds; but the most of the assail-

17. The King's mother was the sister of Syud Mahomed.

ants falling victims, their heads were elevated on the public minarets, in view of those encamped on the opposite bank of the river. The Syuds, on the following day, made an attack on the lines of the popular party; but they were vigorously opposed by the citizens in their attempt to cross the bridge of boats, on which many of the Syud party were slain; till at length, the bridge giving way, those who were on it at the time were drowned. The Syuds now deputed a messenger to Tartar Khan, governor of the Punjab, for assistance; who, in consequence, sent a considerable force towards the capital of Kashmeer: but on its arrival at Bhimbur it was attacked by Howns, the raja of that place, and completely dispersed. Meanwhile the insurgents kept the Syuds on the alert, and closely besieged them for two months in Serinuggur, till at last they resolved on storming that city; for which purpose they crossed the Behut by three separate boat-bridges. The attacking party was opposed by the Syuds, who were overpowered by numbers, and sought safety behind the ditch within the walls; whither they were so closely pursued by the citizens, that the latter succeeded in entering and setting fire to the town, and slew upwards of two thousand of the Syud party. The Kashmeeries now proceeded in a body to the palace of the young king, and with their own hands placed the crown on his head in the year A.H. 892 (A.D. 1486). They then insisted on the banishmnet of Syud Ally Khan and the rest of the Syuds; and also on the dismissal of Pursaram, Raja of Jummoo, from the King's councils. Having obtained these objects, it remained to be seen what could be done to satisfy their expectations of personal advantage. Each Kashmeery demanded some permanent for his services, which the state being unable to grant, the prospect of another civil war presented itself. At this period Futteh Khan, (the son of Adhum Khan, and grandson of Zein-ool-Abid-Deen), who had arrived at Rajoory, reached Jalindur, in order to take advantage of circumstances. He was joined by many malecontents, and marched towards Kashmeer. Futteh Khan expected to have been supported by Jehangeer Makry; but after the success of his party, that officer joined the King, and accompanied him with an army to oppose the invader. Futteh Khan, meanwhile, proceeded by the route of Heerpoor as far as the town of Oodown, and encamped, with a marsh covering his front; in which position he was attacked by a body of Kashmeer troops, which were repulsed and put to flight; but the main body

of the King's troops behaved with so much intrepidity, particularly the King's personal guard, with Jehangeer Makry at their head, that Futteh Khan was in the end defeated, with the loss of fifty men, and was nearly taken prisoner. Meanwhile a report prevailed through the camp that the King had fallen into the enemy's hands; which induced Jehangeer Makry to give up farther pursuit, and to return to camp, where he found all safe. Futteh Khan's army being dispersed, the King returned to the capital; deputing Mullik Yar Bhut to lay waste the country of the Raja of Rajoory, who had afforded Futteh Khan an asylum in his dominions. Futteh Khan now disappeared for some time, but at length collecting a force in the district of Purngola, he marched towards Serinuggur. Jehangeer Makry proceeded with the royal army to a place called Gukkur, in the district of Makam: but his attention was again directed towards the capital, on hearing that two state-prisoners, named Suffy and Runga Ray, as well as others confined at Serinuggur, had made their escape. In this conjuncture, Jehangeer Makry resolved to accomplish by stratagem what he thought would be doubtful in fair battle: he therefore held out promises and advantages to the Raja of Rajoory, to induce him to join the King's troops. The intrigue succeeded: Futteh Khan was compelled to retreat to the south, but he attacked and overran the district of Jummoo: and collecting more soldiers, returned to Kashmeer a third time. At this period, the King and Jehangeer Makry recalled the Syud exiles. After their arrival an action took place between the King's army and that of Futteh Khan, in which both sides displayed great courage, but the pretender was defeated. He was, however, soon again in the field; and having attacked the royalists, gave them a total overthrow. The King, on this occasion, was left without a single attendant; and his general, Jehangeer Makry, being severely wounded, sought safety in flight. Mahomed, thus abandoned even by his servants, was seized by the zemindars of Kashmeer, on his return to the capital, and delivered into the hands of Futteh Khan, after a reign of nearly eleven years. From that period he remained a close prisoner, receiving as mild treatment as was consistent with his situation (A.H. 902, A.D. 1496).

On the imprisonment of Mahomed, Futteh Khan, assuming the reins of government, and being formally crowned, was acknowledged King of Kashmeer in the year 902; and appointed Suffy and Runga Ray, the two officers who had lately made

their escape, his ministers. About this time, one Meer Shums-sood-Deen, a disciple of Shah Kasim Anwur, the son of Syud Mahomed Noorbukhsh, arrived in Kashmeer from Irak. Futteh Khan made over to this holy personage all the confiscated lands which had lately fallen to the crown; and his disciples went forth destroying the temples of the idolaters, in which they met with the support of the government, so that no one dared to oppose them. In a short time many of the Kashmeeries, particularly those of the tribe of Chuk, became converts to the Noorbukhsh tenets. The persuasion of this sect was connected with that of the Sheeas; but many proselytes, who had not tasted of the cup of grace,[18] after the death of Meer Shums-ood-Deen, reverted to their idols. Religious disputes went to such lengths among the nobles of the state, that they even drew their swords in the King's presence, and slew each other in the hall of audience. During these broils, Mullik Atchy and Shunkur Zeina, two Kashmeer chiefs, having released the late king, Mahmood, carried him to Baramoola, where they intended to raise a force, and replace him on the throne; but as he showed no symptoms of that energy and resolution necessary to carry their project into effect, they determined to deliver him over again into Futteh Khan's hands. Mahomed, discovering their project, made his escape in the night. Futteh Khan now divided his kingdom into three principalities; and having secured one portion for himself, delivered over the other two to Mullik Atchy and Shunkur Zeina. On the former person he bestowed the title of Wuzeer Mootluk, and on the latter, that of Divan-i-Kool. Such was the state of affairs for some years, when at length Ibrahim, the son of Jehangeer Makry, who had been appointed to his father's situation in the army,

18. In India, as well as in most Mahomedan countries, the people have their domestic tutelary saints, at whose shrine, after their death, one or more of their disciples reside to receive or to make proselytes; on which occasion the devotee, after receiving *absolution* and hearing a lecture, is sometimes required to repeat from memory a particular creed, and is then initiated among the disciples of the shrine by sipping wine out of a vessel called the miraculous cup, or cup of grace. These saints, in all parts of the East, have great influence over their followers; but no where is that power more extensive than in India, and in no part of India, I believe, is the devotion so complete as throughout the Deccan, from the Nurbudda to Ceylon. The influence of the saints, or fakeers, has frequently been felt in our native army, and may, if not carefully watch, be experienced again, in the most fatal manner.

went to Hindoostan, and returned to Kashmeer, bringing with him the exiled king, Mahomed, to re-establish his claims. An action ensued at Baramoola, which terminated in favour of Mahomed; and Futteh Khan, being compelled to fly, took the route of Heerpoor to Hindoostan.

After the defeat of Futteh Khan, which happened when he had held the reins of government for ten years (A.H. 911, A.D. 1505), Mahomed re-ascended the throne; and nominating Ibrahim Makry to the office of minister, he proclaimed Iskundur Khan, a lineal descendant from Shahab-ood-Deen, heir-apparent. On this occasion he put to death the sons of Mullik Atchy, who were kept at the capital as pledges for their father's behaviour by Futteh Khan. Some time after the second accession of Mahomed, Futteh Khan returned to Kashmeer at the head of a large army; and Mahomed, not having the means or the courage to oppose him, fled, and left the government in the possession of his rival, after a short reign of about ten months, A.H. 912, (A.D. 1506).

Futteh Khan re-assumed his functions as King of Kashmeer without opposition, and appointed one Jehangeer, of the tribe of Budra, his minister of state, and Shunkur Zeina his minister of finance. After the second expulsion of Mahomed, that monarch sought protection at the court of Sikundur Lody of Dehly, who sent a large force to replace him on his throne; and on the march to Kashmeer he was joined by Jehangeer Budra, who deserted Futteh Khan on account of some slight imposed on him. The army of Mahomed entering Kashmeer by the route of Rajoory, was opposed by the forces of Futteh Khan, commanded by Jehangeer Makry, who with his son were both killed in the action. The Kashmeer troops were defeated, and Futteh Khan again compelled to fly to Hindoostan, where he subsequently died, after his second reign, which lasted for little more than a year (A.H. 913, A.D. 1507).

On the third accession of Mahomed, he placed in close confinement Shunkur Zeina, the late minister of finance, retaining Mullik Atchy in his office of minister of state. After being firmly seatd on his throne, he put to death many of the nobles of the court of Futteh Khan, among whom were Suffy and Runga Ray; Shunkur Zeina also eventually died in prison.

In the year A.H. 922 (A.D. 1516), the body of Futteh Khan was brought by his servants from Hindoostan into Kashmeer;

and Mahomed went out on foot, attended by a solemn mourning party, to meet it, and followed it to the grave, when it was interred in the family vault of the kings of Kashmeer.

As Mullik Atchy had, during his ministry confined Ibrahim Makry at Serinuggur, his son, Abdal Makry, in the year A.H. 931 (A.D. 1524) (being then in India), espoused the cause of Iskundur Khan, the son of the late Futteh Khan, and marched an army for the purpose of placing him on the throne. The King, supported by Mullik Atchy, moved to Alwurpoor, in the district of Fankul, to oppose the invader, who being defeated was compelled to throw himself into the fort of Nakam, wherein he was closely besieged by the Kashmeer army under Mullik Atchy. At this period many of the Kashmeery officers, dissatisfied with Mullik Atchy, who exercised regal power, were on the point of going over to Iskundur Khan, when the minister deputed his son with a force to attack him; and although the minister's son fell in the action, Iskundur was defeated, and evacuating the fort, sought safety in flight: Nakam was accordingly occupied by Kashmeer troops, and the Makry army dispersed. After the return of Mahomed to Kashmeer the third time, the courtiers succeeded in alienating his esteem from his minister; which induced Mullik Atchy to withdraw from court, and settle at Rajoory, where he completely gained the good will of the surrounding rajas. Some time after, Iskundur Khan procuring aid from the Emperor Babur of Dehly, conquered the province of Lohkote. Mullik Yar Chuk, the brother of Mullik Atchy, however, having attacked and made him prisoner, brought him to the King, who caused his eyes to be put out. The conduct of the minister's brother on this occasion restored the confidence of the King to the late minister, whom he sent for, and replaced in his situation. Mullik Atchy conceived that the King had not kept terms with his brother, by putting out the eyes of Ishkundur Khan; and in consequence, having, in the first instance, deprived him of most of his personal favourites by imprisoning them, he subsequently deposed the King, and sent him to Lohkote in confinement; after which he raised his son, the Prince Ibrahim, lately arrived from Dehly, to the throne of Kashmeer, in the beginning of the year A.H. 932 (A.D. 1525), when Mahomed had reigned nineteen years.

The Prince Ibrahim now ascended the throne, and Mullik Atchy retained the office of minister. At this period, Abdal

Makry, who had been driven from his country by the intrigues of Mullik Atchy, fled to Hindoostan, where having obtained a situation in the household of Babur Padshah of Dehly, he induced that monarch to attempt the conquest of Kashmeer. Babur accordingly ordered an army, under Sheikh Ally Beg and Mahmood Khan, to be placed at the disposal of Abdul Makry, who was accompained by Nazook, the son of Ibrahim, King of Kashmeer, then living with his relatives in Dehly, in order that by proclaiming his title to the throne he might have some plea for invading the country, and prevent that resistance which he knew would be made if the Kashmeeries supposed that the throne was to be filled by a stranger. On information of the approach of the Dehly army to place Nazook on the throne Mullik Atchy Chuk accompanied the King Ibrahim, who proceeded in person to the town of Sullah, in the district of Fankul, where the two armies opposed each other. In this battle the Kashmeer troops lost many men, and were eventually defeated, the King and his minister both flying from the field (A.H. 932. A.D. 1525). Mullik Atchy reached the capital, whence he was subsequently expelled; but we have no account of the fate of Ibrahim on that occasion. His reign lasted for the short space of eight months.

After the battle of Sullah, the Dehly army marched to Serinuggur, and placed on the throne Nazook, the son of Ibrahim, and grandson to Mahomed, who was at that period in confinement: and the people, fearful lest the government should fall into the hands of the King of Dehly, received their new monarch with every demonstration of joy. Having left Serinuggur, he proceeded to Nowshera, his capital, and appointed Abdal Makry his minister. This chief having pursued Mullik Atchy to the town of K'hulnagry, returned and partitioned out the several districts of Kashmeer among the numerous officers of the army; and after rewarding the services of the officers and soldiers of the King of Dehly, permitted them to return to Hindoostan.

On the occupation of Kashmeer by Abdal Makry, he wrote to Mullik Atchy, condemning him for confining the old king, Mahomed; and having sent for that monarch from Lohkote, reinstated him in the government a fourth time. Seven years after which, in the year A.H. 939 (A.D. 1532), he declared his grandson, Nazook, heir-apparent. In this year, also, Babur

Padshah of Dehly dying, was succeeded by his son Hoomayoon. Mahomed had no sooner ascended the throne again, than Mullik Atchy, who had fled from the battle of Sullah, made his appearance at the head of a body of the Kashmeer highlanders, on the plain of Kohka. Here he was opposed by Abdal Makry, and being defeated, fled to Hindoostan. At this period, Mirza Kamran, brother of Hoomayoon Padshah of Dehly, was governor of the Punjab. This prince being joined by Sheikh Ally Beg and Mahmood, who left the court of Kashmeer in disgust, was prevailed on to send a force, under the orders of Mahram Beg, to conquer that kingdom. The Kashmeer troops could not be brought to oppose the Moguls, but fled to the hills; while the Punjabies, laying waste the fields, and burning the towns, put to death all the inhabitants who fell in their way. Abdal Makry, who at first thought this invasion had been undertaken at the instance of Mullik Atchy, being now convinced of the contrary, sent for him and the chiefs of the Chuk and Makry tribes, who mutually exchanged the most solemn oaths to unite in one common cause. The junction of Mullik Atchy, who had great influence over his countrymen, at such a moment, enabled the King to collect a respectable force, with which he completely defeated the Punjabies, and expelled them from the country. After the departture of the Punjab army, Mullik Atchy became disgusted with the duplicity and pride of Abdal Makry, and was on the point of abandoning the King's councils, and proceeding to Hindoostan, when in the year A.H. 939 (A.D. 1532) Syud Khan, King of Kashghar, deputed his son, Sikundur Khan, with one Mirza Heidur Doghlat, to march south at the head of an army of twelve thousand men. These troops invaded Kashmeer by the route of Thibet and Lar. The inhabitants fled, panic-struck, to the mountains, while the merciless Tartars laid waste the country, sacked the towns, and levelled, with barbarous malignity, many of the magnificent palaces which the kings of Kashmeer had constructed. The Tartars, meeting with no opposition, loaded themselves with spoil, and put to death such unfortunate wretches as they discovered hid in holes or caves. This devastation continued for upwards of three months, when Abdal Makry, Mullik Atchy Chuk, and other officers, who had taken refuge in the town of Chukdura, finding their retreat insecure, retreated to Baramoola, living occasionally in the hills. They at last resolved to attack the Tartars, which they did with great

disparity of numbers. On this occasion the Kashmeeries lost many valuable officers, and the Tartars suffered equally. The former were at one time on the point of giving way, when Abdal Makry and Mullik Atchy Chuk appearing in the ranks, their example induced their countrymen to rally, and they succeeded in repelling the last charge of the Tartars. Night closed the scene, and the morning presented the opposed armies employed in burying their dead, which amounted to many thousands. After this battle a truce was agreed on, and a peace ensued, on which the King of Kashmeer consented to give his daughter in marriage to the young Tartar prince Sikundur, who then returned to Kashghar. In the year A.H. 940 (A.D. 1533) two comets appeared in Kashmeer; and a severe famine succeeded, which compelled many of the inhabitants to fly their country, during a period of ten months, while the dearth lasted. The old enmity of Abdal Makry and Mullik Atchy Chuk was again renewed; but the former having most influence at the capital, the latter was obliged to quit, and retire to Zeinpoor. The King did not long survive. He was seized with a fever; and after lingering a few months, died, in the year A.H. 942 (A.D. 1535), after a checkered and interrupted reign of fifty years.

IBRAHIM

It appears from the Towareekh Kashmeery that Ibrahim, who had formerly usurped the crown from his father Mahomed, and had escaped during the battle of Sullah, in the year 932, now returned, and was acknowledged king. During his reign we find him alternately the passive pageant of royalty in the hands of his two ministers, Mullik Atchy Chuk and Abdal Makry. Amid the dissensions of these two chiefs, Abdal Makry, collecting an army, marched against the capital; and his rival, accompanied by the King, defeated him in a battle which took place near the mountains, and compelled him to fly to Gujraj. At length Ibrahim died in the year A.H. 947 (A.D. 1540).

NAZOOK

Ibrahim was succeeded by his son Nazook. The prince had scarcely ascended the throne three months when he was expelled

by the army of Hoomayoon Padshah of Dehly; which invading Kashmeer conquered that province, as we shall proceed to relate.[19]

In the year A.H. 948 (A.D. 1541), Hoomayoon Padshah being defeated by Sheer Shah, King of Bengal, fled his country, and retreated to Lahore; when Abdal Makry, Zungy Chuk, and many other Kashmeery nobles, wrote letters, inviting him to the conquest of their country. These letters were sent by one Mirza Heidur Doghlat, who was accordingly authorised to carry into effect this project. On reaching Mein, Mirza Heidur was joined by Abdal Makry and Zungy Chuk, from whence they proceeded to Rajoory, with a force not exceeding altogether four thousand horse. Mullik Atchy Chuk, then virtually ruler of Kashmeer advanced with a force of three thousand cavalry and fifty thousand infantry to the Kurmul pass, of which he took possession. Mirza Heidur, on receiving intimation of this movement, countermarched, and took the route of Punnuj. Atchy Chuk, conceiving that pass sufficiently protected by its intricacies to prevent the approach of cavalry, took no precautions to render it more difficult, but he was mistaken; for the Hindoostan army having penetrated the mountains made their first appearance at the city of Serinuggur, which they sacked. Abdal Makry and Zungy Chuk now assumed the reins of government, and immediately assigned the revenues of some districts solely for the payment of the army. Shortly after which, Abdal Makry, who was now old, having made over his children to the care of Mirza Heidur, died. Atchy Chuk, who found that he could not make head against Mirza Heidur, went in person to Hindoostan, and solicited the assistance of Sheer Shah, who had at that period assumed the title of King of Hindoostan. That monarch deputed Hoossein Khan Sheerwany, with five thousand horse and two war-elephants, to accompany Atchy Chuk. Mirza Heidur and Zungy Chuk, hearing of the approach to the Dehly army, moved out to oppose it. The two forces met between the towns of Dhunuj and Gava, where an action took place, when

19. Ferishta has prefixed, at the head of this section, the name of Mirza Heidur Doghlat, who so long ruled Kashmeer, and to whom we are chiefly indebted for this history; but as Nazook, the lineal heir, subsequently regained his throne, and survived Mirza Heidur, I have considered his rule as a mere usurpation.

Mullik Atchy being defeated, fled to Purumgola, and the Dehly army was entirely routed.

In the year A.H. 950 (A.D. 1543), Mirza Heidur changed his capital from Serinuggur to Indrakote, and at the same period Zungy Chuk, becoming suspicious of his colleague, left the capital and joined Atchy Chuk, when they both collected a force and marched to Serinuggur, for the purpose of subverting the government of Mirza Heidur. Here they were joined by Beiram, the son of Zungy Chuk, who had made his escape from the capital. Mirza Heidur deputed Bundgan Koka and Khwaja Hajy Kashmeery to oppose the confederates, who were completely defeated, and fled to Purumgola.

Mirza Heidur, having left Bundgan Koka as his lieutenant in Kashmeer during his absence, proceeded with an army for the purpose of invading Thibet, where he reduced the district of Looshoo and several others; and on his return being opposed by Zungy Chuk on the frontier, in the year A.H. 952 (A.D. 1545), the latter was killed, and his son, Ghazy Khan, taken prisoner. During the absence of Mirza Heidur, Atchy Chuk, and his son Mahomed Chuk, died of an epidemic disease, so that the most formidable rivals of Mirza Heidur were thus removed.

In the year A.H. 954 (A.D. 1547), an ambassador from Kashghar joined Mirza Heidur at Lar.

At this period, Khwaja Beiram, the son of Musaood Chuk, who having asserted his independence had kept possession of Gujraj for the last seven years, was induced to accept of the friendship of Jan Boozoorg Mirza, who took the most solemn oaths to abstain from attacking him; but being one day in his company, he put Beiram Chuk to death, and brought his head to Mirza Heidur at Lar, conceiving by this measure to gain his favour. Abdy Zeina, one of Mirza Heidur's officers, concluding that the act had been preconcerted with Mirza Heidur, quitted the court, and indignantly declared his detestation of the man who could commit murder in violation of his oath. Mirza Heidur, however, denied any connivance or participation in the deed. Shortly afterwards, Mirza Heidur proceeded for the purpose of attacking the country of Kishtwar, and deputed Bundgan Koka with other officers in command of the advance-guard of the army. This detachment made one march from Charloo to Dote, a distance of three days' journey, came up with the Kisht- army, and encamped on the opposite bank of the river

Neither army could cross, and a sharp discharge of arrows and musketry was kept up, though without much effect. Some stragglers from Mirza Heidur's camp lost their road, and joined the advance at Wary; but upon their arrival there, a violent gale of wind came on, and raised the dust of the whole plain. At this moment a small detachment of the Kishtwar army then in the town, taking advantage of the circumstance, sallied and attacked the invaders. Bundgan Koka and twenty-five officers of note were killed, and the detachment made the best of its way to join Mirza Heidur. Shortly after, in the year A.H. 955 (A.D. 1548), Mirza Heidur invaded Little Thibet, and not only succeeded in conquering that country, but subsequently added Great Thibet, Rajoory, and Pugly to his dominions.

Moolla Kasim was nominated to the government of Little Thibet, Moolla Hussun to that of Great Thibet, Mahomed Nuzur to that of Rajoory, and Dawood Ally to the province of Pugly In the year A.H. 956 (A.D. 1549), Mirza Heidur marched against the fortress of Deebul, where he was met by Adum Khan Gukkur, who endeavoured to mediate a reconciliation between Mirza Heidur and Dowlut Chuk, the nephew of the late Atchy Chuk; but Dowlut Chuk, offended at the reception he met with, left the meeting abruptly, and even carried away the elephant which he had brought to present to Mirza Heidur. Shortly after which Mirza Heidur returned to Kashmeer. At a subsequent period, Dowlut Chuk, and Ghazy Khan Chuk, the son of Zungy Chuk, who had lately been released from confinement, together with Yehya Chuk, connected themselves with Heibut Khan Neazy, who having fled from Sulim Shah of Dehly, now took refuge at Rajoory. Heibut Khan was pursued by Sulim Shah in person till he reached the confines of the district of Nowshehra, when the former having deputed Syud Khan Neazy to crave his mercy, Sulim Shah consented to be reconciled, on condition of Heibut Khan sending his mother and son as hostages for his good behaviour into the royal camp; after which he fell back on Bhimbur, in the district of Seealkote. The Kashmeer partisans, who had joined Heibut Khan at Rajoory, prevailed on him to go to Deebul, and endeavoured to persuade him to depose Mirza Heidur. He not only refused his assent, but sent a bramin to inform Mirza Heidur of their intention. Heibut Khan moved to the town of Subzeea, in the district of Jummoo, where the Chuk confederacy, having intimation of his treachery, left him. Ghazy

Khan Chuk went direct to the capital, and abandoning his associates joined Mirza Heidur, while the rest, quitting Kashmeer, retired to the court of Sulim Shah, King of Dehly. In the year A.H. 957 (A.D. 1550), Mirza Heidur deputed Khwaja Shums-ood-Deen with a large and valuable present of saffron to the King of Dehly, who sent Yaseen Khan Afghan as ambassador, to accompany Khwaja Shums-ood-Deen on his return to Kashmeer, with other presents, consisting of horses and some of the finest Indian muslins, to Mirza Heidur, who having returned to Yaseen Khan Afghan a quantity of saffron with some beautiful shawls, despatched him back to his court.

In the year A.H. 958 (A.D. 1551), Mirza Heidur appointed Kiran Bahadur, a commander of Mogul horse, to the government of Bheerbul. This measure gave great offence to the inhabitants, who attacked him, and resisted his authority. Mirza Heidur, in order to support his lieutenant, put himself at the head of the Moguls, and was killed by an arrow in a night-attack made upon his camp, and the Moguls were defeated. Thus fell Mirza Heidur Doghlat, in the tenth year after his accession to the government of Kashmeer, in the year A.H. 958 (A.D. 1551).

After the death of Mirza Heidur, and the defeat of the Moguls, the whole kingdom was thrown into confusion. The leading men, however, having formed a kind of administration, divided the territory into three principalities or districts; that of Dewsur fell to the lot of Dowlut Chuk, that of Dhunuj to Ghazy Khan Chuk, and Gujraj to Yoosoof Chuk and Beiram Chuk, while Abdy Zeina remained at the capital, and was virtually ruler of the whole; though, for form's sake, Nazook, the son of Ibrahim, and grandson of the late Mahomed, was seated on the throne of Kashmeer.

In the beginning of the year A.H. 959 (A.D. 1552), the Kashmeer officers, after having each secured a portion of the kingdom, became discontented at the inequality of their shares, and in consequence a civil war arose, in which four parties at first oppose each other, under separate leaders; viz.

1. Abdy Zeina, with the Zeina tribe.
2. Hussun, the son of Abdal, with the Makry tribe.
3. The Kapoories, under Beiram and Yoosoof Chuk, with their tribes.
4. The Kamies, under Ghazy Khan, Atchy, and Dowlut Chuk, with their tribes.

These dissensions continued for some time, till at the end of two months after the accession of Nazook he was deposed a second time, and his brother Ibrahim was raised to the throne in his stead.

IBRAHIM II.

THE civil dissensions being conducted with the utmost rancour, the party which possessed the person of Nazook deposed him, and placed his son Ibrahim on the throne; on which occasion the Kamies under Dowlut Chuk appear to have gained the advantage, since he assumed the title of minister to the royal pageant at Serinuggur. Meanwhile Mirza Hajy, minister to the late Mirza Heidur Doghlat, made his escape, and fled to Sulim Shah of Dehly. In the year A.H. 960 (A.D. 1552), a disagreement arising between Ghazy Khan and Dowlut Chuk, both of whom were of the Kamy party, another revolution succeeded. On the following year (A.H. 961, A.D. 1553) Ghazy Khan, having separated himself from Dowlut Chuk, was joined by Hoossein Makry and Shums Zeina, from Hindoostan; while Dowlut Chuk was joined by Yoosoof Chuk and Beiram Chuk. Several trifling skirmishes took place between these parties for a period of two months, when peace was concluded. At this time a body of Thibetians made an inroad into Kashmeer, and drove off some sheep from the district of Gava. The invaders were immediately pursued by a large body of Kashmeeries under Heibut Khan, the son of Ghazy Khan; for men were now ready to follow, at a moment's warning, any leader who offered them an object of plunder. Heibut Khan retaliated by invading Thibet, and sacking every thing in his way; and having spread desolation far and wide, arrived at one of the forts, which he took, and put the governor to death with his own hand. Proceeding far into the interior of the counntry, he obliged the Thibetians to present him with three hundred horses, five thousand Puttoo cloaks, one hundred sheep, and thirty Kootas cows.[20] He compelled them also to restore all the good horses they took during their last inroad into Kashghar; which Heibut Khan retained for his father, Ghazy Khan Chuk, to whom he presented them on his return.

20. These are the animals from who[se] tails are obtained the beautiful fly-flappers used by eastern pri[nces] on occasions of state.

The year A.H. 962 (A.D. 1554) was remarkable for a severe earthquake in Kashmeer; on which occasion the town of Dampoor, with several orchards and gardens, was removed from the eastern to the western bank of the Behut river;[21] and the town of Jadra, situated under the mountains, was destroyed by the falling of great part of the mountain on the town, in which upwards of six thousand persons perished.

ISMAEL

SCARCELY had five months elapsed from the coronation of Ibrahim, through the agency of Dowlut Chuk, before Ghazy Khan and his party attained such an increase of power, that he deposed and blinded Ibrahim. He also drove Dowlut Chuk from the capital; and in the year A.H. 963 (A.D. 1555) he established upon the throne of Kashmeer Ismael, the brother of the late King Ibrahim. At this time Hubeeb, the King's son, wished to unite with Dowlut Chuk, on which Ghazy Khan resolved to seize him; and on hearing that he had gone in a boat on the river to shoot ducks, Ghazy Khan seized the horses of his party. Dowlut Chuk endeavoured to escape to the hills on foot, but was overtaken, and his eyes put out. After this event the Prince Hubeeb became more reconciled to his situation. Ghazy Khan now wished to confer the office of minister on Nanuk Chuk, the nephew of Dowlut Chuk, but he disdained the offer, and fled the country.

HUBEEB

ISMAEL died two years after his accession, and his son Hubeeb was placed on the throne in his stead. In the latter end of the year A.H. 964 (A.D. 1556), the following persons, Noosrut Chuk, Nanuk Chuk, Shunkur Chuk, the brother of Ghazy Khan, Yoosoof Chuk, and Husty Chuk, all bound themselves by oaths to take advantage of Ghazy Khan the first time he became intoxicated to put him to death, and to raise his brother, Hoossein

21. It is not easy to say whether we are to take the text literally, or to suppose that a chasm opening behind the town altered the course of the river, and, consequently, the position of the town.

Chuk, then in close confinement, to the throne of Kashmeer. Ghazy Khan, obtaining information of their intentions, contrived to gain over Yoosoof Chuk and Shunkur Chuk, while Noosrut Chuk and Husty Chuk resolved to occupy the country in the neighbourhood with troops. Noosrut Chuk was seized and confined; but Hubeeb Chuk and Nanuk Chuk made their escape, and collecting a few men crossed the river, destroyed the bridges, and formed a junction with Husty Chuk. Ghazy Khan sent troops against them; but in a severe action which took place he was defeated, and compelled to retreat, while Hubeeb Chuk marched with flying colours to Hamoon. Ghazy Khan, upon this, marched on to Domra, where he procured three or four boats, and crossing the river with three elephants, and a force of three hundred men, attacked Hubeeb Chuk a second time. On his arrival at Khalidgur, the forces were again opposed to each other. Hubeeb Chuk was defeated, and being seized in crossing the Muchbul, his head was cut off, and suspended in the town of Kulanamut, where he usually resided.

About this period, Beiram Chuk arriving from Hindoostan received from Ghazy Khan the district of Kohtahamoon in jageer; and having taken his departure from Serinuggur, he repaired to Mulunchah, in the district of Rutungur, his native town, whither Shunkur Chuk and his other associates joined him, when they began to collect troops at Soopapoor. Ghazy Khan sent his sons and relations to attack them, but the rebels fled into the hills. Ghazy Khan now proceeded to the district of Kohtahamoon, where he remained for several days; when at length Ahmud Hoorein, a son of his brother Heidur Chuk, pledged himself to seize Beiram Chuk, and bring him to Serinuggur.

Ahmud Hoorein went to Sumurkote, a place occupied by a people called Russies,[22] a description of Sofy. He seized some of these people, and enquired of them where Beiram Chuk had gone. They replied, that they had conveyed him in a boat to Nadily, and delivered him safe over to Ameer Zeina. These Russies are an agricultural people, employing themselves either in sowing grain or planting fruit trees. They live in a society by themselves, and do not marry. Ahmud Hoorein now pro-

22. The circumstance of a convent of Russian missionaries being in Thibet (for the philosophical and horticultural Russies can be no others) is certainly a very extraordinary fact.

ceeded to the house of Ameer Zeina, and after much search he seized Beiram Chuk, whom he brought to Serinuggur, where he was strangled.

At this time Shah Abool Maly, who had been expelled from Lahore, fell into the hands of some Gukkurs. In this condition, notwithstanding his fetters, he made his escape on the back of Yoosoof Chuk, and procuring the aid of Humal Gukkur and Heidur Chuk, he resolved to attack Kashmeer. On reaching Rajoory he was joined by several persons of that place, as well as by Dowlut Chuk (the blind), Futteh Chuk, and other Chuks, as also by Gowhur Makry; and in the year A.H. 965 (A.D. 1557), Shah Abool Maly invaded Kashmeer. On approaching Baramoola, Heidur Chuk and Futteh Chuk, whose duty it was to guard the passes, went to Madooky, while Shah Abool Maly preserved such strict discipline among his troops, that no soldier dared molest the inhabitants on any pretence. On reaching Baramoola, which is not far from Madooky, the invaders occupied a height. Ghazy Khan was encamped at a place called Gahwar, and detached his brother Hoossein Khan to a short distance in advance. This movement gave an opportunity to the confederate Chuks who had joined Shah Abool Maly to attack Hoossein Khan, and oblige him to fall back. Ghazy Khan allowed the Chuks to penetrate into his lines before he became the assailant, when his troops attacked them vigorously, and nearly annihilated the whole force of the enemy. This event compelled Shah Abool Maly to retreat out of the country without risking another engagement. Ghazy Khan returned to Mein, where he put to death all the Mogul prisoners which had fallen into his hands in the late engagement, excepting only one, Hafiz Mirza Hoosseiny, who was a favourite singer of Hoomayoon Padshah.

In the year A.H. 966 (A.D. 1558), Ghazy Khan, instead of continuing that benevolent prince which he had before proved himself to his subjects, became so inflated with pride and the importance of his situation, that he disgusted his old friends and adherents, who withdrew from about his person in consequence of his giving a loose to his passions, and committing many flagrant acts of injustice and cruelty. At this period, a report reached the ear of Ghazy Khan that his son, Heidur Chuk, was plotting his destruction, in order to hasten his own elevation to the throne. Ghazy Khan directed his minister, Mahomed Jooneid,

to reprove him severely; but the young man, irritated at the liberty of speech which the minister thought proper to use on the occasion, drew his dagger, and stabbed him to the heart. On which Ghazy Khan, without seeing his son, ordered him to be carried to Zeingur, and executed.

In the year A.H. 967 (A.D. 1559), Kiran Bahadur arriving at Jowlapoor from Hindoostan with seven war elephants and a large army, remained there three months, where he was joined by Noosrut Chuk, Futteh Chuk, and others, as well as by some Gukkur officers of distinction. There he delayed some time longer, expecting to be joined by more of the malecontents. Those who had already united with him, now becoming disgusted with his apparent indifference, quitted him, and went over to Ghazy Khan. Kiran Bahadur's army being, in consequence, much weekened, Ghazy Khan sent a strong detachment of infantry from Nowrozekote to attack it. Kiran Bahadur was defeated, and fled to the fort of Duria, leaving his elephants in the hands of his enemies.

GHAZY SHAH CHUK

FIVE years had elapsed since the elevation of Hubeeb, when Ghazy Chuk, imprisoning him, declared himself king, and caused public prayers to be read, and coin to be struck, in his name; but shortly after his accession, the leprosy,[23] which had formerly made its appearance on him, broke out so violently that he nearly lost all his fingers.

In the year A.H. 968 (A.D. 1560), Futteh Chuk, Gowhur Chuk, and Rung Ray, fled from the capital, and collected a force in the hills. They were pursued by Hoossein Chuk, the brother of Ghazy Shah, with two thousand men; and a heavy fall of snow coming on, most of the insurgents, being without camp-equipage, fell victims to its effects. The few persons, however, who did escape, fled to Gohore, and in the following year threw themselves on the mercy of Hoossein Chuk, who interceded with his brother in their behalf.

In the year A.H. 970 (A.D. 1562), Ghazy Shah marched at the head of his army to Lar, from whence he sent his son,

23. The particular shape which the disease assumed in Ghazy Chuk was that usually denominated elephantiasis.

Ahmud Khan, accompanied by Futteh Khan and Nasir Kutaby, to invade the territory of Thibet. When they arrived within ten miles of the border, Futteh Khan proceeded to the capital without receiving Ahmud Khan's orders; and as the Thibetians were neither capable nor willing to oppose the Kashmeer troops, they agreed to pay a large sum of money as a ransom for their country. The Prince Ahmud Khan, who was entrusted with the expedition into Thibet, was so much vexed that he had had no share in the invasion conducted by Futteh Khan that he resolved to enter Thibet in spite of the conditions made by the Thibetians, On this occasion, however, Futteh Khan lost his life, and the Prince Ahmud sustained so severe a defeat, that he was constrained to return with disgrace. Ghazy Shah, being altogether disappointed at the conduct of his son, recalled him.

In the year A.H. 971 (A.D. 1563), Ghazy Shah, advancing in person to the confines of Thibet, encamped at a place called Mokudkar; but the leprosy having now deprived him of his eyesight he grew irritable and peevish, and committed so many unpopular and cruel acts that the nation anxiously desired his death, while his brother, Hoossein, and his son, Ahmud, each endeavoured to gain popularity, in order to establish his claim to the crown. The moment Ghazy Shah ascertained that these two parties existed he returned to Serinuggur, and secured the succession to his brother, Hoossein Khan, by abdicating the throne in his favour, after a short reign of four years.

HOOSSEIN SHAH CHUK

AFTER the secession of Ghazy Shah he divided his personal effects into two lots, giving one to his children, and sending the other half to the shops, requiring the shop-keepers to pay him a certain sum of money. The demand being treble the value of the property, the merchants came to Hoossein Khan, and entreated him to advise his brother to give up so strange an intention as that of a monarch selling his personal effects. Ghazy Shah, who was reduced by age as well as disease to a state of second childhood, insisted on the shop-keepers purchasing his goods; and he became so enraged against Hoossein Shah that he regretted having abdicted in his favour, and now wished to establish his son, Ahmud Khan, on the throne; for which pur-

pose he collected a force in the suburbs, with the intention of dethroning his brother Hoossein. The new King, however, was enabled, without coming to action, to dismember the old King's army, and to reduce his brother to the necessity of retreating to Zeinpoor, where he remained three months, and then returned to Serinuggur. Meanwhile Hoossein Shah, being firmly seated on the throne, made new regulations for the financial departments. In the year A.H. 972 (A.D. 1564) he sent his brother, Shunkur Chuk, to assume charge of the government of Nowshehra and Rajoory; but the latter shortly afterwards appeared at the head of a force in open rebellion. Hoossein Shah deputed an army under the command of Mahomed Khan Makry to attack his brother, whom having defeated, the general returned to the capital, where he was greeted by Hoossein Shah, who went out to meet and congratulate him. Shortly after the arrival of the army, some of the officers concerted a scheme to put the King to death; but he discovered the plot, and seizing the ringleaders, caused their eyes to be put out.

In the following year, A.H. 973 (A.D. 1565), his prime minister, Khan-ooz-Zuman, was induced to attack the palace during his absence, with the intention, after seizing the treasures, of proclaiming himself king; but his scheme was defeated by the exertions of Musaood Paik, the officer of the King's body-guard, who seizing the minister's son, and having cut off his head, exposed it to his party, which fled. The minister was shortly after secured, and the King ordered his execution; while Musaood Paik was elevated to the situation of minister, with the title of Moobariz Khan, and the estate of the district of Fankul was made over to him.

In the following year, Hoossein Shah, perceiving that attempts were so frequently made to dethrone him, conceived it necessary, for his personal safety, to incapacitate his nephew and rival, Ahmud Khan, from reigning, by causing him to be blinded. The news of this event had such an effect on the old king, Ghazy Khan, who was still living, that he died of a broken heart.

In the year A.H. 975 (A.D. 1567), the King growing jealous of the rising power of his minister, Moobariz Khan, seized and confined him, and appointed one Booly Govind to his situation; but the latter being detected in embezzling forty thousand bales of shawls, he was also imprisoned, and Ally Koka was raised to the office of minister.

In the year A.H. 976 (A.D. 1568), Kazy Hubeeb, a person of the Hunefy persuasion, after leaving the great mosque on Friday, went to pay his devotions at the tombs of some holy persons at the foot of the Maran hills. On this occasion one Yoosoof, a person of the Sheea persuasion, being present, drew his sword, and wounded the Kazy on the head. He levelled also another blow at the Kazy, who, in endeavouring to save his head with his hand, had his fingers cut off. This attack arose out of no other cause than the animosity which existed between the two sects. On this occasion, Mowlana Kumal, the Kazy of Seealkote, was present. Yoosoof, after wounding Kazy Hubeeb, made his escape. The King, although himself of the Sheea persuasion, sent persons to seize Yoosoof; and he required several holy and learned men, such as Moolla Yoosoof, Moolla Feroze, and others, to investigate the matter, and to award punishment according to the law. It is related that these worthies said that it was lawful to put, Yoosoof to death. The Kazy who was wounded declared, that as he had not died of his wounds the law did not admit of the culprit being executed. He was, however, notwithstanding, stoned to death. About this time a number of persons of the Sheea sect arrived with Mirza Mookeem and Meer Yakoob, who came as ambassadors to Serinuggur from Akbur, Emperor of Dehly. Hoossein Shah caused his own tents to be pitched for them at Heerapoor; and when they arrived there, he went forth to meet and escort them. After which, embarking in boats with the son of Hoossein Shah, they proceeded in state to the city of Serinuggur. Hoossein Shah did not go in the boat, but rode on horseback, and prepared the house of Hoossein Makry for the reception of the ambassadors. After some days, Mirza Mookeem, being of the same persuasion as the assassin Yoosoof required of Hoossein Shah that he should send those learned men who had pronounced the sentence of death on that culprit to him; with which Hoossein Shah complied. Kazy Zein, himself a Sheea, insisted that the sentence pronounced by the persons by whom Yoosoof had been tried was erroneous. The judges said that they had not positively sentenced Yoosoof to death, but declared that it was lawful to execute a person convicted of the crime of which he was found guilty. Mirza Mookeem now ordered the judges into confinement, and made them over to Futteh Khan. Hoossein Shah left the city, and went in a boat to Kamraj; and Futteh Khan, at the

instance of Mirza Mookeem, the Dehly ambassador, caused the holy men to be put to death; after which, ropes were tied to their feet, and they were dragged through the streets and markets of the town. Hoossein Shah, on his return, after presenting the Indian ambassadors with some valuable articles for their master, sent his daughter to be married to Akbur Padshah, and acknowledged his supremacy. In the year A.H. 977 (A.D. 1569) news arrived in Kashmeer that the Emperor Akbur, on hearing of the conduct of his ambassadors at Kashmeer, ordered them to be publicly executed at Agra; and as a token of his indignation and horror at the conduct of Hoossein Shah, who had sanctioned such a proceeding in his kingdom, he refused to receive his daughter, and sent her back to Kashmeer.[24] This circumstance had such an effect on the mind of Hoossein Shah, that he was seized with a violent illness, and was soon rendered totally unfit to transact public business. Most of the chiefs now quitting the court, waited on his brother, Ally Khan, at Shewpoor; whence they induced him to march to the capital. On his arrival within fourteen or fifteen miles of Serinuggur, the whole of the court-party deserted Hoossein Shah; and that monarch was compelled to abdicate his throne in favour of his brother. He accordingly sent to him the Kottas canopy, and the other insignia of royalty. Ally Khan was formally acknowledged King; while Hoossein Shah, leaving Serinuggur, went to Zeinpoor, where he died, three months afterwards, of dysentery, in the same year, viz. A.H. 977 (A.D. 1569).

ALLY SHAH CHUK

On the death of Hoossein, his brother Ally was formally crowned at Serinuggur; and Dookna, the late minister to Hoossein Shah, received from the new monarch the seals of office. At

24. When I consider that Hoossein Shah Chuk was himself a Sheea of rigid principles, it is fair to conclude that the trial of Yoosoof by a conclave of divines, and his subsequent execution, arose solely out of the necessity of yielding to the voice of the people. The unwillingness which Hoossein Shah felt in giving up Yoosoof to public feeling seems plainly indicated by his subsequently permitting Akbur's ambassadors to assume the power, in his capital, of punishing the bench of judges who condemned the criminal. The conduct of Akbur (him-

this time, Shah Arif, a dervish of the Sheea persuasion, and who claimed relationship to Shah Tahmasp of Persia, arrived in Kashmeer from Lahore; where he had for some itme lived under the protection of Hoossein Kooly Khan, governor of the Punjab. Ally, who was himself a Sheea, was so pleased with this stranger, that he gave him his daughter in marriage; while Ally Chuk, the son of Nowroze Chuk, and Ibrahim, the son of Ghazy Khan, absolutely worshipped this holy personage, and declared him to be the Imam Mehdy, who is to appear again in the last days. This infatuation carried them so far, that they resolved to dethrone Ally, and to raise Shah Arif to the government. The moment the King heard this, he took measures to persecute the dervish. The holy man gave out that he would, by means of his sanctity, convey himself to Lahore in one day; and on the following morning having disappeared, his disciples concluded that he had been transported by means of his art to some other country; but he was discovered to have paid a large sum to the ferryman to carry him across the river, and was taken at Baramoola, whither he had travelled. He again escaped, and was taken at the hill of Mehtur Sooliman; after which the King fined him in the sum of one thousand ashrufies, and taking away his daughter from him, compelled him to quit the kingdom. In the year A.H. 979 (A.D. 1571), Ally, the son of Nowroze Chuk, represented that the minister, Dookna, had plundered the country, and that when spoken to on the subject he had conducted himself with great insolence. The King accordingly caused Dookna to be seized and sent to Gujraj, whence he effected his escape to the court of Hoossein Kooly Khan, governor of the Punjab; but that chief not receiving him with the cordiality he expected, he returned to Nowshehra, in Kashmeer, where he was apprehended, and sent to Serinuggur. In the year A.H. 980 (A.D. 1572), Ally Shah marched at the head of his army to Gunwar, commonly called Kishtwar, and having espoused the daughter of the prince of that country, returned to his capital, where he received an embassy, consisting of Moolla Eshky and Kazy Sudr-ood-Deen, from the court of Dehly; the result of which was, that Akbur was proclaimed Emperor of Kashmeer in the

self a Sheea), in making an example of those ambassadors on their return, and in refusing to espouse the daughter of a king who had acted with such baseness and duplicity as Hoossein Shah Chuk, are equally honourable to his character as a prince and as a man.

public prayers. Ally Shah Chuk at the request of Akbur, now sent his niece[25] to be married to the Prince Sulim.[26] In the year A.H. 984 (A.D. 1575) a severe famine was experienced in Kashmeer, in which many thousands of the inhabitants died. In the year A.H. 986 (A.D. 1578) Ally Shah was killed by a fall from his horse, after a reign of nine years.

YOOSOOF SHAH CHUK

ON the death of Ally he was succeeded by his son Yoosoof, while the late King's brother, Abdal Khan, apprehensive of his nephew's designs on his person, withdrew from the capital. Yoosoof wrote to his uncle, entreating him to lay aside all suspicion, and even requested him to come to court, promising faithfully to abide by his advice, and even offering to make over to him the government, if he were disposed to assume the charge of public affairs. This communication, which was sent by Syud Moobarik Khan, was not delivered to Abdal Khan, as was intended; and the messenger returned to Serinuggur, assuring the King that his uncle not only refused to come to the capital, but was raising a force secretly to oppose his coronation. On this Yoosoof Shah marched against him, and Abdal Khan, collecting his retainers, resolved to die like a soldier; so that on the occasion of meeting with the government troops both himself and his son were killed. After this event, Yoosoof Shah, returning to the capital, buried his father agreeably to the custom of the Sheeas, and he was proclaimed King in his stead. In the course of two or three months Syud Moobarik Khan, Ally Chuk, and others, crossing the Behut, raised the standard of revolt. Yoosoof Shah, with Mahomed Khan his minister, marched to oppose them; and in an action which ensued Mahomed Khan, with sixty of the King's personal guard, were slain, and himself being defeated, fled to Heerpoor, whither he was pursued by Syud Moobarik Khan. Thence the King was compelled to re-

25. This Princess was probably the daughter of Hoossein Shah, whom Akbur thought it politic, three years before, to send back to her father; but relenting in his severity towards her, he seems to have sent an embassy to escort her to Dehly.

26. This prince afterwards ascended the throne of Dehly, under the title of Jehangeer.

treat into the woods, to a place called Hurunpal Nursak, and eventually to the hills, while Syud Moobarik Khan, returning in triumph to Serinuggur assumed the reins of government. The first act of his administration was to confine his colleague, Ally Chuk; a measure which so enraged those persons who had supported him, that on quitting the court to proceed to their jageers, they resolved to raise Yoosoof again to the throne; but before that could be effected, the Chuks had again disagreed, and having separate interests, they endeavoured to establish Gowhur Chuk on the throne. Syud Moobarik Khan, perplexed with the intrigues by which he was surrounded, wished Yoosoof Shah to resume charge of the government; but the latter having fled from Kashmeer during the late commotion, went direct to the court of Dehly, and laid his petition at the feet of Akbur Padshah. Akbur ordered Raja Man Sing and Syud Yoosoof Khan with a force to re-establish him; for which purpose they marched from Futtehpoor in the year A.H. 987 (A.D. 1579).

At this period, Gowhur Chuk being at the head of the government of Kashmeer, Yoosoof Shah thought it advisable to send his son, Yakoob, in advance, in order to gain over some of his former adherents; and, at any rate, by his appearance in the country to create a sensation in his favour among the inhabitants.

When Yoosoof Shah arrived at Seealkote his affairs looked so prosperous that he marched on direct to Rajoory, which district he subdued, and then proceeded to Lassa, where he was met by one Yoosoof Khan, a Kashmeery sent to oppose him, but who joined him with his whole army, and enabled the King to enter his country by the route of Jeehbul. This is the most difficult approach to the valley; notwithstanding which he proceeded direct to the fort of Shewpur, where he founnd Gowhur Chuk ready to oppose him, on the opposite bank of the Behut. A severe engagement took place shortly after, when the Kashmeeries were defeated, and Yoosoof Shah entered the city of Serinuggur, where Gowhur Chuk was seized and imprisoned.

Yoosoof Shah, again seated on the throne, resorted the several districts of Kashmeer, as before, to his own officers, and concluded the revolution by putting out the eyes of his rival Gowhur Chuk.

In the year A.H. 988 (A.D. 1580), Shums Chuk, Ally Chuk, and Mahomed Khan, being suspected to treason, were seized.

while Hubeeb Khan, afraid of sharing the same fate, fled to a place called Gaheer; and Yoosoof, the son of Ally Chuk, having escaped from prison with his four brothers, joined Hubeeb Khan at the same place, whence they all proceeded to the court of Thibet, having procured reinforcements, they directed their arms against their own country; but by the time they arrived on the frontier, such dissensions arose among them that their troops left them, they were themselves seized, brought to the capital, and their noses and ears were cut off.

In the year A.H. 989 (A.D. 1581), when Akbur Padshah returned from Lahore to Agra, that monarch deputed Mirza Tahir and Mahomed Saleh as envoys to Kashmeer. On their arrival at Baramoola, they were met by Yoosoof Shah in person, who, kissing the letter from Akbur Padshah, placed it on his head. After a short time the ambassadors returned to Dehly, accompanied by the Princes Heidur and Yakoob, the King's sons, to the court of Akbur, were having staid some time they returned to Kashmeer.

In the year A.H. 990 (A.D. 1582), Yoosoof marched in the direction of Lar; during which journey, Shums Chuk, escaping from prison, joined Heidur Chuk, who had fled to Kishtwar; but as they were pursued by the Kashmeer army, they fled further, and Yoosoof returned to Serinuggur.

In the year A.H. 991 (A.D. 1584), Heidur Chuk having returned to Kishtwar collected a force and marched to invade Kashmeer, but was defeated on the frontier by the King in person.

In the year A.H. 992 (A.D. 1585), the Prince Yakoob, having left Kashmeer, had the honour of again paying his respects to Akbur Padshah; and when that monarch reached Lahore, Yakoob wrote to his father, that Akbur intended to visit Kashmeer; and in the mean time Hukeem Ally Geelany arrived at Lassa, as envoy from his court. Yoosoof Shah met the envoy, put on the honorary robe sent to him, and intended to proceed to court to pay his respects; but Baba Khuleel, Baba Mehdy, and others of the Kashmeer nobles, told Yoosoof Shah that he must not quite the kingdom; and if he insisted upon it, they declared they would proclaim his son Yakoob, lately arrived in Kashmeer, King. The King was thus compelled to forego his intention, and dismissed the ambassador, who reported the whole of the proceedings to his court. Akbur, who had all along in-

tended to conquer Kashmeer, made the conduct of the nobles on this occasion a plea for doing so; and he in consequence deputed Mirza Shahrokh, Shah Ally, and Raja Bhugwundas, with a large force, for that purpose. When the Indian army arrived at the Hoolias pass they found it occupied by Kashmeer troops; and the Indian generals were glad to make terms, requiring only that the King of Kashmeer should pay an annual tribute to Akbur Padshah. On the return of the Dehly troops, Yoosoof Shah accompanied them to the court of Akbur; but the Emperor, by no means satisfied with the terms, refused to ratify the treaty; and in the year A.H. 995 (A.D. 1586) he appointed Mahomed Kasim Khan, who held the rank of Ameer-ool-Behr (Admiral), to march and subdue Kashmeer.

Yakoob, who had now succeeded to the throne, in consequence of his father's detention at the court of Dehly, collected an army and occupied the passes; but the treacherous Kashmeeries, as usual, forsook their sovereign, and joined the foreign invaders. Some of the nobles, who were at Serinuggur, also threw off their allegiance, and rebelled. Yakoob, conceiving it advisable to check the insurrection in his own kingdom, before opposing the foreign enemy, returned from the frontier to the capital; and the forces of Akbur entering Kashmeer, proceeded, without, opposition, to Serinuggur. Officers being now appointed to subdue the several districts, the conquest in a short time was rendered complete. On the successful approach of the Indian army, Yakoob fled to the hills; but collecting a force, he attacked Mahomed Kasim Khan, and in one action which took place many Indian chiefs were killed, though the Prince Yakoob was eventually defeated. Not disheartened by this reverse, he again assembled troops, and marched to the gates of Serinuggur, where he was opposed by Mahomed Kasim Khan, whom he defeated, and compelled to seek protection in the citadel of that town, whence Mahomed Kasim wrote to his court for assistance. Akbur Padshah having recalled Mahomed Kasim, nominated Syud Yoosoof Khan Mushedy to the government of Kashmeer; and on his approach the Prince Yakoob withdrew his forces from the citadel, and fled to the hills, whither he was pursued for two years; he was at last seized and sent to Dehly, where Akbur enrolled both Yoosoof Shah Chuk and his

son Yakoob among the nobles of his government. They each received estates in the fertile province of Behar, and from that period the kingdom of Kashmeer has been a province of Dehly; before which, for upwards of one thousand years that principality had been independent, and was never subdued by any of the monarchs of Hindoostan.

CHAPTER XI

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE MAHOMEDANS IN MALABAR

ALL the materials of the history of the Mahomedans of the Malabar coast that I have been able to collect are derived from the Tohfut-ool-Mujahi-deen; from which we learn that the province of Malabar is situated on the southern part of the peninsula of India, and that the Hindoo princes of that country previously to the reign of Ramraj[1] paid tribute, and acknowledged fealty, to the Rays of Beejanuggur and the Carnatic.

Anterior to the propagation of the Mahomedan faith, the Christans and Jews had established themselves as merchants in that country; till at length, during the reign of a prince called Samiry,[2] some vessels from Arabia having Mahomedans on board, going on a pilgrimage to the footsteps of Adam, on the island of Selandeep (Ceylon), which is also called Lunka, were driven into the port of Cranganore, where the Samiry Raja resided. This prince received the strangers with hospitality, and was so pleased with the society of some holy men who were among the pilgrims, that having enquired respecting the Mahomedan faith, he became a convert; and leaving his kingdom, went to Mecca, and died in one of the ports of the Red Sea. Before his death, he wrote to his representative in Malabar to receive the Mahomedans in future with hospitality, and permit them to settle and build musjids. This communication was written in the language of Malabar, whose ruler henceforward assumed the title of Samiry.

In consequence of this letter the Mahomedans were treated with kindness by the reigning prince, who wrote to the governors of his districts in these words:—"Whereas Mullik, the son of Hubeeb, and certain other Mahomedans, have come to visit this our country, and intend residing among us, it is our royal order, agreeably to the imperial command of the late Samiry, that wherever the said Mullik or any of his tribe wish to reside, ground shall be allotted to them, in order to build either habita-

1. For the history of Ramraj, see vol. iii. p. 48, &c.
2. Zamorin of the Portuguese historians.

tions or places of worship." Mullik first settled at Cranganore, where he built a musjid, and cultivated some garden land; afterwards, having gone farther into the country, he established a colony of Mahomedans in the town of Quilon. Thence he went to Hurryputtun, Daraputtun, Mundra, Jay-Faknoor, Mangalore, and Kalinjurkote;[3] in each of which towns he built musjids, and established Moollas to preach the true faith; and as the Mahomedans in Malabar are mostly of the Shafay[4] persuasion, I conclude that Mullik, the son of Hubeeb, was also of the same faith. From this period, the Mahomedans extended their religion and their influence in Malabar; and many of the princes and inhabitants becoming converts to the true faith, gave over the management of some of the sea-ports to the strangers, whom they called Nowayits (literally, the New Race). The rajas of the ports of Goa, Dabul, and Choul, were the first who gave them this appellation, and encouraged emigration from Arabia; and though their elevation to public offices gave umbrage to the Christians and Jews,[5] who became their determined enemies; yet, as the countries of Deccan and Guzerat were gradually brought under Mahomedan subjection, their enemies were unable to do these Arabian settlers any material injury, until the tenth century of the Hijra, when in the decline of the Mahomedan empire of Dehly the Portuguese invaded India.

In the year A.H. 904 (A.D. 1498), four vessels belonging to the King of Portugal arrived at the ports of Calicut[6] and Koilad;

3. Many of these places are either erroneously written in my MS., or they have changed their names.

4. Mahomedans adopting the doctrines of Aboo Abdoolla, surnamed Shafay, who lived in the eighth century of the Christian era. He was the first and most able of the Mahomedan doctors who wrote on the civil and canonical law. His tenets and opinions are in conformity with those of Aboo Huneefa, who died in the year 782. Aboo Abdoolla Shafay was born in the same year at Gaza, in Palestine, and died in Egypt at the age of fifty-four, A.D. 836. The followers of these divines are entitled Soonies or orthodox, in contradistinction to other Mahomedan schismatics, whom they call Rafzy, or Heretics.

5. The Jews and Christians here alluded to are those which came from western Asia; and it seems not improbable that their emigration to the East occurred during the period of the early Christian schisms of Nestorians, Manicheans, &c. which emigration continued, perhaps, even down to the time of Mahomed.

6. Faria-e-Souza says, Vasco de Gama reached Calicut on the 20th May, 1498. Vol. i. part i. chap. iv.

when, having made observations on the nature of the country and its inhabitants, they returned to Portugal. On the following year (A.H. 905, A.D. 1499) six vessels arrived; and the Portuguese endeavoured to persuade the Raja of Calicut to shut his ports against the traders from Arabia, telling him that by such a measure the Indians would gain more advantage than by carrying on a small traffic annually by the Red Sea; but Samiry not consenting to this proposal, the Portuguese declared war against the Arabs, and attacked their vessels; which so incensed the Raja, that he ordered several of the Portuguese then on shore to be attacked, and seventy were killed. The rest made their escape to their ships, and took refuge with the Raja of Cochin, an enemy of Samiry. The Cochin chief permitted the Portuguese to build a fortified factory at that place; they also destroyed a mosque, and built a chapel in its stead, which was the first building erected by Europeans in India. From Cochin they sailed to Cananore, where they also made friends with the Raja; and having built a fort, established a factory there; and while they transported pepper and ginger to Europe, they prevented any other vessels from doing so also.

Samiry, hearing of these proceedings, attacked the Raja of Cochin; and having killed three petty rajas in action, and taken their country, he returned to his capital: but, the heirs of those slain, collecting a large force, retook their countries, and the rajas of Cochin and Cananore continued to support and befriend the Portuguese. Samiry, a thousand times more incensed than ever, distributed largesses to his troops, and marched to Cochin; but finding the Portuguese had sailed and left the place, he returned to his capital, and immediately despatched ambassadors to Judda, in the Red Sea, to the Deccan, and to Guzerat; informing the respective sovereigns of those countries, that the Portuguese had behaved in the most cruel manner to his Mahomedan subjects, and that he was unable to withstand their forces. He states:—"I am not apprehensive for my own country, but for my Mahomedan subjects; for, although myself a Hindoo, I conceive it my duty to protect them as if they were also of the same persuasion. But the King of Portugal is wealthier than I; and as I find that by destroying these invaders they increase their numbers on the following year, I am reduced to solicit the assistance of the Mahomedan kings; so that I entreat you, by the value you place on your religion, to send your ships filled with

victorious troops into these seas, to attack the Europeans, and entitle yourselves to have your names enrolled in the list of holy warriors, who in supporting the cause of religion have become inhabitants of paradise."[7]

Munsoor Ghoory, the caliph of Egypt, accordingly deputed his admiral, Ameer Hoossein, with thirteen ships of war, to proceed to the Indian coasts. Mahmood Shah of Guzerat, and Mahmood Shah Bahmuny of the Deccan, also sent ships from Diu, Surat, Gogo, Dabul, and Choul, which all met at the island of Diu; from whence the combined fleet proceeded, under the command of Mullik Eiaz Sooltany, the Guzerat admiral, and Ameer Hoossein, the admiral from Egypt, to the south. This armament fell in with the Portuugese off the port of Choul, where an engagement took place, in which some Arab vessels fell into the hands of the Portuguese, and the Mahomedan fleet was dispersed, after which the Portuguese returned to their own ports. At this period an army from Constantinople arriving in Egypt, the Ghoory dynasty became subservient to the Turkish government of Europe. Samiry, hearing this news, was much dejected, despairing of subduing the Portuguese, who every day became more and more powerful. During the absence of Samiry, in the year A.H. 915 (A.D. 1509), from Calicut, the Portuguese landed and plundered the town, and burned the principal mosque; but on the following day, the inhabitants rising on the invaders, five hundred Portuguese were killed, and many drowned in endeavouring to reach their boats. Notwithstanding this circumstance, they obtained a grant of land from a neighbouring zemindar, on which they built a fort within three miles of Calicut. It has been before related in the Deccan history, that during the same year they attacked and took by storm the fort of Goa, which was, however, shortly after retaken by stratagem; but they subsequently became possessed of it again by bribing the governor with large presents; since which period Goa has been considered the principal Portuguese settlement in India, and a governor-general is appointed from Europe.

Samiry, finding all his efforts against the Portuguese of no avail, was reduced to such a state of despair, that being taken seriously ill, he died of a broken heart in the year A.H. 921

7. This *orthodox* letter, if actually written, was probably penned in Arabic by some worthy Moslem scribe; and it is likely its contents were never clearly explained to the Hindoo prince.

(A.D. 1515), when he was succeeded by his brother, who shortly after his accession made peace with the Portuguese. In this treaty the latter were authorised to build a factory at Calicut, and to trade without molestation, on condition of permitting four ships laden with pepper and ginger to sail annually to the Arabian coast. The Portuguese immediately built a fortified factory; and after establishing themselves, not only refused to allow the transport of the pepper and ginger to take place agreeably to compact, but persecuted the Mahomedans, on all occasions, with great cruelty. The Jews, also, who resided at Cranganore, taking advantage of the weakness of the Samiry government, following the example of the Portuguese, put to death many of the Mahomedans in that town and its vicinity. Samiry, repenting of having come to any terms with these Europeans, and seeing that their example had induced the Jews to commit these outrages, marched with a force to Cranganore, and succeeded in expelling all the Jews from every part of his country; after which, calling upon the Mahomedans in Malabar to join his standard, he proceeded to attack the Portuguese factory at Calicut, which he stormed, and took by assault; and he was enabled to despatch the four Arab vessels laden with pepper and ginger.

The Portuguese, however, resolved to have a factory near the town of Calicut, for two reasons: in the first place, on account of its great trade; and, secondly, because their factory being contiguous to that port, they could blockade it, and entirely monopolise the export of pepper and ginger. Inspite of remonstrance, therefore, in the year A.H. 938 (A.D. 1531), they built a fort at the port of Jaliat, seven miles distance from Calicut, and also the fort of Reevadunda, near Choul.

In the year A.H. 941 (A.D. 1534), they took possession of the port of Swally and Daman, and of the island of Diu, in Guzerat, from Bahadur Shah, as has been already related in the history of that monarch; and in the year A.H. 943 (A.D. 1536), they attacked the town of Cranganore, and built a fort, notwithstanding the efforts of Samiry to prevent it. At this time, Sooliman, the Grand Signior of Constantinople, resolved, if possible, to deprive the Portuguese of the trade to India, and to attack their factories, after which he proposed to conquer the empire of Hindoostan. For this purpose he appointed his vizier, Sooliman Aga, to the command of an armament, consisting of upwards of one hundred vessels, which sailed from the Red Sea in the year A.H. 944

(A.D. 1537). Sooliman Aga first attacked and took the port of Adun, which lies at the mouth of the Red Sea, whence he sailed towards the island of Diu, in Guzerat; but finding, on his arrival, that his treasury was low, and his provisions nearly exhausted, he was compelled, after a few days, to return, without accomplishing his purpose.

Before the year A.H. 963 (A.D. 1555) we find that other nations of Europe had sent vessels to India, and settled in the several ports and island of the East. They built factories at Pulicat, Mylapoor, Negapatam, Madras, Bracelore, Mangalore, and in Bengal. They also settled on the islands of Sumatra, Malacca, Timoor, and Ceylon, and even established factories on the coast of China; but Sooltan Ally Akhy attacked the Europeans on the island of Sumatra, and drove them from their factory, as did also the King of Ceylon. Samiry, the King of Calicut, being much oppressed by the Portuguese, sent ambassadors to the Mahomedan kings of Beejapoor and the Deccan, requesting their assistance.

In the year A.H. 979 (A.D. 1571), the Deccan and Beejapoor monarchs marched against Reevadunda and Goa, while Samiry attacked and captured the fort of Jaliat; but the Mahomedan kings were compelled to raise the sieges both of Reevadunda and Goa, and return to their respective capitals. The Portuguese now became more and more exasperated against the Mahomedans; and having the entire command of the seas, they plundered several ships (belonging to Akbur Padshah of Dehly) returning from Judda in the Red Sea, whither they had conveyed pilgrims to the holy shrine at Mecca. They also landed and burned the towns of Adilabad and Carapatam, on the shore of the Beejapoor empire, and went to Dabul for the same purpose; but the governor, Khwaja Ally Shirazy, having heard of their intentions, permitted them to land, and put to death upwards of a hundred and fifty Portuguese. From the time the vessels belonging to Akbur Padshah were taken, that monarch laid an embargo on all his ships sailing either to the Red Sea or to the Gulf of Persia, as heretofore, conceiving that to obtain passes from the Europeans would be derogatory to his dignity; and the ships being plundered incurred both disgrace to the King and loss to his subjects. Some of the governors on the sea-coast, however, such as Abdool Raheem of Surat, and others, obtaining passes for their vessels, still continued to trade. In the year A.H. 1020

(A.D. 1611), the Emperor of Dehly, Jehangeer, the son of Akbur Padshah, granted a spot for the English to build a factory in the city of Surat, in the province of Guzerat, which is the first settlement that people made on the shores of Hindoostan. The persuasion of this nation is different from that of other Europeans, particularly the Portuguese, with whom they are in a state of constant warfare. They assert that Jesus was a mortal, and the Prophet of God; that there is only one God; and that he is without equal, and has no wife, nor son, according to the belief of the Portuguese. The English have a separate king, independent of the King of Portugal, to whom they owe no allegiance; but on the contrary, these two nations put each other to death wheresoever they meet. At present, in consequence of the interference of Jehangeer Padshah, they are at peace with each other, though God only knows how long they will consent both to have factories in the same town, and to live on terms of amity and friendship.

CONCLUSION

It is stated in the history of Babur, that the territory of Hind (India) is confined to the first, second, and third climates, but that no part is in the fourth climate. This country is quite peculiar, and the manners of its inhabitants are very remarkable. Its towns bear little resemblance to those of other countries; but the customs of the people have some affinity with those of Yemun in Arabia, with the Bedouins, and especially with the inhabitants of Madagascar. Hind is bounded on the north by Kashmeer, whence issue the great rivers which flow to the south-west. These all unite, near Mooltan, with the river Indus, and flow in one stream to Tutta, where they disembogue into the Indian ocean. These rivers are the Sutlooj, the Beea, the Ravy, the Chunab, the Behut, and, lastly, the Sind, or Indus. The Behut used to be called the Jheelum, as at present the Sind is in some places denominated the Neelab. Besides these rivers are several other large streams issuing fróm those mountains, such as the Joon (Jumna), the Great Gung (or Ganges), the Kaly Nye, the Gunduk, the Surjoo, and many others, all of which streams, rising in the east, and passing through the province of Bengal, unite with the Ganges and flow into the Eastern sea. Independently of these there are other numerous rivers in Hindoostan, which do not take their rise in the mountains that form the Indian barrier. Among them we may reckon the Chumbul, the Bunas, and the Soane, all of which unite with the Ganges, and fall into the ocean. In the Deccan are also several rivers; such as the Nurbudda, the Tapty, the Poorna, the little Gunga (Godavery), the Krishna, the Bheema, and the Toongbudra. The three former rivers flow to the west, and the three latter-eastward. So superficially do many of the rivers of the Deccan pass through the open country, that their waters might be rendered applicable to its irrigation; and although in some villages it is usual to dig channels and convey the water into their fields, it is not sufficiently practised; for the inhabitants do no appear to enjoy the sight of running streams, or to feel refreshed by breezes blowing over water. It sometimes happens, indeed, that men of rank, in travelling, prefer pitching their tents on the banks of streams,

but they usually have the female apartments in the vicinity of the water.[1]

The houses of India are built like prisons, and the towns and cities are filthy and uncleanly. I must, however, except the Hydrabad of Golconda, which has lately been constructed by Mahomed Ally Kootb Shah, and which not only bears a fair comparison with the cities in other parts of the world, in appearance as well as in cleanliness, but is superior to many. The cause of this excellence arises out of the fine stream of water that flows throughout the streets and bazars, which are beautiful and wide. The shops and private houses in Hydrabad are throughout constructed of stone and mortar, and on each side of the stream is a row of trees affording abundance of shade. India abounds with forests and extensive wildernesses, full of all sorts of trees; so much so, that these wastes seem to offer inducements, both to rajas and subjects, to revolt from the government. The agricultural population, and the abundance of cattle, in this country, exceed that of all others; but its depopulation and desolation are sudden and rapid beyond conception. This is owing principally to the inhabitants building their houses of thatch, and having their domestic utensils of earthen-ware, both of which they relinquish without remorse; so that by taking their cattle with them, and departing to some other spot, they easily construct houses like those they have deserted, and, after obtaining a few earthen vessels, they again apply themselves to husbandry.

The autumnal crops are produced in the months when the sun is in Cancer, Leo, Virgo, and Libra, and are brought for-

1. In order to understand this sentence it is necessary to observe, that the mode of encampment adopted by travellers of distinction in India is quite systematic and uniform. In front is the chief's guard of honour and his flag; behind is his state tent for holding levees and receiving visitors; next in order come his private tents, surrounded by screens embracing a square area of several yards, and in the rear of all are the female apartments, which for convenience and privacy are placed close to the edge of the water, or stream, if there should be one. On both flanks of the chief's establishment are his retainers and the cattle and carriages: an arrangement which effectually deprives him and his guests of enjoying the sight of running streams, or being refreshed by the breezes blowing over the water. Ferishta's countrymen (the Persians) are absolute enthusiasts on the subject of running waters and green fields.

ward by the rain of the monsoon; while the spring crops, which grow during the months when the sun is in Scorpio, Sagittarius, Capricornus, and Aquarius, require no rain, nor the aid of streams or wells, but are brought to great perfection by the dews and the cool nights at that season of the year, a fact which has always surprised me. The air of the Deccan, owing to its proximity to the sea, and the abundance of the rain which falls, is extremely moist.

The Indians divide the year into three seasons, each having mour months. These they call the hot season, the wet season, and the cool season. They calculate their months according to the revolutions of the moon; but their three seasons are rendered subservient to both the solar and lunar year. This they contrive in the following manner:—Whenever the beginning of the lunar month falls on a Tuesday, for instance, and the sun enters Leo on the fifteenth or twentieth of that month, supposing it to be the month of Srawun (August), they commence the month of Bhadown (September) from the day on which the sun enters the new sign of the zodiac. This makes a difference of ten days, and some hours, in every solar year. Thus in every third year they have an extra month, which they include in that division they call the rainy season; and in that year they have five lunar months for the wet season. On the occasion of the extra month again recurring they include it in the cold season, and on the third occasion, in the hot season. The seasons, according to the Indian phraseology, are as follow:—

Srawun (August) Bhadown (September) Asween (October) Kartik (November)	The season of rain,

answering to Cancer, Leo, Virgo, and Libra. They reckon only twenty-six days, and something over, for Libra; and this difference they carry to the account of the lunar year, to make it correspond with the solar calculations.

Margsirsh (December) Poos (January) Mag'h (February) P'halgoon (March)	The cold season.

which lasts from the end of Libra to the beginning of Aquarius, including part of both.

Cheitr (April) Veishak (May) Jesht (June) Ashar (July)	The hot season.

The rains are usually the heaviest in the two months of Srawun and Bhadown (August and September); whereas the cold is in the extreme in the months of Poos and Mag'h (January and February); and the hottest months are Cheitr and Ashar (April and July). According to this account the Hindoos subdivide the year into six portions, each of which has its particular name; for instance,

Srawun and Bhadown (August and September) are called Burk Root, or Veersha;
Asween and Kartik (October and November) Surrid Root;
Margsirsh and Poos (December and January) Heemunt Root;
Mag'h and P'halgoon (February and March) Seeshir Root;
Cheitr and Veishak (April and May) Busunt Root;
Jeisht and Ashar (June and July) Greeshm Root.

The Hindoos divide the day and night into twelve hours each; and they subdivide their twelve hours into minutes in the same way as in other countries. They also separate the day and night into eight pe'hrs, or waches. A pe'hr is the same as the pas of the Persians, from which is derived the word pasban, a watchman. The Hindoos also subdivide their twelve hours into thirty gurries; so that there are seven gurries and a half in each pe'hr, or watch. The variations in the length of the day and the night are minutely observed, and recorded by their astronomers and learned men.

Let it not remain concealed from those persons who peruse history in general, that the central portion of Hind has been subjected to the arms of the kings of Islam, (may God perpetuate their good works!) while the territories of the confines are still in possession of several great Hindoo princes; who having submitted to pay tribute are permitted to retain their countries, which they thus preserve from foreign invasion. Of these princes, there are five principal rajas on the north, and five others on the south, each of whom has numerous tributary rajas dependent on him. There are several great rajas, too, in the Dec-

can who possess extensive regions, and who have also tributary chiefs subordinate to them. Of the five former great rajas are:—

The Raja of Kooch,
The Raja of Jummoo,
The Raja of Nagrakote,
The Raja of Kumaoon, and
The Raja of Bhimbur.

The rajas of Kooch are lineally descended, from father to son, from Shunkul, who was once a great ruler of that territory. In modern times there have been four dynasties of kings; and he who is now on the throne is of the race hill-bramins, which are not held in much estimation by the inhabitants of Hindoostan. The territory of Kooch is bounded on one side by Chittagong, on another by China, and on another by Bengal. The Raja of Jummoo in ancient times was held to be very powerful, because he possessed seventy forts. He is of the tribe of Moolbas, or Boolbas: this tribe is connected with the Nowair Purwary. Raja Rig is the first person of this hill-race who is mentioned as famous in history. In the time of Gooshtasp of Persia, Kedaraj, the nephew of Mahraj, King of Kunowj, constructed the fort of Jummoo, and made it over, with the neighbouring country, to Raja Rig. He, accompanied by four hundred blood relations, raised an army, and fixing himself in that mountainous region, established a kingdom for descendants. The Raja who is now on the throne is the sixty-first lineal decendant of Raja Rig; but he does not possess all the power which his ancestors once did.

The Raja of Nagrakote is of a family which traces its pedigree through a long ancestry of one thousand three hundred years; anterior to which, the race of Beis, or Byce, held sovereign sway in that territory for nearly one thousand years, when the present family ascended the throne; but I have been unable to trace its origin. The Raja of Nagrakote obtains consideration from the Hindoos for two reasons: first, because he holds in his possession so strong a fortress as that of Nagrakote; secondly, because the celebrated temple dedicated to Doorga is within his dominions. From this source he derives a considerable revenue, on account of the pious Hindoos who come annually to make offerings there.

The Raja of Kumaoon also possesses an extensive dominion, and a considerable quantity of gold is procured by washing the

earth mounds in his country, which also contains copper mines. His territory stretches to the north as far as Thibet, and on the south reaches to Sumbhul, which is included in India. He retains in pay an army of eighty thousand men, both cavalry and infantry, and commands great respect from the emperors of Dehly. His treasures, too, are vast. It is a rule among the kings of Kumaoon not to encroach on the hoards of their ancestors; for it is a saying among them, that whoever applies his father's treasures to his own use will become mean and beggarly in spirit; so that at the present day fifty-six distinct treasures exist, which have been left by the rajas of Kumaoon, each of which has the owner's seal on it. The sources of the Jumna and Ganges are both to be found within the Kumaoon territory.

The Raja of Bhimbur is also a prince of great power, and has an extensive dominion. These five rajas have numerous petty princes dependent on them, whose countries are situated in their vicinity. Such are the great Hindoo princes of the Sewalik mountains, which lie on the north of Hindoostan. These mountains extend from Swad and Bijour in a continuous chain as far as Bengal; and they embrace Hindoostan on the north, so that both ends are lost in flat and sandy deserts on the south. From the boundaries of Ketch and Mikram, as far as the mountains, is a desert tract. In these regions are the territories of the Raja of Kutch, the Raja of Amurkote, the Raja of Bhikaneer, the Raja of Jeselmere, and the Jam Raja. The Raja of Kutch, whose territory lies proximate to Sind, is dependent on the King of Guzerat. Water is so scarce in this country that some of the wells are two hundred yards deep, and the element is drawn up by camels. In consequence of this deficiency, agriculture is very limited, and provisions are scarce.

The Raja of Amurkote is one of the rajas of Sind. Like Kutch, it is deficient in water and cultivation. The Emperor Akbur was born at Amurkote.

The Raja of Bhikaneer claims the priviledge of receiving daughters from the several other rajas of India. He is of the race of Bhurteea.

The Raja of Jeselmere is also a great prince: his country lies between Guzerat and Sind. This tract abounds in fearful deserts and forests, and is very deficient in water. Its resources are chiefly derived from breeding horses and camels; for, like the

countries of Kutch and Sind, it suffers for want of water, and the cultivation, therefore, is very limited.

The country of the Jam Raja is situated near to Guzerat. When the King of Guzerat is powerful, the Jam Raja pays tribute, otherwise he refuses to do so. His country is ill supplied with water, and his subjects are not only in want of clothing, but frequently suffer from the absence of food. They subsist, for the most part, on the milk of camels and buffaloes. Fine horses are procured in abundance in that country, and the Arabians[2] which are brought to India are imported through Kutch, and pay a considerable revenue to the government.

Within the territories of these five rajas little other grain but bajry and jowar is cultivated. The revenue is for the most part derived from horses and camels.

Among the great rajas of the Deccan is the Raja of the Carnatic. Of this line the most illustrious was Beejy Sing, who, nine hundred years ago, founded the city of Beejanuggur, so called after him; and his decendants considered it incumbent on them to add to its extent and beauty, so that it became seven coss[3] in circumference. The first person who displayed the banners of revolt in India, and pretended to establish his independence from the kings of Kunowj, was the ancestor of the rajas of the Carnatic, as has been before related;[4] and in the reign of Mahraj he expelled his lieutenant, Shew Ray, from the Deccan. His descendants, however, from father to son, succeeded to the kingdom, when at length Ramraj, in the year 972 (A.D. 1564), opposed the kings of the Deccan, and was slain; after which period no such raja has sat on the throne.

As ample details regarding the other rajas of the Deccan are to be found by referring to the histories of that part of India which have been before given in this work, I have not thought proper to lengthen it out by again dwelling on those subjects.

2. The finest horses produced in India are bred in Kattywar; and it is to the circumstance of crossing them with Arabian blood to which alone we can refer the great superiority of these animals over the other horses of the country.

3. Fourteen miles.

4. Introductory chapter, vol. i. p. lxiii.

COMPARATIVE CHRONOLOGY
OF
THE MINOR KINGDOMS WHICH EVENTUALLY FELL INTO THE POWER OF THE GREAT MOGUL

A.D.	GENERAL CHRONOLOGY	GUZERAT	MALWA	KANDEISH
1370	FEROZE TOGHLUK, King of Dehly	. . . .	. . . .	The district of Talnere conferred on Mullik Raja.
1387	. . . .	. . . .	Dilawur Khan Ghoory made governor	
1389	MAHMOOD TOGHLUK, King of Dehly			
1391	. . . .	Moozuffur Khan, governor		
1397	. . . .	——assumes the title of King		
1399	Teimoor invades India . . .	. . . .	. . . .	Death of Mullik Raja.—MULLIK NUSEER, King.
1400	——sacks Dehly, and expels the King	Mahmood Toghluk of Dehly solicits an asylum	——affords a refuge to the exiled King of Dehly	
1401	. . . .	The districts of Idur and Diu taken from the Hindoos	The King of Dehly quits Malwa to reoccupy his throne.—DILAWUR KHAN assumes the title of King	
1406	The kingdom of Dehly limited to within a few miles of the city	. . . .	Dilawur Khan dies.—SOOLTAN HOOSHUNG, King	
1407	. . . .	Moozuffur Shah wage war with the King of Malwa	Sooltan Hooshung is defeated, and made prisoner	
1408	. . . .	. . . .	——is restored to his throne	
1410	. . . .	——dies.—AHMUD SHAH I. King		

A.D.	GENERAL CHRONOLOGY	GUZERAT	MALWA	KANDEISH
1411	. . . .	Ahmud Shah has to contend with his cousins for the throne	Sooltan Hooshung invades Guzerat in aid of the pretenders	Mullik Nuseer occupies Aseer by treachery.
1415	Syud Khizr Khan, King—he recovers part of the Doab			
1417	. . . .	——levies tribute from the Raja of Buglana	. . . .	——receives the regalia from the King of Guzerat, and the title of Khan.
1418	. . . .	Formidable confederacy of the Hindoos against Ahmud Shah	Sultan Hooshung invades Guzerat to aid the Hindoos	
——	. . . .	Ahmud Shah exacts tribute from the Raja of Champanere, and invades Malwa.—Peace concluded	——is defeated at the battle of Kaliada.—Peace with Guzerat	
1421	Syud Khizr Khan dies, and is succeeded by Syud Moobarik	War renewed with Malwa	——proceeds to Jajnuggur to obtain elephants, and returns to Mando.—Battle of Sarungpoor.—Levies tribute from the Raja of Kehrla	
——	. . . .	Ahmud Shah retreats.—end of the war		
1426	. . . .	——builds the fort of Ahmudnuggur, near Idur		

Briggs IV/21

A.D.	GENERAL CHRONOLOGY	GUZERAT	MALWA	KANDEISH
1427	War with the King of Joonpoor			
1428	War with the Gukkurs in the Punjab		The Raja of Kehrla attacked by the Bahmuny King of the Deccan	
1429	. . . .	Ahmed Shah invades the Deccan. — Battle of Manukpoonj	The King of Malwa proceeds to the Deccan, but 's defeated	
1430	. . . .	Bombay and Tanna taken by the Deccan troops, but recovered by the Guzeratties		
1432	Lahore temporarily occupied by the Moguls	. . . .	Death of Sooltan Hooshung. —SOOLTAN MAHOMED GHOORY, King	
1435	Death of Syud Moobarik.—SYUD MAHOMED, King	. . . .	Mahomed is murdered by his relative Mahmood Khiljy	
1436	. . . .	Ahmud opposes the pretensions of Mahmood Khilji to the throne of Malwa	Severe contests for the crown, which finally terminate in the firm establishment of SOOLTAN MAHMOOD KHILJY	
1437	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	Mullik Nuseer becomes involved in war with the King of the Deccan

A.D.	GENERAL CHRONOLOGY	GUZERAT	MALWA	KANDEISH
1440	Dehly besieged by the king of Malwa	. . . .	Sooltan Mahmood proceeds to Dehly by invitation, but meets with little encouragement, and in consequence return	Battle of Lulling.—Death of Nuseer Khan.
1441	. . . .	. . . .	——invades Rajpoothana—besieges Koombulmere and Chittoor	MEERAN ADIL KHAN.—MEERAN MOOBARIK KHAN
1443	. . . .	Death of Ahmud Shah I.—MAHOMED SHAH, King		
1444	. . . .	. . . .	Sooltan Mahmood wages war with the King of Joonpoor	
1446	SYUD ALLA-OOD-DEEN, King of Dehly	. . . .	——levies tribute from the Rana of Mundulgur	
1447	Thirteen independent Mahomedan kings in India			
1450	. . . .	Mahomed Shah proceeds to impose tribute on Champanere	——marches to assist the Raja of Champanere	
1451	. . . .	——retires hastily to Ahmudabad, and dies.—KOOTB SHAH, King	——invades Guzerat	
1453	BEHLOLE LODY, King . . .	War with Malwa.—Battle of Surkech, wherein the King of Malwa captures the crown jewels of Guzerat		

A.D.	GENERAL CHRONOLOGY	GUZERAT	MALWA	KANDEISH
1455	**Bheilole Lody recovers a part of the Dehly empire**	Kootb Shah invades the territory of the Rana	Sooltan Mahmood takes Kerowly, Ajmere, and Runtunbhore	
1457	. . . .	——takes Aboogur by strom —dies. — DAWOOD SHAH, King	——invades the territory of the Rana, and exacts tribute	Meeran Moobarik Khan dies. —ADIL KHAN, King
——	. . . .	MAHMOOD BEGURRA, King		
1461	. . . .	. . . .	——invades the Deccan gains the battle of Bidur	
1462	. . . .	——marches to the relief of the King of the Deccan	——is compelled to retreat with heavy loss	
1464	. . . .	. . . .	Kehrla taken by the army of the Deccan	
1465	. . . .	——levies tribute on the rajas along the coast south of Surat	——gains the battle of Elichpoor.—Kehrla restored.—Peace with the King of the Deccan.	
1467	. . . .	. . . .	The Raja of Kehrla retakes that fortress, but it is again wrested out of his hands	
——	. . . .	. . . .	An Ambassador arives from Aboo Syeed, King of Bokhara	
1469	. . . .	——invades western Guzerat, and takes Girnal or Girnar	——dies.—GHEIAS-OOD-DEEN, King—confides the whole management of his government to his son	

A.D.	GENERAL CHRONOLOGY	GUZERAT	MALWA	KANDEISH
1470	. . . .	Mahmood Begurra invades Kutch and Sind—builds Moostufabad, in western Guzerat		
1474	Bheilole Lody conquers the kingdom of Joonpoor			
1482	. . . .	Mahmood Begurra commences the seige of Champanere		
1484	. . . .	——Champanere taken, after a seige of more than two years		
1490	Death of Bheilole Lody.—SIKUNDUR, King			
1494	. . . .	Bombay attacked by Bahadur Geelany, a Deccan chief.—Reparation made by the King of the Deccan		
1495	. . . .	. . . .	Commencement of the civil war	
1498	The Portuguese reach India by the route of the Cape of Good Hope	——compels Adil Khan of Kandeish to pay tribute—invades the Deccan	Death of Gheias-ood-Deen.—NASIR-OOD-DEEN, King	
1500	A Portuguese fleet of thirteen sail of ships arrives.—The Portuguese make war with the Mahomedan fleets.—The latter well supplied with cannon, and make use of fire-ships			

A.D.	GENERAL CHRONOLOGY	GUZERAT	MALWA	KANDEISH
1503	Severe naval action of Cochin	. . . .	. . . .	Adil Khan dies.—DAWOOD KHAN, King
1507	Two Portuguese fleets, consisting of thirty1five vessels, reach India			
1508	A fleet of twelve vessels reaches India.—Naval action of Choul.—The Portuguese first employ the Indians against their enemies	Mahmood Begurra sends his admiral to join the Turkish admiral from the Red Sea to engage the Portuguese fleet		
1510	Goa taken by the Portuguese --recaptured by the King of Beejapoor	——places his grandson, ADIL KHAN II. on the throne of Kandeish—receives an embassy from the King of Dehly—also from the King of Persia	. . . .	Dawood Khan dies.—ADIL KHAN II.
1511	Goa retaken by the Portuguese, on which occasion five thousand native troops are employed	——dies. — MOOZUFFUR II. King		
1512	. . . .	. . . .	Death of Nasir-ood-Deen.—MAHMOOD II. King	
1512	. . . .	. . . .	Contests for the throne among his brothers—his Hindoo chiefs prove their attachment to him—he becomes jealous of them	

A.D.	GENERAL CHRONOLOGY	GUZERAT	MALWA	KANDEISH
1517	Sikundur Lody dies.—IBRAHIM, King of Dehly	Moozuffur Shah marches into Malwa	He flies to Guzerat	Adil Khan II. accompanies the King of Guzerat into Malwa
1518	. . . .	. . . .	Mando captured from the Hindoos after a dreadful slaughter, and Mahmood II. reinstated on his throne	
1519	. . . .	. . . .	Rana Sanka invades Malwa. —defeats Sooltan Mahmood II. and makes him prisoner.—Mahmood restored to his throne by Rana Sanka	
1520	The Portuguese fail in an attempt to take Diu	Rana Sanka invades Guzerat	. . . .	——dies.—MEERAN MAHOMED, King
1521	A second attempt also fails	Moozuffur Shah invades the dominions of the Rana		
1524	. . . .	The Prince Bahadur quits his father's court in disgust, and proceeds to Dehly		
1526	Babur ascends the throne of Dehly	Death of Moozuffur Shah II. —SIKUNDUR, King — his death.—MAHMOOD II. King —BAHADUR SHAH, King		

A.D.	GENERAL CHRONOLOGY	GUZERAT	MALWA	KANDEISH
1527	. . . .	Contests for the throne . .	Sooltan Mahmood affords an asylum to the Guzerat princes	Meeran Mahomed engages in war with the King of the Deccan, and is defeated—solicits the aid of his uncle Bahadur Shah of Guzerat
1529	Babur dies. — HOOMAYOON, King of Dehly	Bahadur Shah invades the Deccan, and causes himself to be acknowledged King in Berar and Ahmudnuggur		
1531	The Portuguese armada of four hundreds ships and twenty-two thousand men sails from Bombay against Diu	——invades Malwa and subdues it.—The Portuguese fleet and expedition repulsed off Diu	Mando taken by escalade.—Death of Mahmood II	——attends his uncle Bahadur Shah in the campaign in Malwa
1533	Battle of Agra gained by Hoomayoon, who invades Malwa	——affords an asylum to the malecontent Mogul chiefs		
——	. . . .	——defies the power of Hoomayoon — besieges and takes Chittoor		
1534	War with Bahadur Shah.—Defeat at Mundsoor.—Mando and Champanere taken.—Guzerat occupied by the Moguls	Bahadur Shah defeated, and pursued by Hoomayoon through Malwa to Cambay.—Guzerat held by the Moguls		

A.D.	GENERAL CHRONOLOGY	GUZERAT	MALWA	KANDEISH
1534	Insurrection of the Afghans in Bengal	Bahadur Shah recovers his kingdom		
1535	. . . .	——is killed in an affray with the Portuguese at Diu.—MEERAN MAHOMED SHAH, King		
1536	. . . .	His death MAHMOOD III. King	. . . .	Meeran Mahomed called to the throne of Guzerat.—MEERAN MOOBARIK KHAN, King
1539	Hoomayoon expelled from India by Sheer Shah Soor			
1541	. . . .	. . . .	Malwa conquered by Sheer Shah Soor	
1543	Conquers Malwa—takes Runtunbhore—besieges Kalunjur—is killed by the explosion of a shell.—SULIM SHAH, King			
1552	Sulim Shah dies.—MAHOMED SHAH SOOR ADILY, King			
1553	. . . .	Mahmood III. dies.—AHMUD II. King		
1554	Hoomayoon crosses the Indus from Persia, and regains his crown			

A.D.	GENERAL CHRONOLOGY	GUZERAT	MALWA	KANDEISH
1556	The death of Hoomayoon.—AKBUR, King			
1558	Final re-establishment of the Mogul empire			
1561	. . . .	Death of Ahmud II.—MOOZUFFUR III. King	Baz BAHADUR, King—is attacked by the Moguls	Meeran Moobarik Khan aids Baz Bahadur
——	. . . .	Dissensions in the state	The Mogul general killed, and Baz Bahadur restored	
1566	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	——dies - MEERAN MAHOMED KHAN
1567	Akbur invited into Guzerat	Invasion by Akbur		
1572	——enters Guzerat to expel the Mirzas.—GUZERAT CONQUERED	Occupation by Akbur, and abdication of Moozuffur III.		
1575	—— invades and occupies Behar.—BEHAR CONQUERED			
1576	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	Meeran Mahomed Khan dies.—RAJA ALLY KHAN
1578	MALWA CONQUERED . . .	. . . .	Baz Bahadur abdicates his throne in favour of Akbur	
1583	. . . .	Death of Moozuffur III. the last of his race		
1584	Death of Bahadur Shah, the last of the kings of Luknowty			
——	BENGAL CONQUERED			

A.D.	GENERAL CHRONOLOGY	GUZERAT	MALWA	KANDEISH
1586	KASHMEER CONQUERED			
1590	SIND CONQUERED. — Berar ceded to Akbur			
1592	MOOLTAN CONQUERED	. . . .	. .	Boorhanpoor is sacked by a body of mutineers from Ahmudnuggur
1595	Battle of Soopa in the Deccan	. . . .	. . . . . .	Raja Ally Khan killed.—BAHADUR KHAN
1599	AHMUDNUGGUR CONQUERED.—KANDEISH CONQUERED	. . . .		Aseer besieged and taken—Bahadur Khan deposed

APPENDIX

No. I.

AN ALPHABETICAL LIST

OF

THE PROPER NAMES, TITLES, AND ORIENTAL WORDS

WHICH OCCUR IN THIS WORK, WITH EXPLANATIONS ATTACHED

Akil	عاقل	*A*. The wise
Abbas	عباس	*A*. The fierce
Abdool		
Abdoolla	عبد الله	*A*. The servant of God
Abdy Zeina	عبدي زينا	*A*. Contraction for Abdoola Zein
Abia	ابيا	*A*. Abia
Abool Asakir	ابو العساكر	*A*. The father of the host
Abool Fuzl	ابوالفضل	*A*. The father of excellence
Abool Kasim	ابوالقاسم	*A*. Father of Kasim (a divider)
Adeena	أدينه	*A*. Swarthy
Adhum	ادهم	*A*. Swarthy
Adil	عادل	*A*. The just

Note.—The capital let'ers denote the language from which each word is derived :—viz. *A*. Arabic. *Af*. Words of Afghan origin. *C*. Canarese *H*. Hindvy. *Ka*. Kashmeerian. *M*. Marratta. *P*. Persian. *S*. Sanscrit. *T*. Toorky.

Adil Shahy	عادل شاهي	*A.P.* Of or belonging to the dynasty of Beejapoor so called
Adum	آدم	*A.* Adam
Afghan	افغان	*Af.* People so called
Afra	افرا	*A.* The nimble
Afrasiab	افراسیاب	*P.* (An ancient king of Persia)
Afreedoon	افریدون	Ditto
Afshar	افشار	*P.* Tribe
Afzul	افضل	*A.* The excellent
Agha	آقا	*T.* Lord
Agny	اگني	*S.* Fire. A lamb
Ahdy	احدي	*A.* (The fierce). The one
Ahmud	احمد	*A.* The praiseworthy
Ahrar	احرار	*A.* The free born (title of a poet)
Ajda	اژده	*P.* The dragon
Ajdur	اژدر	*P.* The dragon
Ajeet Dew	اجیت دیو	*S.* The invincible prince
Akbur	اکبر	*A.* The great
Akheel	اخیل	*A.* Freckled
Ak Koovinloo	اق قونیلو	*T.* Tribe of the white ram
Akta	اکتا	*T.* Foster mother's relative
Alankoo	الانکو	*T.* Tribe
Alberg	البرگ	*T.* Tribe
Alingez	النگز	*T.* Tribe

Alkadur Billa	القادر بالله	*A.* The powerful in God
Alla-ood-Deen	علا الدين	*A.* Glory of the faith
Alla-ool-Moolk	علا الملک	*A.* Glory of the state
Allay	علاي	*A.* Of or beonging to Alla-ood-Deen
Ally	علي	*A.* Glorious
Ally Shukur	علی شکر	*A.* Of high praises
Allytugeen	عليتكين	*P.* The glorious hero
Almas	الماس	*P.* Diamond
Altoon	التون	*T.* Gold
Altoonea	التونيه	*T.* Golden
Altumish	التمش	*T.* Sixty (so called from being pur-chased for sixty to-mans)
Aluf	الف	*A.* Upright
Alugh	الغ	*T.* The great
Alum	عالم	*A.* Intelligent
Aluptugeen	الپتكين	*T.* The impetuous tiger
Alwund	الوند	*P.* The name of a mountain
Amarry	اماري	*H.* The seat on an elephant having a canopy
Ambur	عمبر	*A.* Ambergris
Ameen	امين	*A.* Faithful, *m.*
Ameena	امينه	*A.* Faithful, *f.*
Ameen-ool-Moolk	امين الملک	*A.* Faithful of the state
Ameer	امير	*A.* A Prince

Ameer-ood-Deen	اميرالدين	*A*. Prince of the faith
Ameer-ool-Momineen	اميرالمومنين	*A*. Prince of the faithful
Ameer-ool-Omra	اميرالامرا	*A*. Prince of princes
Ameerzada	اميرزاده	*P*. Son of a prince
Amroo	عمرو	*A*. Proper name
Amurgoey	امرگوي	*P*. Title of inspector of agriculture
Amur Sing	امرسنگ	*S*. The lion chief
Anchul	انچل	*H*. Proper name
Andeel	انديل	*Af*. Proper name
Andly	اندلي	*H*. Blindfold
Anjoo	انجو	*T*. The Precious
Anka	انکا	*T*. A wet nurse
Ankoos	انکوس	*S*. An elephant goad
Ansar	انصار	*A*. Auxiliaries
Anund	انند	*S*. Joyous
Anundpal	انندپال	*S*. The joyous prince
Anwur	انور	*A*. The resplendent
Anwury	انوري	*A.P*. The resplendent
Arab Khan	عرب خان	*A*. The Arab chief
Ardsheer Babegan	اردشيربابگان	*P*. Babegan, the lion of the host
Arghoon	ارغون	*T*. Red or fair
Arif	عارف	*A*. Intelligent
Arizy	عارضي	*H*. The officer who forwards petitions to the throne
Arjoon	ارجن	*S*. Name of a hero god
Armian	ارمیان	*Af*. Projector (Jeremiah)

Arsapa	ارسپا	*C.* Proper name
Arslan	ارسلان	*T.* The lion
Arustoo	ارسطو	*A.* Aristotle
Asa	اسا	*H.* Proper name
Asghur	اصغر	*A.* The little
A'shab	اصحاب	*A.* Companions
Ashruf	اشرف	*A.* Most noble
Ashruffy	اشرفي	*P.* Most noble
Ashwat'hama	اشوتهمه	*S.* The restrainer of horses (the name of a Hindoo demigod)
Askurry	عسكري	*A.* Chieftain
Assamy	اسامي	P. The inhabitants of Assam
Assud	اسد	*A.* Lion
Assudy	اسدي	*A.* A tribe of Arabs occupying Arabia Petra
Assumud	الصمد	*A.* The eternal
Asuf	اصف	*A.* Azof
Asy Row	اسي رار	*M.* Proper name
Atabuky	اتابكى	*T.* The tutor of the prince
Atba	عتبه	*A.* The excellent
Atchy	اچي	*S.* Virtuous
Atka	اتكا	*T.* Relative of a wet-nurse
Atmeer	اتمير	*Af.* Proper name
Attar	عطّار	*A.* The perfumer
Atushpara	آتشپاره	*P.* Spark of Fire

Aurungzeeb	اورنگزیب	*P.* The ornament of the throne
Azad	آزاد	*P.* Free
Azeez-ool-Moomalik	عزیز ال مما لک	*A.* Beloved of the universe
Azeez-ool-Moolk	عزیز الملک	*A.* Dear to the state
Azum	عظم	*A.* The magnificent
Azmut	عظمت	*A.* Magnificence
Azoory	اذ ري	*P.* The fire-worshipper
Baba	با با	*T.* Father
Babajee	باباجي	*T.* Paternal
Baboo	بابو	*S.* Master
Babur	با بر	*T.* The lion-hearted
Bahadur	بها د ر	*T.* The valiant
Baha-ood-Deen	بها الد ين	*A.* The splendour of the faith
Baha-ool-Moolk	بها الملک	*A.* The splendour of the state
Bahmun	بهمن	*P.* An ancient king of Persia
Bahmuny	بهمني	*P.* Sagacious, appertaining to a Brahmin
Baikra	با يقره	*T.* Proper name
Bain	باين	*A.* The distinguished
Baisanghar	با يسنغر	*T.* Proper name
Bakur	باقر	*T.* Brown or copper-coloured
Baky	باقي	*A.* The resolute
Baky Khuteer	باقي خطير	*A.* The illustriously resolute

Bala Row	بالا راو	*S*. The illustrious prince
Balyrow	بالیراو	*S*. Ditto
Banoo Begum	بانو بیگم	*T*. Lady queen
Bany	باني	*A*. Builder or architect
Barbik	باربیک	*T*. Chief of the council
Bargeer	بارگیر	*H.P*. A cavalry soldier (literally, one carrying heavy arms)
Barha	بارها	*Af*. Tribe
Basheer	بشیر	*A*. Comely
Bastugeen	باستگین	*T*. Of great valour
Bayezeed	بایزید	*T*. The illustrious prince
Baz	باز	*P*. A hawk
Bedar	بیدار	*P*. Vigilant
Beeby	بیبي	*H*. Lady
Beeby, By	بیبي بي	*H*. Lady queen
Beeby Rajy	بیبي راجي	*H*. Lady queen
Beerbul	بیربل	*H*. Powerful
Beg	بگ	*T*. Prince
Begum	بیگم	*T*. Princess
Begurra	بیگره	*S*. Surname of Mahmood of Guzerat
Behroze	بهروز	*P*. Probably a corruption of Feroze, victorious
Behzad-ool-Moolk	بهزاد الملک	*A*. The most noble of the state

Beiooka	بهرتا	*T*. Proper name
Beiram	بهرام	*T*. A feast
Beiramgoor	بهرامگور	*T*. The name of an ancient king of Persia
Bereed	بريد	*T*. Royal, illustrious
Bereed Shahy	بريد شاهي	*T*. Of or belonging to the dynasty so called which reigned at Bidur
Bergy	برگي	*M*. Light-armed cavalry
Bhagmutty	بهاگمتي	*S*. The name of a favourite mistress of the king of Golconda
Bhardevy	بهارديوي	*M*. The Princess Bhar
Bharjy	بهارجی	*M*. Proper name
Bharloo	بهارلو	*T*. Name of a tribe
Bharmul	بهارمل	*S*. Proper name
Bhaybulundur	بهايبلندر	*S*. Of exalted dignity
Bheel	بهل	*S*. Name of a tribe of hill people
Bheem	بهيم	*S*. Awful
Bheer Khan	بهير خان	*S*. Lord of the war-car
Bheilole	بهلول	*Af*. Proper name
Bheiry	بهيري	*H*. A falcon
Bhew Ray	بهور راي	*S*. The awful king
Bhikun	بهكن	*H*. Proper name
Bhoje	بهوج	*S*. Dominion
Bhoje Mul Naig	بهوج مل نايک	*S*. The chief holding dominion

Bhojut	بهجت	*P.* Joyful
Bholy	بهولي	*Af.* Vulgar
Bhoola	بهوله	*Af.* Ditto
Bhoory	بهوري	*Af.* Red haired
Bhowany Das	بهواني داس	*S.* The slave of the goddess
Bhowput	بهوپت	*S.* The lord of the earth
Bhugwandass	بهگواند اس	*S.* The servant of God
Bhungera	بهنگيره	*Af.* Tribe
Bhurt	بهرت	*S.* Proper name
Bhyleem	بهيليم	*Af.* Proper name
Bhyrew	بهيرو	*S.* Awful
Bijly	بهجلي	*H.* Lightning
Bilal Dew	بلال ديو	*S.* The great prince
Birkana	بركانه	*C.* Proper name
Birlas	برلاس	*T.* Tribe
Boghtudy	بغتدي	*T.* Proper name
Bokraz	بقراز	*T.* Proper name
Booboojee	بوبوجي	*T.* Lady
Boochuna	برچنه	*C.* Proper name
Boodagh	بداغ	*T.* Proper name
Boodhun	بودهن	*S.* The wise
Boodoo	بودو	*H.* Corruption of the above
Boolbas	بلباس	T. Tribe
Boorhan-ood-Deen	برهان الدين	*A.* Chief of the faithful
Boostamy	بستامي	*P.* An inhabitant of Boostam
Boot-Shikun	بت شكن	*P.* Destroyer of idols
Boozoorg	بزرگ	*P.* Great

Boozunjur	بزنجر	*T*. Destroyer
Borish	بورش	*T*. Hardy, flinty
Bramha	برمه	*S*. Brahma
Brahmin	برهمن	*S*. A Brahmin
Bubun	ببن	*Af*. Proper name
Buddoo	بدو	*Af*. Ditto
Budee-ooz-Zuman	بديع الزمان	*A*. The wonder of the age
Budmeen	بدمين	*A*. Proper name
Budr	بدر	*A*. Full moon, resplendent
Budr	بدره	*Ka*. Tribe in Cashmeer
Budukhshy	بدخشي	*P*. Inhabitant of Budukshan
Bukshshy	بخشي	*P*. Fortunate
Buktyar	بختيار	*P*. Fortunate tribe in Persia
Bulbhudar	بلبهدر	*H*. Powerful
Bulbun	بلبن	*P*. *Portulaca*
Buleel	بليل	*A*. Humid, soft
Buloch	بلوچ	*P*. Tribe
Bulochy	بلوچي	*P*. One of the tribe
Bundgan	بندگان	*P*. Servile
Bungush	بنگش	*Af*. Tribe
Bungy	بنگي	*H*. Scavenger
Burkhoordar	برخوردار	*P*. Fortunate
Burny	برني	*H*. An inhabitant of Birun
Buswunt Row	بسونت راو	*S*. Resembling the bull

Chahar minar	چهار منار	*P.* Palace of four pillars
Chand	چاند	*H.* Resplendent
Cheen	چین	*P.* Chinese
Chehlgany	چهلگاني	*T.* Tribe
Chinia	چینیه	*C.* Diminutive
Chishty	چشتي	*T.* An inhabitant of Chisht
Chitnevees	چتنویش	*P.* Secretary
Chitty	چتي	*S.* Letter
Choban	چوبان	*P.* The shepherd
Choghtay	چغتاي	*T.* Name of a tribe
Choldy Khan	چلدي خان	*T.* A lance
Chougan	چوگان	*T.* A game played with bat and ball
Chowbeea	چوبیه	*T.* Tribe
Chowhan	چوهان	*H.* Ditto
Chuk	چک	*Ka.* Ditto
Chunchul	چنچل	*S.* Unsteady
Chund Ray	چند راي	*S.* King Chand or the resplendent
Chundur Sein	چندر سین	*S.* Moonlike chief
Chungiz	چنگیز	*T.* Proper name
Chushawimdy	چشاوندي	*T.* An inhabitant of Cheshawand
Chutr	چتر	*S.* A canopy or umbrella used by kings
Coss	کوس	*S.* A measure of length, varying from one and a half to three miles in different parts of India

Dabishleem	دابشلیم	*S.* Proper name
Daby	دابی	*H.* Tribe in Sowrashtra
Dad	داد	*P.* Justice
Dahir	داهر	*H.* Proper name
Daniel	دانیال	*A.* Daniel
Danieltugeen	دانیالتگین	*AT.* Daniel the chief
Danishmund	دانشمند	*P.* The wise
Dara	دارا	*P.* Darius
Darab	داراب	*P.* Corruption of Dara
Dawood	داود	*A.* David
Dawoodzye	داود زئي	*Af.* Tribe of David
Deena	دینا	*A.* Faithful
Denar	دینار	*P.* Deenar
Deilimy	دیلمي	*P.* Inhabitants of Deilim
Deotee	دیوتي	*H.* Lamplighter
Depul Hurry	دیوپال هري	*S.* The supreme lord
Dervish	درویش	*P.* Dervise
Dewul Devy	دیول دیوي	*S.* The lady queen
Devy Das	دیوي داس	S. The lord and master
Dew	دیو	*S.* Prince
Dew Naig	دیو نایک	*S.* The regal chief
Dewraj	دیوراج	*S.* The regal prince
Dhurma	دهرمه	*S.* The just
D'hurmarow	دهرمه راو	*S.* The just king
Dhurmchund	دهرمچند	*S.* The just prince
Dilaram	دل ارام	*P.* The comforter
Dilawur	دلاور	*P.* The brave

Diljoo	دلجو	*P*. The conciliator
Dilshad	دلشاد	*P*. The gladdener
Diwan Khana	ديوان خانه	*P*. The public hall of audience
Doaspa	دواسپه	*P*. Double horsed
Doghlat	دغلات	*T*. Tribe
Dongur See	دنگر سي	*S*. The hill chief
Dongur Sein	دنگر سين	*S*. Ditto
Dookna	دكنه	*M*. Family name
Dooldy	دولدي	*T*. Tribe
Doorga	درگه	*S*. Goddess of destruction
Dooryodhun	درريودهن	*S*. One of the princes of the Mahabharut
Dost	دوست	*P*. Friendly
Doung	دوانگ	*M*. Having two weapons in war
Dowla	دوله	*P*. Prosperous
Dowlut	دولت	*P*. Ditto, the state
Droupdy	دروپدي	*S*. A heroine of the Mahabharut
Dubeer	دبير	*P*. Secretary
Dukeeky	دقيقي	*P*. Name of a poet
Duffady	دفعدار	*A*. A subordinate military officer
Dundany	دنداني	*P*. Having projecting teeth
Durbar	دربار	*P*. The court
Darea	دريه	*P*. Ocean
Dustoor	دستور	*P*. The pillar

Dustoor-ool-Moolk	دستور الملک	*A*.P. The pillar of the state
Dutrashtur	دتراشتر	*S*. The lord of the country
Duvaly	دوالي	*H*. Tribe
Eedgah	عید گاه	*P*. Place of holding a festival
Eesa	عیسي	*A*. Jesus
Eiaz	ایاز	*A*. Refulgent
Eibuk	ایبک	*T*. Crested
Ein-ool-Moolk	عین الملک	*A*. The glory of the state
Eisha	عایشه	*A*. Voluptuous
Eiz-ood-Deen	عز الدین	*A*. The glory of the faith
Elderim	یلدرم	*T*. Lightning
Elias	الیاس	*A*. Elias
Elik	الک	*T*. Fireball
Enoch	انوخ	*A*. Enoch
Eritch	ایر	*T*. Proper name
Etibar	عتبار	*A*. Faithful
Etimad	اعتماد	*A*. Right arm
Faik	فایق	*A*. Superior
Farooky	فرخي	*P*. Propitious
Fatima	فاتمه	*A*. Name of the daughter of the prophet
Fazie	فاضل	*A*. Most excellent
Ferishta	فرشته	*P*. An angel, a messenger
Feroze	فیروز	*P*. Propitious

ف

Fetteh	فتح	*A*. Victorious
Fidwy	فدوي	*P*. Obedient
Firdowsy	فردوسي	*P*. Name of the poet
Firman	فرمان	*P*. A royal mandate
Firmully	فرملّي	*Af*. Tribe
Folad	فولاد	*P*. Steel
Folady	فولادي	*P*. Of steel
Fowjy	فوجي	*P*. Soldier
Fukhr-ood-Deen	فخر الدين	*A*. Pride of the faithful
Fukhr-ool-Moolk	فخر الملک	*A*. Pride of the state
Furash	فراش	*P*. A person who pitches tent
Furash Khana	فراش خانه	*P*. Camp-equipage establishment
Fureed	فريد	*A*. Precious
Fureedon	فريدون	*P*. King of Persia
Furhad	فرهاد	*P*. A celebrated statuary
Furhut-ool-Moolk	فرحت الملک	*A*. The joy of the state
Furokh	فرخ	*P*. Propitious
Furokhy	فرخي	*P*. Ditto
Furokhzeed	فرخزاد	*P*. Nobly born
Futtehy	فتحي	*A*. Victorious
Fuzeel	فضيل	*A*. Learned
Fuzeelut	فضيلت	*A*. Excellence
Fuzl	فضل	*A*. Superior
Fuzl-oolla	فضل الله	*A*. Possessing excellence from God

Fyz-oolla	فيض الله	A. Possessing liberality from God
Gand'hary	گندهاري	S. Name of a heroine of the Mahabharut
Gawan	گاوان	P. Proper name
Geelany	گيلاني	P. Native of Geelan
Geesoo-duraz	گيسو دراز	P. Longhaired
Ghalib	غالب	A. Powerful
Ghazy	غازي	A. Hero of the faith
Ghazy-mehaly	غازي محلي	A. Name of a slave
Gheias-ood-Deen	غياث الدين	A. The aid of religion
Ghiza-Toorkman	غزا تركمان	T. Tribe
Ghizny	غزني	P. Proper name
Gholam-i-Ally	غلام علي	P. The servant of Ally
Gholam-i-K'has	غلام خاص	P. Royal slaves. The household troops
Ghows'	غوث	A. The beseecher
Ghuffary	غفاري	A. The pardoner
Ghuneem	غنيم	A. The fortunate
Ghuzunfur	غضنفر	P. Hero or Lion
Gimgadas	گنگا داس	S. Lord of the Ganges
Gungoo	گنگو	S. Of or belonging to the Ganges
Giran	گران	P. Dear, precious
Giras	گراس	S. Mouthful
Girassia	گراسيه	S. Hindoo tribe
Gokultash	گوكلتاش	T. Tribe

Gond	گوند	*H*. Tribe
Goodurz	گودرز	*P*. Ancient king of Persia
Goojur	گوجر	*S*. Hindoo tribe
Gool	گل	*P*. Flower, roseate
Goolbuden	گلبدن	*P*. Delicate as a rose
Goolrokh	گلرخ	*P*. Rosy cheek
Goolrung	گلرنگ	*P*. Roseate, rose coloured
Goolzar	گلزار	*P*. Rose garden
Goony	گوني	*S*. One possessing high qualities
Goorgandaz	گرگ انداز	*P*. Wolf-slayer
Gooshtasp	گشتاسپ	*P*. Ancient king of Persia
Gopal	گوپال	*S*. Cowherd, appellation of Krishna
Gopraj	گوپراج	*S*. A synonym of Krishna
Govind	گوبند	*S*. Appellation of Krishna
Gowhur	گوهر	*P*. Jewel
Gudda	گدا	*P*. Beggar
Guja	گجا	*S*. Possessing elephants
Gujputty	گجپتي	*S*. The lord of the elephants
Gukkur	گکر	*H*. A tribe in Punjab
Gunesh	گنيش	*S*. Ganesa
Gunga	گنگا	*S*. The Ganges
Gunghadhur	گنگا دهر	*S*. The restrainer of the Ganges

Gunj-Shukr	گنج شکر	*P.* Repository of sweetness
Hafiz	حافظ	*A.* Protector
Hajib	حاجب	*P.* Groom of the bed chamber
Hajy	حاجي	*A.* Pilgrim
Hamid	حامد	*A.* Praiseworthy
Haroon	هارون	*A.* Impatient
Hatim	حاتم	*A.* A Judge
Hawaldar	حوالدار	*r.* A subordinate military officer
Heiat	حيات	*A.* Life
Heibut	هيبت	*4.* Awe
Heidur	حيدر	*A.* Lion
Heidur-ool-Moolk	حيدر الملک	*A.* Lion of the state
Hemajee	هماجي	*S.* Golden
Hemoo	همو	*S.* Ditto
Hemraj	همراج	*S.* Golden prince
Hijaz	حجاز	*A.* Mecca
Hijubr-ood-Deen	حجبر الدين	*A.* Lion of the faith
Hindal	هندال	*T.* Black
Hindoo	هندو	*T.* Ditto
Himmut	همت	*P.* Resolution
Hirawul	هراول	*T.* The advanced guard of an army
Hirvy	هروي	*P.* An inhabitant of Hirat
Hissam-ood-Deen	حسام الدين	*A.* The sword of the faith

Hoolakoo	هولاكو	*T.* Proper name
Hoomayoon	همايون	*P.* Propitious
Hoon	هون	*C.* A golden coin, pagoda
Hoorein	هورين	*A.* Proper name
Hoormooz	هرمز	*P.* The Deity
Hooshung	هشنگ	*P.* An ancient king of Persia
Hooshiar	هوشيار	*P.* Vigilant
Hoossein	حسين	*A.* Virtuous
Howda	هوده	*H.* An uncovered seat of an elephant
Hubeeb	حبيب	*A.* Affectionate
Hubush	حبش	*A.* Abyssinian
Hudeea-Sooltana	هديه شلطانه	*P.* Proper name of a princess
Hukeem	حكيم	*A.* Philosopher
Humadany	همداني	*P.* An inhabitant of Hamadan
Humad-ood-Deen	هماد الدين	*A.* The most praiseworthy of the faithful
Humbur Dew	همبر ديو	*S.* A corruption of Amra Deva, the immortal prince
Humeed	حميد	A, Praised
Humzvy	حمزوي	*A.* Tribe
Handeatum	هندباتم	*C.* Proper name
Huneef	حنيف	*A.* Faithful
Hunefy	حنفي	*A.* Name of a sect
Hurdevy	هرديوي	*S.* Lady queen
Hurdut	هردت	*S.* Adopted lord

Hurry	هرّي	*S*. Lord
Hurrychundur	هري چندر	*S*. Refulgent lord
Hurry Sa	هري سا	*S*. Lord and king
Hursook	هرسوک	*S*. The comfort of his prince
Hurum or Haram	حرم	*A*. Seraglio (sanctuary)
Hussun	حسن	*A*. Virtue
Hutpal	هتپال	*S*. Lord of the elephant
Huzara	هزارا	*Af*. Name of a tribe
Hye	حي	*A*. Living
Ibrahim	ابراهيم	*A*. Abraham
Idrees	ادريس	*A*. Esdras
Iftikhkar-ool-Moolk	افتخار الملک	*A*. Ornament of the state
Imad-ood-Deen	عماد الدين	*A*. Pillar of religion
Imad-ool-Moolk	عماد الملک	*A*. Pillar of the state
Imad Shahy	عماد شاهي	*A*. Of or belonging to the kings of Berar so called
Imam	امام	*A*. The high priest
Imam-ool-Moolk	امام الملک	*A*. High priest of the state
Inayut	عنايت	*A*. Liberality
Intishar	انتشار	*A*. Famous
Issac	اسحاق	*A*. Isaac
Isfahany	اسفهاني	*P*. Inhabitant of Isfahan
Isferahy	اسفراهي	*P*. A native of Isfirah

Isfundyar	اسفند یار	*P.* An ancient king of Persia
Iskunder	اسکندر	*P.* Alexander
Islam	اسلام	*A.* Salvation
Ismael	اسماعیل	*A.* Ismaeel
Jafur Beg	جعفر بگ	*P.* Name of a prince
Jageerdar	جاگردار	*P.* Feudal chief
Jahirba	جاهربا	*H.* Proper name
Jahir Dew	جاهر دیو	*H.* Ditto
Jakur	جاقر	*T.* Ditto
Jakurtugeen	جاقرتگین	*T.* Ditto
Jam	جام	*S.* Appellation for a prince in Sind
Japheth	یافث	*A.* Japheth
Jazim	جازم	*A.* Resolute
Jeevundas	جیوندا س	*S.* A corruption of Jeiwunt-dasa, the servant of the victorious
Jewum Ray	جیرنرای	S. The victorious prince
Jehangeer	جهانگیر	*P.* Conqueror of the world
Jehan Shah	جهانشاه	*P.* King of the world
Jehansooz	جهانسوز	*P.* Incendiary of the world
Jeichund	جیچند	*S.* The victor king
Jeipal	جیپال	*S.* The victor lord
Jelabur	جلابر	*T.* Name of a tribe
Jemedar	جمعدار	*P.* A military chief (captain)
Joodry	جودری	*P.* The plague
Joojhai	جوجار	*H.* Proper name

Joojy	جرجي	*T.* Proper name
Jookan	جرقان	*T.* Ditto
Joomla	جمله	*P.* Collector
Joomun	جمن	*H.* Proper name
Joona	جونه	*H.* Old, ancient
Jooneid	جنيد	*T.* Proper name
Joorjeea	جورجيه	*T.* Ditto
Joorjy	جورجي	*P.* Inhabitant of Joorjan
Joshun	جوشن	*P.* Coat of mail
Jotumraj	جوتمراج	*S.* Proper name
Jowhur	جوهر	*P.* Precious (jewel)
Jubbar	جبّار	*A.* Superior, overbearing
Judeed	جديد	*A.* New, novel
Jug Dew	جكديو	*S.* Lord of the earth
Jugdew Row	جكديو راو	S. Lord and king of the earth
Juggut Row	جكت راو	*S.* King of the world
Jugmal	جكمل	*S.* Ditto
Jugnat	جكنات	*S.* Lord of the universe
Jugut	جكت	*S.* The world
Julal	جلال	*A.* Glorious, *m.*
Julala	جلاله	*A.* Glorious, *f.*
Julal-ood-Deen	جلال الدين	*A.* Glory of religion
Julaly	جلالي	*P.* Name of a tribe
Julwany	جلواني	*P.* A native of Julwan
Jumad-ool-Awul	جماد الاوّل	*A.* Name of the third Mahomedan month

٤٩

Jumad-oos-Sany	جماد الثاني	*A*. Name of the fourth Mahomedan month
Jumal	جمال	*A*. Beauty, *m*.
Jumaly	جمالي	*A*. Beauty, *f*.
Jumsheed	جمشيد	*P*. Ancient king of Persia
Jumvy	جموي	*H*. An inhabitant of Jumoo
Jusrut	جسرت	*H*. Proper name
Jut or Getæ	جت	*H*. Name of a tribe
Kadur	قادر	*A*. Powerful
Kafila	قافله	*A*. Caravan
Kafoor	كافور	*A*. Camphire
Kajar	قاجار	*T*. Name of a tribe
Kajooly	كاجولي	*T*. Proper name
Kaky	كاكي	*P*. A bun, small loaf
Kala Phar	كالا پهار	*H*. The black rock
Kaloo	كالو	*H*. Black
Kaly	كالي	*H*. Ditto
Kamil	كامل	*A*. Perfect
Kanajee	كاناجي	*H*. Proper name
Kanha	كانها	*H*. Ditto
Karooba	اروبه	*P*. Ambur
Kashany	كاشاني	*P*. A native of Kashan
Kasim	قاسم	*A*. A divider
Kasy Row	كاسي راو	*M*. Proper name
Katty	كاتي	*S*. A native of Kattywar
Kawur Sein	كاور سين	*S*. Proper name
Kazy	قاضي	*A*. Cadi, judge

Kazy-ool-Koozat	قاضي القضات	*A*. The chief judge
Kedar	كيدار	*S*. Proper name
Keert Varma	كيرة ورما	*S*. Ditto, mentioned in the Mohabharut
Kehtry	كهتري	*S*. Royal race
Kei Kaoos	كيكاوس	*P*. An ancient king of Persia
Kei Kobad	كيقباد	*P*. Ditto
Keiomoors	كيومرس	*P*. Ditto
Keis	قيس	*A*. Proper name
Keisur	قيصر	*P*. Cæsar
Ketoo	كيتو	*S*. Castor
Kezilbash	قزلباش	*T*. Red caps (the Persians are so called)
Khakshal	خاكشال	*T*. Name of a tribe
Khan	خان	*T*. Lord
Khan Khanan	خان خانان	*T*. Lord of lords
Khanum	خانم	*T*. Lady
Khas	خاص	*P*. Private and personal
Khasa Kheil	خاص خيل	*P*. Personal guards
Khanzada Begum	خانزاده بيگم	*T*. The noble lady
Kheir	خير	*A*. Excellent
Khilat	خلعت	*P*. Honorary robes
Khiljy	خلجي	*Af*. Name of a tribe
Khing Sowar	خنگ سوار	Horseman (name assumed by a saint
Khizr	خضر	Evergreen, eternal
Khizr Khyle	خضر خيل	*Af*. Name of a tribe
Khodeija	خديجه	*A*. Proper name, *f*.

Kholasut-ool-Moolk	خلاصة الملک	*A*. The elect of the state
Khondemeer	خند امیر	*A*. Name of a celebrated historian
Khonza	خُنزه	*A*. Proper name, *f*.
Khoodabunda	خدا بنده	*P*. Servant of God
Khoodawund	خداوند	*P*. Lord
Khoorsheed	خُورشید	*P*. Resplendent
Khoorum	خُرم	*A*. Joyful
Khoosh	خوش	*P*. Ditto
Khooshal	خوشحال	*P*. Ditto
Khoosh Geldy	خوش گلدي	*T*. Welcome
Khoosh Kuddum	خوشقدم	*P*. Graceful
Khoosrow	خُسرو	*P*. Fairfaced
Khootba	خُطبه	*A*. Prayers for the king
Khowas	خواص	*A*. Personal
Khuleel	خلیل	*A*. Friend (Abraham)
Khuleelzye	خلیلزاري	*Af*. Name of a tribe
Khulf	خلف	*A*. Progeny
Khumar Tash	خمار طاس	*T*. Proper name
Khutab	خطاب	*A*. Renowned
Khuteer	خطیر	*A*. Great
Khwaja Jehan	خواجه جهان	*P*. Lord of the universe
Kiran Bahadur	کرن بهادر	*T*. Proper name
Kirany	کراني	*Af*. Tribe
Kishtum	کشتم	*H*. Corruption from Krishna

Kishwar	کشور *P*. Country
Kitabdar	کتابدار *P*. Librarian
Kocheen	قورچین *T*. Tribe
Koka	کوکا *T*. Foster-brother
Koly	کولي *H*. Predatory race in Guzerat
Koly Row	کولی راو *M*. The Koly chief
Koochy	کوچي *P*. An inhabitant of Kooch
Koofy	کوفي *A*. Inhabitant of Koofa
Koohpara	کوه پاره *P*. Burster of mountains
Koolkurny	کولکرني *M*. Village registrar
Koolly	قلي *T*. Slave
Koombho	کومبهو *H*. Proper name
Koonty	کونتی *H*. Name of the mother of the Pandoos
Koorban	قُربان *A*. Sacrifice
Koord	کورد *P*. A native of Carduckia
Koorshasip	کرشاسپ *P*. An ancient king of Persia
Kootb	قطب *A*. The pole star
Kootb Nooma Alum	قطب نما علم *A*. The compass of the universe
Kootb-ood-Deen	قطب الدین *A*. The pole star of the faith
Kootb-ool-Moolk	قطب الملک *A*. The pole star of the state

Kootb Shahy	قطب شاهي	*A.P.* Family name of the kings of Golconda
Kootloogh	قتلغ	*T.* A proper name
Kootloogh Nigar Khanum	قتلغ نگار خانم	*T.* A proper name, *f*
Koowur	کنور	*S.* Heir-apparent
Koran	قران	*A.* The Koran
Koreish	قريش	*T.* Tribe of the prophet Mahomed
Korkan	کورکان	*T.* Turkish tribe
Kotwal	کوتوال	*P.* Mayor
Kowam-ool-Moolk	قوام الملک	*A.* Supporter of the state
Kowla Devy	کوله ديوي	*S.* The water-lily queen
Kowlanundy	کولا نندي	*S.* The joyous lily
Kowry	کوري	*H.* The small white shell called the Negro's tooth
Kripa Acharia	کرپا اچاريه	*S.* One of the heroes of the Mahabharut
Krishn	کرشن	*S.* The black god
Kubacha	قباچه	*T.* A family name
Kubool	قبول	*A.* Consent
Kubeer	کبير	*A.* Great
Kuchun	کچن	*T.* A family name
Kuddum	قدم	*A.* Advanced
Kuddur	قدر	*A.* Power
Kudroo	قدرو	*H.* Powerful
Kufshdar	قفش دار	*P.* One who has charge of the royal slippers

Kujuk	كجك	*H.* An elephant goad
Kulaby	كلابي	*P.* A family name
Kulan	كلان	*P.* Great
Kulany	كلاني	*P.* Ditto
Kuleem	كليم	*A.* Eloquent
Kullian	كليان	*S.* Propitious
Kullich	قلچ	*Af.* Tribe
Kumal	كمال	*A.* Complete
Kumboh	كنبوه	*Af.* Tribe
Kumbur	قنبر	*H.* Full moon, corruption of Kumra
Kumbur-i-Dewana	قنبر ديوانه	*H.* Silly, one who is lunatic at the full moon
Kundoo	كندو	*H.* Proper name
Kundy	كندي	*H.* Ditto, a defile
Kuns	كنس	*H.* Proper name
Kupoory	كپوري	*H.* Camphorated
Kureem	كريم	*A.* Clement
Kurghoo	كرگهو	*H.* Rhinoceros-like
Kurra	قره	*T.* Black
Kurragooz	قره گوز	*T.* Black-eyed
Kurra Koovinloo	قره قوينلو	*T.* Tribe of the black ram
Kurun	كرن	*S.* Sunbeam
Kushka	قشقه	*T.* The mark worn on the forehead by Hindoos
Kussab	قصاب	*P* The butcher
Kustoory	كستوري	*S.* Fair. resembling camphor
Kutaby	كتابي	*P.* The book-worm
Kutry	كهترى	*S.* A caste so-called

Kuzil-Arslan	قزل ارسلان	*T*. The tawny lion
Kuzil Hukum	قزل حکم	*T*. The red chief
Lacheen	لاچين	*T*. Tribe
Ladoo	لادو	*H*. Beloved
Laghiry	لاغري	*A.P*. Slender
Lalcheen	لالچين	*T*. Family name
Larun	لارون	*H*. Favourite
Lary	لاري	*P*. Of or pertaining to the province of Lar, in Persia
Leith	ليث	*A*. Proper name
Lody	لودي	*Af*. Tribe
Lohany	لُهاني	*Af*. A tribe of Afghans
Lokmun	لقمان	*A*. Æsop
Looly	لولي	*P*. An actress
Loor	لُر	*P*. An ancient Persian tribe
Lootf	لُطف	*A*. Kindness
Luchmun	لچھمن	*H*. Proper name
Luddur Dew	لدر ديو	*H*. Proper name of Hindoo Raja
Luky	لکي	*P*. One of the most ancient tribes of Parsia
Lunga	لنگه	*Af*. Tribe
Lushkur	لشکر	*P*. Camp
Lushkury	لشکري	*P*. A soldier
Lutchuna	لتچنه	*H*. Proper name
Luteef	لطيف	*A*. Exquisite
Maazim	معظم	*A*. The noble

Maaly	معالي	*A.* The exalted
Maasoom	معصوم	*A.* The orphan
Madhoo	مادهو	*H.* Proper name
Mahabharu	مہا بہارت	*S.* The great war
Mahkaly	مہاکالی	*S.* Time the goddess of destruction
Mahmood	محمود	*A.* Praiseworthy
Mahomed	محمد	*A.* Praised
Mahraj	مہاراج	*S.* The great king
Mahrum	محروم	*T.* Family name
Mahtab	ماهتاب	*P.* Moonlight
Mahy	ماهي	*P.* The standard of the fish
Makry	ماكري	*Ka.* Family name
Maldeu	مالديو	*H.* Proper name
Mamish	مامش	*T.* Tribe
Maratib	مراتب	*A.* Dignity
Marratta	مرهته	*H.* A nation so called
Mandlik	ماندلک	*H.* A petty prince, chief of a host
Meamun Oolla	ميامن الله	*A.* Reposing in God
Meean	مياں	*H.* Sir, Mr.
Meeana	ميانه	*Af.* Tribe
Meekur	ميكر	*C.* Canarese appellation
Mere	مير	*S.* Highlander
Meer Akhoor	مير اخور	*P.* Groom
Meeran	ميران	*P.* Affix to a proper name
Meer Joomla	مير جمله	*A.* Prime minister
Meer Nobut	مير نوبت	*A.* Captain of the guards

Meeruk	میرک	*P*. Affix to a proper name
Mehd Eerak	مهد ایراق	*P*. The Eerakian mother
Mehdvy	مهدوی	*P*. A sect
Mehdy	مهدی	*P*. The twelfth imam, so-called
Mehrum	محرم	*A*. Honoured
Munsubdar	منصبدار	*P*. A military chieftain
Mifta	مفته	*A*. Proper name
Mirza	میرزا	*P*. Secretary
Misry	مصری	*P*. Native of Egypt
Mittun	متن	*S*. Tasty
Mlecha	ملچه	*S*. Impure
Moatimid	معتمد	*A*. Faithful
Modood	مودود	*A*. Endeared
Moghyss	مغیث	*A*. Intercessor
Mohabut	مهابت	*A*. Awful
Mohafiz	محافظ	*A*. Preserver
Mohib	محب	*A*. Attached
Mohsun	محسن	*A*. Beauteous
Mohulla	محله	*A*. A ward or parish
Mohurrum	محرّم	*A*. Honoured
Moiz-ood-Deen	معز الدین	*A*. Dear to religion
Moiz-ool-Moolk	معز الملک	*A*. The darling of the state
Mokbil	مقبل	*A*. Leader
Mokeem	مقیم	*A*. Steadfast
Mokhlis	مخلص	*A*. Faithful
Momin	مؤمن	*A*. Ditto
Moobarik	مبارک	*A*. Propitious

Moobariz	مبارز	*A*.	Champion
Moobushir	مبشر	*A*.	Comely
Moodna	مردنه	*C*.	Proper name
Moozuffury	مظفري	*A*.	Victorious
Moogh	مغ	*P*.	The magian
Mookudur	مقدر	*A*.	Powerful
Mookul	موکل	*H*.	Proper name
Mookummil	مکمل	*A*.	Accomplished
Mookund	مکند	*S*.	Great
Mookurrib	مقرب	*A*.	Approximate
Moolk	ملک	*A*.	Country, the empire
Moolla	ملا	*A*.	A priest
Moottea	متيه	*A*.	A temporary marriage
Moonshy	منشي	*P*.	A secretary
Moonyim	منيم	*A*.	Favoured
Moorad	مراد	*A*.	Object of desire
Moorhary Row	مرهاري راو	*H*.	Proper name
Moortuza	مرتضي	*A*	Approved
Moosahib	مصاحب	*A*.	Associated
Moostowly	مستولي	*A*:	Overcome
Moostufa	مصطفي	*A*.	Intercessor
Moosvy	موسوي	*A*.	Of or pertaining to Moses
Moozuffur	مظفر	*A*.	Victorious
Moty	موتي	*H*.	Pearl
Movyud Dewana	مويد ديوانه	*P*.	Movyud the silly
Movyud-ood-Deen	مويد الدين	*A*.	Support of the faith
Mowas	مواس	*H*.	A predatory tribe in Guzerat

Mowjy	موجي	*Af*. Tribe
Mowlana	مولانا	*A*. High priest
Mowlanazada	مولانا زاده	*A.P*. Descended from a high priest
Mowullid	مولد	*A*. A native born of foreign parents
Moyin	معين	*A*. Select
Mudkurn	مدكرن	*S*. The honied ray
Mudun	مدن	*S*. The god of love
Mujlis	مجلس	*A*. Assembly
Mujnoon	مجنون	*P*. Insane
Mujahid	مجاهد	*A*. Persevering
Mujdood	مجدود	*A*. Novel
Mukbool	مقبول	*A*. Approved, hand-some
Mukdooma Jehan	مقدومه جهان	*A*. The queen of the universe
Mukhsoos	مخصوص	*A*. Select
Mullik	ملک	*A*. King
Mullika Jehan	ملكه جهان	*P*. Queen of the world
Mullik-ool-Mushaikh	ملک المشايخ	*A*. Chief of the priests
Mullik-ool-Toojir	ملک التجار	*A*. Chief of the mer-chants
Mulloo	ملو	*H*. Proper name
Mumby Devy	منبي ديوي	*S*. The goddess Mumby
Mumlikut	مملكت	*A*. Kingdom
Mundul	مندل	*S*. Host
Munery	منوري	*H*. A native of Munere

Munewar	منوار	*H*. Teloogoo militia
Munga	منگه	*H*. Proper name
Mungoo	منگو	*T*. Proper name
Mungul	منگل	*S*. The planet Mars
Munjoo	منجو	*H*. Proper name
Munjun	منجن	*H*. Ditto
Munoochehr	منوچهر	*P*. Celebrated Persian minister
Munoopraj	منوپراج	*S*. Proper name
Muntuky	منتقي	*A*. Logician
Munsoor	منصور	*A*. Victorious
Murdan	مردان	*P*. Manly
Murghoob-ool-Koolloob	مرغوب القلوب	*A*. Title of a book. The desire of hearts
Muryum	مريم	Mary
Musheer	مشير	*A*. Arrangement
Musheer-ool-Moolk	مشير الملك	*A*. The regulator of the state
Musjid	مسجد	*A*. Mosque
Muskaty	مسقتي	*A*. Native of Muscat
Musnud	مسند	*A*. A throne
Musseety	مصيتي	*A*. Proper name
Mutroo	مترو	*H*. A native of Mutra
Mymindy	ميمندي	*P*. A native of Mymund
Nadir	نادر	*P*. The pole star
Nadiry	نادري	*P*. Relating to the pole
Nahir	ناهر	*S*. Lion
Naib	نائب	*A*. Deputy
Naig	نائک	*S*. Chief

Naigwaries	نایکواریز	*H.* Teloogoo militia
Naik	نایک	*S.* Leader
Nasir	ناصر	*A.* Victorious
Nat	نات	*S.* Chief
Nawab	نواب	*P.* Nabob
Nazook	نازک	*P.* Delicate
Neamut	نعمت	*A.* Luxury
Neeaz	نیاز	*P.* Humility
Neeazy	نیازي	*P.* Name of a tribe
Nehal	نهال	*P.* A young tree
Nehr Dew	نهر دیو	*S.* The lion king
Nehung	نهنگ	*P.* A crocodile
Nevayets	نوایت	*P.* The new race
Niamut	نعمت	*A.* Delicacy
Nigaristan	نگارستان	*P.* The gallery of pictures
Nisar	نثار	*A.* An offering
Nizam	نظام	*A.* Arrangement
Nizam-ool-Moolk	نظام الملک	*A.* The regulator of the state
Nizam Shahy	نظام شاهي	*A.* Title of the kings of Ahmudnuggur
Noah	نو	*A.* Noah
Nobut	نوبت	*P.* Watch, guard
Nooh	نوح	*A.* Noah
Noor	نور	*P.* Light
Noorbukhsh	نور بخش	*P.* Imparting light
Noor-ood-Deen	نور الدین	*P.*A. Light of the faith
Noosrut	نصرت	A. Victory
Nooyan	نویان	*T.* Name of a tribe
Noshtugeen	نشتگین	*T.* Proper name

Mowlapa	نولپه	*C*. Ditto
Nowroze	نوروز	*P*. Festival held on the 21st of March
Nowshaba	نوشابه	*P*. Alexander's queen (so called)
Nowsherwan	نوشروان	*P*. An ancient king of Persia
Nudeem	نديم	*A*. Companion
Nujm	نجم	*A*. A star
Nujm-oos-Sany	نجم الثاني	*A*. The second star
Nujuf	نجف	*A*. Holy
Nukara	نقاره	*A*. Kettle-drum
Nukeeb	نقيب	*T*. An usher
Nukhwut	نخوت	*A*. Affectation
Nul	نل	*H*. Proper name
Nunda	نند	*S*. Joyful
Nundraj	نندراج	*S*. The joyful king
Nunny	ننهي	*H*. Little
Nurd	نرد	*P*. Backgammon-men
Nureeman	نريمان	*P*. An ancient hero of Persia
Nursa	نرسه	*H*. Proper name
Nursing	نرسنگ	*S*. The lion of men
Nursing Row	نرسنگ را	*S*. The lion king
Nurswundy	نرسوندي	*H*. Proper name
Nuseeb	نصيب	*A*. Fortunate
Nuseer	نصير	*A*. Victorious
Nutty	نتي	*H*. Proper name
Nuzeery	نظيري	*Af*. Name of a tribe
Nuzr	نظر	*A*. Sight
Nyshapoory	نيشاپوري	*P*. A native of Nyshapoor

Oghloo	اغلو	*T*. A son
Oghz	عغز	*T*. An ox
Oghzloo	عغزلو	*T*. Name of a tribe
Oktay	اُقتاي	*T*. Proper name
Olcha	اولچه	*T*. A measure
Oobeid	عُبيد	*A*. Obedient
Oody Sing	اودي سنگ	*S*. The exalted chief
Oogur Sein	اوگر سين	*S*. The lord of an awful army
Ooloos Beg	اُلوس بگ	*T*. Chief of the tribe
Oomdut-ool-Moolk	عمدت الملک	*A*. Pillar of the state
Oomr	عمر	*A*. Life, existence
Oomra	اُمرا	*A*. *pl*. of Ameer, a prince
Oomr Sheikh	عمر شيخ	*A*. Proper name, the father of the emperor Babur
Oonsury	عنصري	*A*. Fundamental
Oorea	اوريا	*H*. Family name
Oostajloo	استاجلو	*T*. The brave
Ootarid	عطارد	*A*. The planet Mercury
Oothman	عثمان	*A*. The caliph
Ooveis or Veis	اويس	*T*. Proper name
Oozbuk	عزبک	*T*. Proper name
Oozery Rozey	عزيري رازي	*P*. Proper name
Oozun	اوزن	*T*. Lengthy
Owlia	اوليا	*A*. Saint
Padshah	پادشاه	*A*. A king
Palky	پالکی	*H*. A litter, palanquin

Pan	پان	*H.* The aromatic leaf which is eaten by the Indians
Pandoo	پندر	*S.* The fair, yellow
Papia	پاپیه	*C.* Proper name
Patan	پتهان	*Af.* The tribe of Afghan. Deck of a vessel
Pavia	پاریه	*C* Proper name
Peala	پیاله	*P* The cup
Peer	پیر	*P.* Venerable
Peeranweisa	پیرانویسه	*P.* Minister of Ky Kaoos
Peroo	پیرو	*H.* Holy
Peilhwan	پهلوان	*P.* A champion
Perguna	پرگنه	*H.* A division of a province
Perychehra	پریچهره	*P.* Fairy face
Peshdadian	پیشدادیان	*P.* An ancient race of kings of Persia
Pesh Nimaz	پیش نماز	*P.* Chaplain
Peshwa	پیشوا	*P.* A leader
Pirmal	پرمال	*H.* Proper name
Poonja	پونجه	*H.* Proper name
Poorby	پُوربي	*S.* Eastern
Poorunmal	[illegible]	*H.* Lord of the towns and forests
Pota	پوته	*H.* Proper name. treasure
Powar	پوار	*H.* Tribe so called
Prem	پریم	*H.* Proper name

Pritvy Raja	پرتوي راج	*S.* Lord of the earth
Pundit	پندت	*S.* Learned, doctor
Pundoo	پند	*S.* Yellow
Purdan	پردان	*S.* Minister
Purizada	پريزاده	*P.* Fairy born
Pursaram	پرسارام	*S.* Hindoo demigod
Purtab	پرتاب	*S.* Good fortune
Purtab Sa	پرتاب سا	*S.* Prosperous king
Purveez	پرويز	*P.* An ancient king of Persia
Purwanchy	پروانچي	*T.* The officer issuing royal mandates
Puttuck	پتک	*S.* Division
Raab	رعب	*A.* Awe
Raees	رئيس	*A.* Chief
Rafezy	رافضي	*A.* Heretical
Raheem	رحيم	*A.* Merciful
Raheem Dad	رحيم دادم	*A. P.* Merciful and just
Raj or Raja	راج or راجا	*S.* King
Rajoo	راجو	*S.* Regal
Rajpoot	راجپوت	*S.* Tribe so called, of royal descent
Rajy	راجي	*H.* Regal
Ramchund	رامچند	*S.* Hindoo demigod
Ramchundur	رامچندر	*S.* Hindoo demigod
Ram Raj	رام راج	*S.* King Rama
Ram Sa	رام سا	*S.* King Rama
Ramzan	رمضان	*A.* The ninth Mahomedan month, the month of fasting

Rana	رانا	*S.* Title of the kings of Oodipoor
Ranoo	رانو	*H.* Proper name.
Rany	راني	*S.* Title of the queens of Oodipoor
Rawoot Row	راوت راو	*H.* Proper name. The cavalier
Rawul	راول	*S.* Prince
Rawul Dew	راول ديو	*S.* Royal prince
Ray	راي	*S.* King
Raymul	رايمل	*S.* The chief of lords
Ray Rayan	راي رايان	*S.* Chief of princes
Ray Row	راي راو	*S.* Chief of chiefs
Razy	راضي	*A.* Contented
Reddywar	رديوار	*H.* Landholders of Telingana
Rusheed	رشيد	*A.* Valiant
Reihan	ريحان	*P.* Sweet marjoram
Risaladar	رسالهدار	*P.* Commandant of a rissala, or regiment of horse
Roohany	روحاني	*A.* Name of a tribe
Roohpurwur	روح پرور	*A. P.* Soul's delight
Rookn-ood-Deen	ركن الدين	*A.* Pillar of religion
Roomy	رومي	*P.* A native of Asia Minor
Roosoomdar	رسوم دار	*P.* Collector of customs
Roostoom	رستم	*P.* The Persian hero (so called)
Roshnye	روشنائي	*P.* Illuminati (a sect)
Row	راو	*H.* Chief

Roze Afzoon	روز افزون	*P*. Daily increasing
Rubbee-ool-Akhur	ربیع الاخر	A. fourth month of the Arabians
Rubee-ool-Awul	ربیع الاوّل	*A*. The third month of the Arabians
Rubeea	ربیع	*A*. The spring
Ruffeea-ood-Deen	رفیعه الدین	*A*. Exalted of the faith
Ruffut	رفعة	*A*. Exalted
Ruffut-ool-Moolk	رفعة الملک	*A*. Exalted in the state
Ruheem	رحیم	*A*. The merciful
Ruhman	رحمان	*A*. The benevolent
Rujub	رجب	*A*. The seventh month of the Arabians
Rumul-i-Moosudus i-Mujnoon	رمل مسدس مجنون	*A*. Metre in poetry
Runga	رنگه	*S*. Variegated
Rungia	رنگیه	*H*. High coloured
Runmul	رنمل	*S*. The lord of the fight
Ruttum See	رتن سي	*S*. The precious prince
Ruzak	رضاق	*A*. Provider
Ruzeea Begum	رضیه بیگم	*T*. The approved princess
Sa	سا	*P*. King
Saadut	سعادت	*A* Propitiousness
Sabajy	ساباجي	*H* Proper name
Sabat	سابات	*A*. Trenches
Sadhoo	سادهو	*S*. The simple

Sadik	صادق	*A*. The upright and just
Sadiky	صادقي	*A*. The righteous
Sady	سعدي	*A*. Propitious
Sahadew	سهاديو	*H*. Proper name
Sahib	صاحب	*A*. Lord
Sahibzada	صاحبزاده	*A*. *P*. Noble
Salar	سالار	*P*. Chief
Salivahan	سالوهن	S. Proper name of a prince
Sam	سام	*P*. An ancient Persian hero
Samiry	سامري	*H*. The zamorin of Malabar
Samywar	سامهوار	*H*. Holy chief
Sanka or Sanga	سانکه	*H*. Prince of Oodi-poor
Sar	سار	*T*. King
Sarung	سارنگ	*H*. Tuneful. An instrument of six strings
Sawunt	سارنت	*H*. Chief
Seeta Bund	سيتا بند	*H*. The bridge of Seeta
Seetaputty	سيتاپتي	*H*. Appellation for Rama the husband of Seeta
Setul Dew	سيتل ديو	*H*. Proper name
Seeva	سيوه	*S*. The god of destruction
Sehra	سهره	*H*. Proper name

Seif	سیف	*A*. The sword
Sena	سنه	*A*. Sinai
Serpa Devy, or Sooroop Devy	سرپه دیوي	*S*. The fair faced queen
Setty	ستي	*H*. Chief of a mercantile
Sew, Shew, or Seeva (*vide supra*)	شیو	*S*. Seeva, the god of destruction
Sewund	سیوند	*S*. Resembling Seeva
Shaban	شعبان	*P*. The eighth Mahomedan month
Shadman	شادمان	*P*. Joyful
Shady	شادي	*P*. Joy
Shafye	شافعی	*A*. Intercessor
Shah	شاه	*P*. A king
Shahab-ood-Deen	شهاب الدین	*A*. The strength of the faith
Shaheen	شاهین	*P*. The falcon
Shahida	شاهده	*P*. A mistress
Shahoo	شاهو	*Af*. Proper name
Shahrokh	شاه رخ	*P*. Having a royal countenance
Shahrokhy	شاه رخی	*P*. The name of a coin bearing the king's head
Shah Toorkan	شاه ترکان	*P*. Prince of the Toorks
Shahzada	شاهزاده	*P*. Prince of the blood
Shaista	شایسته	*P*. Worthy
Sheea	شیعه	*A*. Name of a sect

Sheebany	شيباني	*T*. Proper name
Sheebuk	شيبک	*T*. Proper name
Sheer	شير	*P*. The lion
Sheerchung	شيرچنگ	*P*. Having a lion's grasp
Sheeroo	شيرو	Hindvy corruptions of Sheer, a lion
Sheerum	شيرم	
Sheery	شيري	
Sheida	شيدا	*P*. Insane
Sheikh	شيخ	*A*. A chief
Sheikha	شيخا	Hindvy corruptions of the above
Sheikhjee	شيخ جي	Hindvy corruptions of the above
Sheikh-ool-Islam	شيخ الاسلام	*A*. Chief priest of Islamism
Sherooya	شيرويه	*P*. An ancient king of Persia
Shew-Dew- Bhutt	شيو ديو بهت	*S* Seeva Dew, the beggar
Shimran	شمران	*Af*. Proper name
Shimur	شمر	*Af*. Proper name
Shirazy	شيرازي	*P*. A native of Shiraz
Shist	شست	*P*. The mark
Shooja-ool-Moolk	شجاع الملک	*A*. The most valiant of the state
Shoojat	شجاعت	*A*. Valour
Shubkoor	شبکور	*P*. Blind at night
Shudad	شداد	*A*. Proper name
Shukdar	شقدار	*P*. Governor of a district or division of land

Shukhfy	شخفي	*A*. Proper name
Shukoor	شكور	*A*. Grateful
Shukur Khatoon	شكر خاتون	*T*. The sweet lady
Shumsheer	شمشير	*P*. Scimitar
Shumsheer-ool-Moolk	شمشير الملك	*P*. The sword of the state
Shums	شمس	*A*. The sun
Shunkul	شنكل	*H*. Proper name
Shunkur	شنكر	*H*. Proper name
Shunkur Zeina	شنكر زينا	*Ka*. Proper name
Shureef	شريف	*A*. Highness
Shurf-ood-Deen	شرف الدين	*A*. Upholder of the faith
Shurky	شرقى	*A*. Eastern
Shuval	شوال	*A*. The tenth Mahomedan month
Siamook	سيامك	*P*. An ancient prince of Persia
Siddy	سدي	*A*. Chieftain
Siddy Mowla	سدي مولا	*A*. The holy chief
Sideek	صديق	*A*. The just
Sidpal	سدپال	*S*. Proper name
Sidraj	سدراج	*S*. Proper name
Sikundur	سكندر	*P*. Alexander
Silehdar	سلحدار	*P*. Heavy-armed horseman
Silhuddy	سلهدي	*S*. Proper name
Simeon	سمعون	*A*. Simeon
Sing	سنگ	*S*. Lion, chieftain
Singhasun	سنگهاسن	*S*. Royal litter
Sipah Salar	سپه سالار	*T*. Commander-in-chief

Sipustageen	سپستگین	*T*. Proper name
Siraj	سراج	*A*. The lamp
Sirka	سرکه	*H*. The name of a Marratta family
Sirvodhun	سرودهن	*H*. Proper name
Sisodia	سهسودیه	*H*. The name of a race of Rajputs
Soheil	سهیل	P. An ancient hero of Persia, a planet
Sohrab	سهراب	*P*. An ancient hero of Persia
Sooba	صوبه	*A*. Contraction of Soobahdar, governor
Soobhan	سبحان	*A*. Praise
Sookpal	سکپال	*S*. Proper name
Sooliman	سلیمان	*A*. Solomon
Sooltan	سلطان	*A*. A king
Soombul	سنبل	*P*. Hyacinth
Soomur	سومر	*H*. Proper name
Soonut	سنت	*A*. Orthodox
Soony	سني	*A*. Religious sect
Soor	سور	*Af*. Name of a tribe
Soorijmul	سورجمل	*H*. The sunlike lord
Soorjim	سورجن	*H*. Sun-born
Sooria	سوریا	*S*. The sun
Sooria Row	سوریا راو	*S*. The sunlike chief
Soorkha	سرخا	*H*. The red
Soorsing	سورسنک	*S*. Lion of the sun
Soorut Rany, or Sooroop Rany	سورت راني	*S*. The Surat queen, or the beauteous queen

Sree	سري	*S*. Prosperous
Sreeputty	سريپتي	*S*. The master of prosperity
Subha-ool-Kheir	صبح الخير	*A*. The glory of the morning
Subooktugeen	سبكتگين	*T*. Proper name
Sudanund	سدانند	*S*. Proper name
Sudashew	سداشيو	*S*. Proper name
Sudda	سده	*S*. Proper name
Suddoh	سدره	*S*. Proper name
Suddur Khan	صدر خان	*A*. The principal chief
Sudr-i-Jehan	صدر جهان	*A*. The select of the universe
Sudrnisheen	صدر نشين	*P*. The chief seat of justice
Sudr-oos-Sudoor	صدر الصدور	*A*. The lord chief justice
Sufdur	صفدر	*A*. Arranger
Sufeedasp	سفيد اسپ	*P*. An ancient king of Persia
Sufeer	سفير	*A*. An envoy
Suffur	سفر	*A*. Travelled
Suffy	صفي	*A*. Virtuous
Suf Shikun	صف شكن	*P*. Breaker through the line
Sufvy	صفوي	*A*. Sofy
Sugga	سگه	*H*. Proper name
Sulabut	صلابت	*A*. Proper name
Sulim	سليم	*A*. Safety
Suljook	سلجوق	*T*. Toorkman tribe
Sultanut	سلطنت	*A*. Dominion
Sumbajee	سمباجي	*S*. The lion chief

Sumud	صمد	*A*. The virtuous
Sundul	صندل	*P*. Sandal
Sungut	سنگت	*S*. Proper name
Sunjur	سنجر	*T*. Proper name
Sunjye	سنجي	*S*. Proper name
Surabuny	سرابني	*Af*. A family name
Suraf or Shroff	صراف	*A*. Banker, money-changer
Surmust	سرمست	*P*. Haughty
Survur-ool-Moolk	سرور الملک	*A*. Noble of the state
Surwaraj	سرواراج	*S*. Lord of all
Syud	سيد	*A*. Descendant of Mahomed
Syud-oos-Sadatc	سيد السعادت	*A*. The chief of the Syuds
Tahir	طاهر	*A*. The just, the good
Tahmasp	طهماسپ	*P*. An ancient king of Persia
Tahmorasp	طهموراسپ	*P*. An ancient king of Persia
Taj	تاج	*P*. The diadem
Tajik	تاجک	*T*. A Tartar race of merchants
Taj-ool-Moolk	تاج الملک	*A*. The diadem of the state
Talib	طالب	*A*. The petitioner
Talish	تالش	*T*. Name of a tribe
Tardy	تردي	*T*. Proper name
Tash	تاش	*T*. Hardy, flinty as stone
Tatar	تاتار	*T*. Tartar

Teimoor	تیمور	*T*. Teimour
Teiub	طیب	*A*. Good
Teloogoo	تلوگو	*H*. Of or pertaining to Telingana
Tilla	طلاء	*A*. Gold
Tilok Chund	تلوکچند	*S*. Shining forehead
Tima	تیمه	*C*. Proper name
Timapa	تماپه	*C*. Proper name
Tim Raj	تم راج	*C*. Proper name
Timuna	تمنه	*C*. Proper name
Tiriak	تریاق	*T*. Inebriating, a drug
Tirmul	ترمل	*C*. Proper name
Tirmuny	ترمنی	*T*. Proper name
Todur Mul	تودر مل	*S*. Proper name
Togha	طغا	*T*. Proper name
Toghan	طغان	*T*. Proper name
Toghantugeen	طغانتگین	*T*. Proper name
Toghay	طغاي	*T*. Proper name
Toghluk	تغلق	*T*. Proper name
Toghrul	طغرل	*T*. Proper name
Tohfa	تحفه	*P*. The rare
Toofal	توفال	*Af*. Proper name
Tooly	تولي	*T*. Proper name
Toomnayee	ترمنای	*T*. Proper name
Toorab	تراب	*A*. Earthy
Tooraghay	توراغاي	*T*. Proper name
Toork	ترک	*T*. Turk
Toorkman	ترکمان	*T*. Name of a tribe
Toorky	ترکي	*T*. Of or belonging to a Turk
Toormish	ترمش	*T*. Proper name
Toormooshreen	ترمشرین	*T*. Proper name

Toormoozy	ترمذي	*T.* A native of Toormooz or Turmed
Toosin	توسن	*T.* Proper name
Toozuky	تزوكي	*T.* A framer of institutes
Toozun	توزن	*T.* Proper name
Tora Beg	تورا بیگ	*T.* Proper name
Tubatibba	تبابعه	*A.* An Arabian tribe
Tubligha	تبلغه	*T.* Proper name
Tucky	تقي	*A.* Supported
Tugeen	تگین	*T.* The brave
Tumajy	تماجي	*H.* Proper name
Tumbole	تمبول	*T.* Proper name
Tunka	تنکه	*H.* A coin
Turkhan	ترخان	*T.* Tribe
Tursoon	ترسون	*T.* Proper name
Turufdar	طرفدار	*P.* Provincial governor
Tusheea	تشیع	*A.* Professing the Sheea doctrine
Ul-Messeeh-ool-Khoreish-ool-Kadirry	المسیح القریش القادري	*A.* Messiah of the most potent family of the Khoreish
Vakeel-i-Dur	وکیل در	*P.* The deputy of the threshold, lord in waiting
Vakeel-ool-Mootluk	وکیل المطلق	*P.* The supreme deputy, regent
Vakeel-oos-Sultanut	وکیل السلطنت	*P.* The viceroy
Vasdew	واسدیو	*S.* The lord of treasures

Veechitrveeria	وبچترويره	*S.* Of manifold strength
Veija Nat Dew	وبجا نات ديو	*S.* Lord of victory
Veis	ويس	*T.* Proper name
Veis Laghiry	ويس لاغري	*T.* Proper name
Velapa	ولاپا	*C.* The fair
Velluparaj	ولپراج	*C.* The fair prince
Venkaputty	ونکپتي	*C.* Proper name
Venkutadry	ونکتادري	*C.* Proper name
Venkutraj	ونکتراج	*C.* Proper name
Venkut Row	ونکت راو	*H.* Proper name
Venkutty	ونکتي	*C.* Proper name
Vias	وياس	*S.* The commentator
Vidiadry	وديادري	*C.* The learned
Vikramajeet	وکرماجيت	*S.* Sun of victory
Vinaik Dass	ونايکداس	*S.* Servant of the king
Vinaik Dew	ونايکديو	*S.* Lordly prince
Viswas Row	ويسواس راو	*S.* The chief possessing confidence
Vizier	وزير	*P.* Minister or deputy
Vizier-i-Kool	وزير کل	*P.* The sole minister
Vizier-ool-Moomalik	وزير الممالک	*A.* The minister of the state
Vusnad Dew	وسنّد ديو	*H.* A corruption of Veija Nat Dew
Wahab	واهاب	*A.* Bountiful
Wasil	واصل	*A.* Uniter
Woorea or Oorea	وريه	*H.* Of or belonging to Orissa
Wostad	اوستاد	*P.* Preceptor

Wufa	وفا	*A*. Grateful
Wujee-ool-Moolk	وجيع الملک	*A*. Support of the state
Wuleed	وليد	**A*. Proper name
Wully	ولي	*P*. Saint, Sanctified
Wurmish	ورمش	*T*. Proper name
Wurmunish	ورمنش	*T*. Proper name
Yadgar	يادكار	*P*. Memorial
Yado	يادو	*S*. The race of Krishna
Yaghy	ياغي	*T*. Rebellion
Yakoob	يعقوب	*A*. Jacob
Yakoob Beg	يعقوب بيگ	*A*. The chief Jacob
Yakoot	ياقوت	*P*. Ruby
Yar	يار	*P*. The friend
Yehya	يحيى	*A*. Jehu
Yekbal	اقبال	*P*. Prosperity
Yekbalmund	اقبالمند	*P*. Prosperous
Yakhlass	اخلاص	*P*. Friendly
Yekhtyar	اختيار	*P*. Free, uncontrolled
Yekung	يکنگ	*H*. Single stick, or singly armed
Yeldooz	يلدوز	*T*. A star
Yelloo	يلو	*H*. Proper name
Yeltum Raj	يلتم راج	*C*. Proper name
Yesavul	يساول	*T*. Aid-de-camp
Yesoo	يسرع	*S*. Prosperous
Yeswunt Row	يسونت راو	*S*. Prosperous lord
Yevun	يون	*S*. An Ionian, applied by the Hindoos to all races from the west

Yezdijerd	يزدجرد	*P.* The last of the Kaianian kings of Persia
Yezdy	يزدي	*P.* An inhabitant of Yezd
Yezeed	يزيد	*P.* Godlike
Yezeedyar	يزديار	*P.* Friend of God
Yoodeeshteer	يودشتير	*S.* Firm in battle
Yooghrish	يوغرش	*T.* Proper name
Yoonoos	يونس	*A.* Jonas
Yoorish	يورش	*T.* Assaulting
Yoosof	يوسف	*A.* Joseph
Yooyoocha	يويوچه	*S.* Desiring war
Yumny	يمنى	*A.* A native of Yemen or Arabia Felix
Zacharia	زكريا	*A.* Zacharia
Zal	زال	*P.* A famous hero of Persian fable
Zalim	ظالم	*A.* The cruel
Zeead	زياد	*P.* Increasing
Zeehuj	ذى الحج	*A.* The month of pilgrimage, the twelfth Mahomedan month
Zeekad	زالقعده	*A.* The eleventh Mahomedan month
Zeenut	زينت	*A.* Beauteous
Zein	زين	*A.* Ornamental
Zein-ood-Deen	زين الدين	*A.* Ornament of religion
Zein-ool-Abideen	زين العابدين	*A.* Ornament of the servants of God

Zeitoon	زيتون	*P*. An olive
Zungy	زنگي	*P*. Persian family name
Zemindar	زميندار	*P*. One who belongs to the land
Zohak Marry	ضحاك ماري	*P*. An ancient king of Persia
Zoobdut-ool-Moolk	زبدة الملك	*A*. The choice of the state
Zoolkudur	ذوالقدر	*A*. Powerful
Zoolnoon	زوالنون	*A*. Proper name
Zoora	زراع	*A*. Agricultural
Zowzun Hussun	زوزن حسين	*T*. Red, Hussein
Zuffur	ظفر	*A*. Victory
Zuheer	ظهير	*A*. Enlightened
Zuhoory	ظهوري	*A*. Famous. celebrated
Zuman	زمان	*P*. An age
Zund	زند	P. An ancient Persian tribe
Zundah Kaful	زنده كفر	*P*. A race of people in Kashghar
Zunjany	زنجاني	*P*. A native of Zungan
Zureef-ool-Moolk	ظريف الملك	*A*. The most active in the state

No. 11.

AN ALPHABETICAL LIST

OF

NAMES OF COUNTRIES, MOUNTAINS, RIVERS, AND TOWNS,

WHICH OCCUR

THROUGHOUT THE WORK.

		E.Long.		N.Lat.	
		°	′	°	′
Abhur	ابهر	46	10	36	42
Aboogur	ابوگهر	74	11	30	9
Acburpoor ...	اکبرپور	78	42	28	25
		79	51	26	23
		82	26	26	27
Adilabad	عدلاباد	76	8	21	6
Adony or Adwany	ادونی	77	30	16	0
Aden	عدن	52	20	15	12
Agra	اگرا	78	2	27	11
Aheerwara	اهیروارا	76	29	21	25
Ahmadabad ...	احمداباد	72	0	23	0
Ahmudnuggur ...	احمدنگر	74	50	19	8
		73	0	23	35
Ahroony	اهرونی	—		—	
Ahsunabad	احسناباد	76	54	17	23
Ahwan	اهوان	—		—	
Ahwas	اهواس	76	34	22	31
Ajdur	اجدر	67	29	35	2
Ajoodhun	اجودهن	72	25	30	40

		E.Long. °	′	N.Lat. °	′
Ajmere	اجمير	74	52	26	28
Ajum	عجم	*The country of Persia*			
Ajunta, Pass	اجنته	75	50	20	37
Allapoor	علاپور	75	19	18	31
Alund	الند	76	32	17	34
Alwur	الور	76	41	27	35
Alwurpoor	الور پور	*Kashmeer*			
Ambala	انباله	76	44	30	23
Ambur	انبر	75	53	19	40
Amerkote	امرکوت	70	3	25	36
Amol	امول	77	57	25	30
Amroha	امروهه	78	25	28	56
Anagoondy	اناگندی	76	34	15	23
Andkhoo	اندخو	65	12	36	40
Anterbede	انتربید	*A province lying between the Jumna and Ganges, called the Dooab*			
Antoor	انتور	75	20	20	32
Anumbole	انمبول		—	—	
Anundpoor	تند پور	77	45	12	11
Anuntgeer	اننتگیر	79	18	14	12
Ardinga	اردنگه	80	4	15	40
Ardustan	اردستان	51	5	36	0
Arele	اربل	79	40	28	7
Armenia	ارمنیه	*The Province*			
Armun	ارمن		—		—
Asawul	اساول	72	0	23	0

		E.Long. °	′	N.Lat. °	′
Asheera	اشہر	—		—	
Ashta	اشته	76	15	19	24
		76	49	18	32
		76	51	23	0
Ashty	اشتی	75	41	18	25
Ashnuggur, Kashmore	اشنگر	75	29	17	50
Asny	اسنی	87	19	24	21
Asseer ...	اسیر	76	24	21	30
Astrabad	استراباد	54	50	35	50
Atehur	اتیهر	78	35	26	40
Atraoly	اتراولی	78	21	28	3
Attock	اتک	72	22	33	55
Azoorbaijan ...	اذربایجان	*A province of Persia*			
Badghees	بادغیس	—		—	
Badowly	بادولی	82	53	27	10
Badrul	بادرل	76	34	28	20
Badulgur	بادلگر	81	57	24	54
Badwerd	بادورد	52	15	39	50
Bagdad	بغداد	42	20	33	30
Bagrakote	باگراکوت	75	48	16	14
Bahmunhully ...	بهمنهلی	77	51	17	7
Bahmuynpoora ...	بهمنیپوره	70	36	17	36
Balapoor	بالاپور	77	31	13	20
		76	50	20	43
Bamyan	بامیان	67	50	34	30
Bandagur	باندا گهر	74	50	23	2
Banswala	بانسواله	74	34	23	32
Bawy	باوی	75	38	18	32

		E.Long		N.Lat	
Baramoola ··· ···	بارامولا	74	20	34	40
Barcelore ··· ···	بارسیلور	—		—	
Barely ··· ···	بریلی	79	25	28	23
Baroche	بهروچ	73	8	21	47
Baroda	برودہ	76	49	25	31
Basouda	بسوده	78	17	23	17
Bawur	باور	74	6	22	3
Beea	بیه	*The River*			
Beejagur	بیجاگده	75	30	21	37
Beejanuggur	بیجانگر	76	33	15	19
Beejapoor	بیجاپور	75	48	16	50
Beejwara	بیجوارا	80	40	16	35
Beema	بیمه	*The River*			
Beer	بیر	75	49	19	2
		75	0	26	24
		73	20	34	19
Beerbhoom	بیربهوم	86	21	23	45
Beesulnuggur	بیسلنگر	72	20	23	45
Behar	بهار	85	32	25	11
Behut	بهت	*The River*			
Bejour	بجور	78	46	25	29
Belgam	بیلگام	79	50	19	23
Belumconda	بلمکنده	80	5	16	31
Benares	بنارس	82	40	25	20
Bengal	بنگال	*The Province*			
Bensrode	بنسرود	75	35	25	
Berah — —	بهره	73	10	32	7
		73	15	33	20
Berar — —	برار	*The Province*			
Bete — —	بیت	68	20	22	27

				E.Long		N.Lat	
Betwa	—	—	بیتوه	*The River*			
Bhagnuggur		—	بهاگنگر	78	32	17	22
Bhandere	—	—	بهاندیر	79	57	25	48
Bhattia	—	—	بهتیه	76	30	24	18
Bheelwara	—	—	بهیلوارا	77	39	22	32
Bheema	—	—	بهیمه	*The River.*			
Bheerbul	—	—	بهیربل	*Kashmeer.*			
Bhikanere	—	—	بهکانیر	72	20	27	56
Bhilsa	—	—	بهلسا	77	54	23	37
Bhimbur	—	—	بهمبر	74	18	33	4
Bhimkul	—	—	بهمکل	—		—	
Bhimra	—	—	بهمرا	73	7	19	19
Bhind	—	—	بهند	78	41	26	32
Bhorup	—	—	بهورپ	73	35	18	25
Bhowungeer		—	بهولکیر	70	10	21	30
Bhugwanpoor		—	بهگوانپور	83	0	24	57
Bhukkur	—	—	بهکر	{71	12	31	38
				{69	35	27	13
Bhuraich	—	—	بهرایچ	81	30	27	33
Bhurtpoor	—	—	بهرتپور	77	32	27	15
Bhurtwara	—	—	بهرتوارا	75	0	22	4
Bidur	—	—	بیدر	77	34	17	55
Bilala	—	—	بلاله	70	40	20	56
Bingar	—	—	بنگار	74	50	19	8
Birha	—	—	بره	84	28	22	31
Birhala	—	—	برهاله	86	18	23	56
Birun	—	—	برن	87	13	24	45
Bisowly	—	—	بسولي	{74	48	21	51
				{78	56	28	19
Bituhnda	—	—	بهتنده	{72	50	27	20
				{74	50	30	8

		E.Long °	′	N.Lat °	′
Bokhara	بخارا	62	48	39	30
Bongeer	بنگیر	79	50	17	31
Boodwul	بودول	74	28	21	38
Boondy	بوندی	75	40	25	26
Boorhanpoor	بورهانپور	73	40	23	0
Boost	بست	65	0	32	0
Brahmunabad	براهمن‌آباد	68	18	24	43
Budukhshan	بدخشن	70	0	36	25
Budry. (*Ford*)	بدری	77	30	24	33
Buglana	بگلانه	*The Province*			
Bukhshypoor	بخشیپور	80	54	25	21
Bulamia	بلامیه	70	35	33	17
Bulkh	بلخ	66	20	36	31
Bulnat	بلنات	*Mountains in the Punjab, so called.*			
Buleel	بلیل	*Kashmeer.*			
Bulochistan	بلوچستان	*The Province.*			
Bulsar	بلسار	73	2	20	40
Bunas	بناس	*The River*			
Bundelcund	بهندلکند	*The Province*			
Bundwa	بندوه	84	21	23	49
Bung	بنگ	*Prov. Bengal.*			
Bunkapoor	بنکاپور	75	19	14	44
Burkistwar	برکستوار	—		—	
Burungaum	برنگام	76	22	23	48
Bussora	بسره	47	50	30	18
Bustar	بستر	87 82	5 26	21 19	45 33
Butnere	بتنیر	73	55	29	34

		E.Long °	′	N.Lat °	′
Butwa — —	بتوه	87	23	22	52
Byana — —	بیانه	77	15	26	57
Cacherlacota —	کاچرلاکوته	79	25	15	50
Cairo — —	قاهره	23	30	30	5
Calicut — =	کالیکوت	75	52	11	15
Calistry — —	کالستري	79	48	13	45
Cambay — —	کنبیت	72	51	22	5
Cananore — —	کنالور	75	26	11	54
Canara — --	کنره	*The Province*			
Carnatic — —	کرناتک	*The Province*			
Caroor — —	کرور	78	9	10	50
Ceylon — —	سلندیپ	*The Island*			
Chakun — —	چاکن	74	1	18	44
Chaliskole — —	چالیسکول	—		—	
Champanere —	چاپانیر	77	57	23	8
		75	1	25	57
		73	39	22	30
Changdevy — —	چانکدیوی	73	59	17	0
Chawund — —	چاوند	74	6	19	11
Chicacole — —	چکاکول	84	0	18	13
Chickly — —	چکلی	77	29	19	29
		76	13	20	22
		76	10	18	14
Chilka, Ahungeran	چلکه اهنگران	*A Pass in Transoxania*			
Chilkoor — —	چلکور	86	58	24	58
Chinoor — —	چنور	79	48	18	50
Chunab — —	چناب	*The River*			

				E.Long		N.Lat	
Chitcole	—	—	چتکول	84 74	0 47	18 24	13 55
Chittoor	—	—	چتور	79	11	13	14
Choly	—	—	چولي	80	0	23	7
Choul	—	—	چول	73	0	18	33
Chukdura	—	—	چکدره	*A Pass in Kashmeer.*			
Chumbul	—	—	چنبل	*A River.*			
Chunar	—	—	چنارگده	82	49	25	6
Chundery	—	—	چنديری	78	16	24	38
Chundergiry		—	چندرا کري	75 79	5 24	12 13	28 36
Chundergooty		—	چنراگوتی	75	3	14	27
Chupurgutta		—	چپرگته	87	3	26	7
Churwul	—	—	چرول	75	53	11	54
Cochin	—	—	کوچین	76	17	9	59
Compila	—	—	کمپله	76	30	15	24
Concan	—	—	کونکن	*The Low Country lying between Surat and Goa.*			
Condapilly	—	—	کنداپلی	80	36	16	40
Condbeer	—	—	کندبیر	80	20	16	21
Canjeveram		—	کنجیورم	79	57	12	51
Cosimcota	—	—	کسیمکوته	80	12	17	40
Cranganore		—	کرانگانور	76	16	10	13
Cuddapa	—	—	کڑپا	78	55	14	30
Culloor	—	—	کلور	76	53	13	12
Cumamett	—	—	کمامت	80	11	17	15
Cummum	—	—	کمم	79	11	15	34
Dabul	—	—	دابل	73	14	17	47
Daigloor	—	—	دایگلور	77	57	18	34

		E.Long °	'	N.Lat °	'
Damodry — —	دامو داری	*A pass*			
Dampoor (*on the Behut*)	دامپور	78 78	17 30	28 29	11 19
Damra — —	دامره	78	0	16	55
Damra — —		*Kashmeer*			
Danwur — —	دانور	79	32	19	50
Daraputun — —	داراپتن	77	36	10	45
Darasun — —	داراسن	76	5	18	10
Daria — —	داریا	71	30	31	34
Darwar — —	داروار	75	5	15	29
Deboon — —	دیبون	—		—	
Deccan — —	دکهن	*The Province*			
Deebul — —	دیبل	68	8	24	45
Deebul — —		*Kashmeer*			
Deebur — —	دیبر	74	41	21	51
Deenpuna — —	دینپنه	71	15	30	30
Dehly — —	دهلی	77	16	28	40
Depalpoor — —	دیپالپور	73	48	30	58
Depalpoor — —		*Kashmeer*			
Dervishpoor —	درویشپور	—		—	
Devy — —	[illegible]	81	0	15	55
Dewgur or Devagiry	دیوگده دیواگری	75 76	29 11	19 24	53 11
Dewly — —	دیولی	82	52	20	8
Dewnary — —	دیوناري	72	48	26	2
Dewpooral — —	دیوپورال	*Kashmeer*			
Dewsur — —	دیوسر	76	8	28	45
Dewurconda —	دیورکنده	77	51	16	37
Dhamony — —	دهامولي	83	11	24	10
Dhamungaum —	دهامنگاون	76	7	20	22

			E.Long °	′	N.Lat °	′
Dhar — —	دهار		75	22	22	37
Dharanuggury —	دهرانكري		78	9	29	19
D'harore — —	دهارور		76	9	18	52
Dholpoor — —	دهولپور		77	52	26	40
Dhoor — —	دهور		78	44	14	41
Dhowleswur —	دهوليسور		75	10	16	19
Dhunkote, Kashmeer	دهنكوت		86	28	28	12
Dhunna Sodra —	دهنه سودره		*Pass*			
Dhuntoor — —	دهنتور		73	38	34	27
Dhunuj — —	دهنج		*Kashmeer*			
Dhuny — —	دهنی		84	39	24	30
Dilgoosha — —	دلكوشه		*Garden*			
Diu — —	ديو		71	15	20	45
Doab — —	دواب		*A name given to any tract lying between two rivers.*			
Dohud — —	دهد		74	20	22	55
Dole — —	دول		75	22	25	55
Dongurpoor —	دنگرپور		73	50	25	48
Doorgy — —	دورگی		75	50	25	40
Dopamow — —	دوپامو		—		—	
Dowlka — —	دولكه		84	56	23	8
Dowlutabad —	دولتاباد		75	29	19	53
Dulmow — —	دلمو		81	10	27	35
Duman — —	دمان		72	54	20	26
Dunda — —	دنده		73	47	18	18
Dundana — —	دنداله		76	31	29	6
Dundanakon, or Dundan Shikun			67	50	35	0

		E.Long °	′	N.Lat °	′
(a pass) — —					
Dundooka — —	دندوکه	72	10	22	24
Dura — —	دره	79	27	28	51
Dura Ismael Khan	دره اسمعیل خان	71	10	31	50
Durseela — —	درسیله	—		—	
Dwarka — —	دوارکا	69	8	22	16
Dwar Sumoodra —	دوارسمودره	76	55	14	30
Dydla — —	دیدله	74	49	21	57
Eelak — —	یلاق	*Summer residencies.*			
Erak, or Irak —	عراق	*A term applied both to Persia and Mesopotamia*			
Eerich — —	ایرج	79	3	25	48
Elgundel — —	الگندل	79	6	18	24
Elichpoor — —	الچپور	77	34	21	14
Elloora — —	ایلوره	75	16	20	7
Ellore — —	ایلور	81	9	16	41
Etawa — —	اتاوه	78	59	26	45
Etgeer — —	ایتگیر	77	11	16	48
Faukul — —	فانکل	*District of Kashmeer*			
Fars } Farsistan }	فارس فارستان	*A Province of Persia.*			
Ferozabad — —	فیروزاباد	78 76	27 52	27 17	10 7
Furas — —	فراس	*A Province in Transoxania*			
Furghana — —	فرغانه				

				E.Long		N.Lat	
Furghunian	—		فرغنیان	68	20	42	30
Futtehpoor	—		فتحپور	72	15	29	40
				73	11	30	51
				86	45	24	35
Gahgrone	—	—	گاگرون	76	15	24	38
Gaheer	—	—	گهیر	*Kashmeer.*			
Galna	—	—	گالنه	74	37	20	50
Ganjam	—	—	گنجعام	85	10	19	50
Gava	—	—	گاوه	*Kashmeer.*			
Gavul	—	—	گاول	89	56	24	49
Gavulgur	—	—	گاولگر	77	24	21	22
Geelan	—	—	گیلان	*A Province in Persia.*			
Ghazipoor	—	—	غازیپور	80	44	25	31
				83	33	25	35
Ghizny	—	—	غزنی	68	53	33	10
Ghoor	—	—	غور	78	28	27	4
Ghoorbund	—	—	غوربند	68	31	34	41
Girnal or Girnar		—	گرنال	77	9	14	53
Girnary	—	—	گرناری	75	58	25	15
Goa	—	—	گوه	73	59	15	30
Godavery	—	—	گوداوري	*A River*			
Godra	—	—	گودرا	78	22	21	35
				73	41	22	48
Gogo	—	—	گوگو	72	28	21	42
Gogy	—	—	گوگی	76	45	16	35
Gohery	—	—	گوهري	79	7	24	31
Gokudkur	—	—	گهکدکر	*Kashmeer.*			
Gohore	—	—	گهور	*Kashmeer.*			
Golconda	—	—	گولکنده	82	31	17	39

			E.Long °	′	N.Lat °	′
Gombroon	— —	گنبرون	57	30	26	40
Gondel	— —	گندل	71	42	21	51
Gondwana	— —	گولدوانه	*The Province.*			
Goolamat	— —	غلامات	*Kashmeer.*			
Goonta Cummum	—	گونتا کمم	*River.*			
Goorum	— —	گورم	82	16	18	0
Gopalpilly	— —	گوپالپلی	83	23	18	4
Gorowly	— —	گورولی	—		—	
Gorukpoor	— —	گورکپوٗر	83	18	26	44
			79	22	22	40
Gowr	— —	گور	83	58	26	31
Gualiar	— —	گواليار	78	4	26	17
Gujraj	— —	گجراج	75	20	23	53
Do.	— —					
Gujweel, Kashmeer		گجویل	77	24	12	32
Gukkur	— —	گکر	*Kashmeer.*			
Gundicota	— —	گندیکوته	78	22	14	49
Gungrar	— —	گنگرار	75	42	23	56
Gunjowty	— —	گنجوتي	—		—	
Gunpoor	— —	گنپور	78	9	16	34
Gunwar or Kisht-war	— —	گنوار	*A Province of Thibet*			
Gurhy	— —	گرهي	78	12	23	29
			77	18	29	38
			71	5	20	10
Gurmseer	— —	گومسیر	*A Province.*			
Gurra	— —	گرّه	91	20	22	52
			77	25	23	50
			79	57	23	3

		E.Long °	′	N.Lat °	′
Gurra Kota —	گرّہ کوتہ	79	17	23	43
Guzerat — —	گجرات	*The Province*			
Gya — —	گیہ	77	58	33	31
Hajypoor — —	حاجیپور	70	42	28	41
		75	0	25	7
		85	17	25	41
Hamadan — —	ہمدان	48	0	24	20
Hamoon, Kashmeer	ہامون	—		—	
Hansy — —	ہانسي	75	57	29	6
Hatmutty — —	ہاتمتي	*A River.*			
Heerpoor — —	ہیرپور	*Kashmeer.*			
Hindoo Cooh —	ہندو کوہ	*Mountains of Pishawur.*			
Hindown — —	ہنداون	77	0	26	44
Hirat — —	ہرات	62	18	34	48
Holkar — —	ہولکار	76	33	13	25
Hookery — —	ہوکري	75	2	15	4
Hoolias — —	ہولیاس کہات	*Pass*			
Hooshungabad —	حشنگاباد	75		22	45
Hoot — —	ہوت	—		—	
Houz-i-Burma (*Lake*)	حوض برمہ	87	43	24	50
Houz-i-Kumt'hana	حوض کمتہالہ	*Lake*			
Houz-i-Kootloo —	حوض قوتلو	*Lake*			
Houz-i-Rany —	حوض راني	*Lake*			
Hulkant — —	ہلکانت	78	30	26	44
Hundia — —	ہندیہ	82	10	25	20
Hunwutgur —	ہنوتگر	74	54	19	52
Hurdwar — —	ہردوار	78	9	29	58
Hurryputtun —	ہریتن	—		—	
Hurunpal, Nursak —	ہرپال نرساک	*Kashmeer*			

			E.Long °	′	N.Lat °	′
Hussunabdal	—	حسنابدال	75	46	20	9
Hustnapoor	—	هستناپور	78	52	14	11
Hydrabad —	—	حيدراباد	68	40	25	21
			80	18	28	3
Ibrahimputtun	—	ابراهيم پتن	78	41	17	11
Idur —	—	ايدر	73	1	25	[illegible]
Ilahy, Mahal	—	الهي محل	*A palace*			
Inaconda —	—	الدكنده	79	48	16	3
Indapoor —	—	انداپور	75	6	18	7
Inderkote —	—	اندركوت	—		—	
Indgy —	—	اندجي	78	12	16	5
Indoor —	—	اندور	—		—	
Indraconda	—	اندرا كونده	75	50	22	42
			78	8	18	40
Indrakote —	—	اندراكوت	*Kashmeer.*			
Indijan —	—	اندجان	68	40	41	40
Isfahan —	—	اصفحان	52	30	31	10
Islamabad —	—	اسلاماباد	91	54	22	21
			76	20	34	29
Islamuggur	—	اسلامنگر	85	56	24	57
			77	30	23	24
			78	11	28	18
Islampoor —	—	اسلامپور	90	28	23	59
			75	40	28	6
			85	13	25	8
			74	28	17	0
			71	30	28	27
Jadra, Kashmeer	—	جادرا	—		—	
Jajnuggur —	—	جاجنگر	85	1	20	30
Jalesur —	—	جليسر	78	20	27	30

				E.Long		N.Lat	
Jaliat	—	—	جليات	75	54	11	5
Jalna	—	—	جالنه	75	58	19	54
Jalundur	—	—	جالندر		—	24	0
Do. Kashmeer		—					
Jam (Pass)		—	جام	77	6	20	27
Jay Faknoor		—	جاي‌فاكنور	—			—
Jeebul	—	—	جهيبل	*Kashmeer*			
Jeelput	—	—	جهيلپت	—			—
Jeeoor	—	—	جيرو	75	30	22	45
Jehrund	—	—	جهرند	73	27	22	29
Jeipoor, (or Jypoor)			جيپور	75	50	26	55
Jeipoor Kotly, (or Jypoor)	—	—	جيپوركوتلي	76	23	20	42
Jesselmere	—	—	جسلمير	71	13	26	52
Jhayin	—	—	جهاين	75	18	28	5
Jhalode	—	—	جهالود	74	13	23	7
Jharkund	—	—	جهاركند	*A Province.*			
Jheelum	—	—	جهيلم	*River.*			
Jhirka	—	—	جهركه		—		—
Jirconda	—	—	جركنده		—		—
Jood	—	—	جود	*Mountains.*			
Joodhun or Ajoodhun	—	—	جودهن	72	35	30	40
Joodry	—	—	جودري	79	31	26	56
Joonagur	—	—	جوناگر	70	40	21	30
Joonere	—	—	جنير	74	7	19	14
Joonpoor	—	—	جونپور	82	40	25	45
Joorjan	—	—	جرجان	*Provinces S. E. of the Caspian Sea*			
Joorjistan	—	—	جرجستان				

		E.Long. °	′	N.Lat. °	′
Joorjoora — —	جرجره	75	22	28	4
Jowlapoor — —	جرلاپور	*Kashmeer*			
Judda — —	جده	39	30	20	45
Juggut, or Jyrgat — —	جگت	69	8	22	15
Juhjur — —	جهجر	80	28	16	45
Jujur — —	ججر	*River*			
Julalabad — —	جلال اباد	79	33	27	46
		70	45	34	9
		77	24	29	33
		83	23	25	51
Julaly — —	جالي	78	18	27	53
Julmoor — —	جلمور	84	10	18	25
Julwan — —	جلوان	*Province in Persia.*			
Jumkindy — —	جمكندي	75	21	16	30
Jummoo — —	جمّو	74	55	32	53
Jumna — —	جمنه	*River*			
Jumulmooroo —	جملمورر	78	28	14	52
Kabul — —	كابل	69	12	34	7
Kadurabad — —	قادر اباد	74	50	19	8
Kakny — —	كاكني	76	16	11	53
Kakreea — —	كاكرية	76	8	23	35
Kala Chubootra —	كالچبوترا	*An encamping ground so called*			
Kaliada — —	كالياده	76	16	23	16
Kalinjur — —	كالنجر	80	27	25	4
Kalinjurkote —	كالنجركوت	*A town west of Attock*			
Kalpy — —	كالپي	79	44	26	8
Kamraj — —	كامراج	*Kashmeer*			

		E.Long. °	′	N.Lat. °	′
Kandahar — —	قندهار	77	16	18	53
Kandeish — —	کهاندیش	*The Province*			
Kandy — —	قندي	80	47	7	10
Kaplan — —	قاپان	*A town in Transoxania.*			
Karapatam — —	کراپتن	73	26	16	26
Kasan — —	کاسان	68	28	42	11
Kashan — —	کاشان	51	30	35	0
Kashgar, a Province of Tartary —	کاشغر	74	0	37	50
Kashmeer — —	کشمیر	*The Province.*			
Kataén — —	کتاین	84	10	26	29
Katgur — —	کانکر	88	52	24	45
Kattack — —	کتک	85	52	20	26
Kava — —	کاره	*District of Kashmeer*			
Kaziroon — —	کازرون	52	0	32	0
Keechiwara — —	کیچیوارا	*District in Malwa.*			
Kech — —	کیچ	*Prov. of Sind.*			
Keid — —	قهد	*Desert.*			
Kehlna, (Vishalgur)	کهلنه	73	50	17	30
Kehrla — —	کهیرله	72	32	28	48
Kelookery, (*Suburb of Dehli*) — —	کیلوکهیري	76	16	28	40
Kerowly — —	کرولي	79	0	27	22
		77	53	27	8
Khalidgur — —	خالدگر	*Kashmeer.*			
Khanbaligh — —	خان بالغ	*City in Tartary*			

			E.Long.		N.Lat.	
Khanpoor — —	کانپور		73	17	30	0
			73	8	33	32
Khaspoor — —	حاسپور		74	4	32	38
Khoojund — —	خوجند		66	52	41	8
Khooshab — —	خوشاب		72	38	32	2
Khoozar — —	خوزار		66	46	27	54
Khorasan — —	چراسان		*A Province of Persia.*			
Khowaspoor —	خواصپور		74	4	32	38
Khozarbund —	خزارابند		*Kabul.*			
Khuleefâbâd —	خلیفاباد		—		—	
Khulijpoor — —	خلجپور		76	50	24	6
Khullij — —	خلج		70	30	34	40
Khuteebpoor —	خطیبپور		—			
Khutta, (also a Province of Tartary)	ختہ		82	40	25	57
Khutuk — —	ختک		85	52	20	26
Khwaja. Deedar —	خواجہ دیدار		*District in Kabul.*			
Khwaruzm — —	خوارزم		*The Province of Chorasmmia.*			
Kirman — —	کرمان		70	21	33	29
Kish — —	قش		65	12	39	23
Kishlakat-i-Huzara	قشلاکات حزارہ		*A Province of Kabul.*			
Kishtwâr — —	کشترا		*Province of Thibet.*			
Kittoor — —	کتور		74	50	15	38
Koheer — —	کوھیر		82	39	23	45
Kohrâm — —	کھرام		—		—	
Koilad — —	کویلاد		—		—	

		E.Long. °	′	N.Lat. °	′
Kohka, Plain of —	میدان کرکه	*Kashmeer.*			
Kolapoor — —	کولا پور	{77	34	20	53
		{74	20	16	45
Kolarus — —	کلارس	77	41	25	16
Kole — —	کول	78	0	27	52
Kole, (Julaly) —	کول جالی	73	25	33	12
Kolhar — —	کلهار	75	48	16	25
Kondana or Singur	کندانه	73	54	18	22
Kooary — —	كواري	71	37	24	3
Kooch — —	کوچ	*A Province in Bengal.*			
Koofa — —	كوفه	44	0	32	10
Kooh-toor — —	کوه تور	*Mount Sinai*			
Koolburga — —	کلبرگه	76	54	17	23
Koolgam — —	کلگام		—		—
Koombulmere —	کومبهلمیر	73	31	25	9
Koonchy — —	کونچی	75	50	16	15
Koondly — —	كوندلي	71	34	21	21
Koondooz — —	[illegible]	82	9	16	46
Koorkan — —	کور کان	74	53	31	10
Koorshy — —	قرشي	{80	59	27	0
		{80	41	27	10
Koowurket — —	کورکهوست	*A field of Battle near Tahneswur*			
Korla — —	کورله	73	54	16	36
Kota — —	کوته	{78	54	26	18
		{72	51	34	13
Kotgeer — —	کوتگیر	77	28	31	20
Kotgirour — —	کوتگرور	*Kashmeer.*			
Kotthamoon	کوت ناموں	*Kashmeer.*			

		E.Long.		N.Lat.	
Kotla — —	کوتله	78	28	27	17
Kowilconda — —	کویلکنده	77	51	16	56
Kowlâs — —	ولاص	76	54	22	32
Kowrial — —	کوريال	—		—	
Krishna — —	کرشنه	*The River.*			
Kuchwaha — —	کچهواها	80	25	26	6
Kuggur, *River* —	کگهر	75	55	26	35
Kuhndwa — —	کهندوه	76	25	21	52
Kujdewan — —	کجدیوان	73	50	26	50
Kulgoor — —	کلگور	—		—	
Kulnugry — —	کلنگری	*Kashmeer.*			
Kullanore — —	کلانور	75	20	31	51
Kulanumut — —	کلا نمت	*Kashmeer.*			
Kulliany — —	کلیانی	83	34	24	24
Kullum — —	کلم	{76	15	18	38
		{74	7	19	5
Kumaoon — -	کماون	*Province in Nepal.*			
Kumtana, (or Cum-tànà) — —	کمتانه	77	29	17	52
Kundoo-Deva Pully	کندو دیوابلی	—		—	
Kunikdizin — —	کنکدز	*Transoxania.*			
Kunoory — —	کنوري	72	19	23	36
Kunowj, or Canowj	قنوج	79	49	27	4
Kurbela — —	کربلا	44	0	32	20
Kurgone — —	کرگون	71	30	22	3
Kurmar - —	کرمار	*Kashmeer*			
Kurmulla —	کرملا	75	17	18	27
Kurnool —	کرنول	78	7	15	50
Kurnal — —	کرنال	76	58	29	30
Kuronde — —	کروند	73	28	21	18

			E.Long. °	′	N.Lat. °	′
Kurpa	— —	کرپه	78	55	14	30
Kurra	— —	کره	75	11	18	51
Kurrakole	— —	قراکول	*Tartary.*			
Kurry	— —	کري	75	54	22	19
			73	34	19	32
			72	28	23	18
Kutch	— —	کچ	*The territory so called.*			
Kutcha Ghât		کچه کهات	*Ford.*			
Kutehr	— —	کتهر	78	59	24	49
Kutra	— —	کتره	78	59	24	49
Kuzveen, (or Casven)	— —	قزوين	53	0	36	0
Kythul	— —	کيتهل	76	20	29	48
Lahore	— —	لاهور	74	12	31	35
Lâr	— —	لار	*Province of Persia.*			
Lâr	— —	لار	*Kashmeer.*			
Larky	— —	لارکی	*Pass*			
Lassa	— —	لاسه	91	8	29	32
Lodhana	— —	لدهانه	75	27	24	0
Lohgur	— —	لهگره	73	35	18	40
			69	20	33	49
Lohkote	— —	لهکوت	*Kashmeer.*			
Looloopoor. Kashmeer	— —	لولوپور	81	35	25	18
Looshoo	— —	لوشو	*Dist. of Thibet.*			
Lowluk	— —	لولک	*Kashmeer.*			
Luchmynuggur	—	لچمينگر	76	53	27	24
Luknow	— —	لکنو	80	50	26	53
Luknowty	— —	لکنوتي	88	11	24	55

			E.Long. °	′	N.Lat. °	′
Lulling	— —	اللنک	75	50	20	40
Lumghân	— —	لمغان	*Province near Peshawur.*			
Lungur	— —	لنگر	87	30	21	53
Madras	— —	مدراس	80	22	13	4
Madoky	— —	مادوکي	*Kashmeer*			
Madurgy	— —	مدرکي	76	56	16	20
Machiwara	— —	ماچهوار	76	14	30	54
Mâhânudda	—	ماهانده	*River.*			
Mahoba	— —	ماهوبه	79	51	25	20
Mâhim (Bombay Island)	— —	ماهم	72	49	19	40
Maholy	— —	مهولي	80	24	27	40
Mahmoodabad	—	محمودا باد	{83	43	25	37
			{83	27	26	2
Mahomedabad	—	محمّدا باد	79	21	27	80
Mahomednuggur	—	محمّد نگر	82	31	17	29
Mahomedpoor	—	محمّد پور	{70	40	29	3
			{76	27	30	8
Mahoor	— —	ماهور	77	58	19	49
Mahrasa (or Mowrasa)	— —	مهراسه	77	6	34	45
Malabar	— —	مليبار	*Province on the Western Coast of India*			
Malacca, an Island		ملکه	102	0	2	30
Mallygur	— —	مالهگهره	78	11	22	71
Malwa	— —	مالوه	*The Province*			
Malycota	— —	مالهکوته	81	59	28	23
Man, River	—	مان	91	14	18	11

		E.Long. °	′	N.Lat. °	′
Mandese — —	ماندیس	*A district of Beejapoor*			
Mando — —	ماندو	75	29	22	22
Mangalore — —	منگلور	74	53	12	52
Mankote, Kashmeer	مانکوت	48	20	24	25
Manoory — —	مانوری	78	55	11	50
Manserovûr — —	مانسروار	*Lake.*			
Manukpoonj	مانکپونج	79	30	24	23
Manukpoor — —	مانکپور	73	28	26	50
Maran-Hills — —	ماران	*Kashmeer*			
Marwar — —	ماروار	*Province of Upper India*			
Masulipatam —	مچلیپتن	81	11	16	9
Mavur-ool-nehr —	ماورالنهر	*Transoxania.*			
Mâzinderân — —	مازندران	*A Province of Persia*			
Mecca — —	مکه	50	30	20	40
Medina — —	مدینه	48	5	22	10
Mednypoor, Kash-meer — —	میدنیپور	83	23	25	33
		87	20	22	26
Meduk — —	مدک				
Mehkur — —	مهکر	78	23	27	35
Mehndry — —	مهندری	*River*			
Mehrowly — —	مهرولی	82	40	24	9
Mehyswur — —	مهیسور	75	41	22	11
Mein — —	مهن	*Kashmeer.*			
Merkol — —	مرکول	82	56	19	45
Merut — —	میرت	77	42	28	59
Mewar — —	میوار	*Province of Upper India.*			

			E.Long. °	′	N.Lat. °	′
Mewat	— —	مروات	*Province do.*			
Mikran	— —	مكران	*Province of Southern Persia*			
Mirch	— —	مرچ	74	43	16	55
Moghat	— —	مغات	*A Bridge in Transoxnia.*			
Mogulistan	— —	مغلستان	*Province of Tartary.*			
Mohâbilla	— —	مهابله	70	50	21	25
Mohatila	— —	مهاتله	69	18	23	10
Mhowkehr	— —	مهو كهير	74	24	20	0
Moodkul	— —	مود كل	76	32	16	1
Mokudkar	— —	مركد كار	*Kashmeer.*			
Mooltan	— —	مولتان	75	18	23	6
Moorghab	— —	مرغاب	67	15	31	29
Moostufabad	—	مصطفاباد	70	20	21	0
Moosulmooroo	—	مسلمورز	78	38	15	58
Moosy	— —	موسي	73	43	18	26
Mootapilly	— —	متاپلي	78	6	11	3
Muchbul, River	—	مچبول	*Kashmeer*			
Muchlyputtun, (or Masulipatam)	—	مچليپتن	88	11	16	9
Mudun, (hill at Runtunbhore)	—	مدن	86	51	24	24
			86	10	25	58
Mudwara	— —	مدوارا	78	23	16	38
			80	57	16	17
Mukna	— —	مكنة	83	18	18	26
			73	48	22	14
Mulungoor	— —	ملنكور	79	24	18	19
Mulwut	— —	ملوت	84	9	25	7

		E.Long. °	'	N.Lat. °	'
Mundra — —	مندره	70	0	22	48
Mundla — —	مندله	80	29	22	40
Mundlere — —	مندلير	77	13	26	20
Mundsoor — —	مندسور	75	7	24	3
Mundul — —	مندل	72	4	23	14
Mundulgur — —	مندلگره	75	9	25	20
Mundry (hills) —	مندري	78	30	28	41
Munsoorpoor —	منصور پور	76	20	30	25
Murhera — —	مرهره	78	38	27	4
Murhutt — —	مرهة	*Province of Maharashtra.*			
Muriala — —	مرياله	70	43	22	4
Murv — —	مرو	61	15	37	30
Mushed — —	مشهد	56	0	38	0
Mylapoor — —	ميلا پور	86	16	25	0
Myne — —	مهن	85	30	25	38
Mysoor — —	مهسور	76	44	12	18
Nadly — —	نادلي	*Kashmeer*			
Nâdool — —	نادول	76	39	26	2
Nâdote — —	نادوت	73	40	21	51
Nagdurry — —	ناگدري	80	17	6	56
Nagoonda — —	ناگنده	80	33	24	36
Nâgoor — —	ناگور	76	5	16	2
Nâgry — —	ناگري	79	40	13	20
Nakam — —	ناکام	*Kashmeer*			
Nakavy — —	ناکاوي	*Kashmeer.*			
Nâlchâ — —	نالچه	75	30	22	26
Namumpilly, (Lake)	نامپلي	84	45	19	47
Nandere — —	ناندير	75	10	21	42
Narain — —	نارائن	75	20	26	45

			E.Long. °	′	N.Lat. °	′
Narainkehra	—	نارا ينکهره	76	21	15	12
Narainpatam	—	نارايپتم	83	10	18	31
Nardeim	— —	ماردين	84	36	24	7
Nargy	— —	نارکی	78	27	27	18
Narnol	— —	نارنول	76	11	28	4
Natolia	— —	ناتوليه	*Province in Asia Minor*			
Neelab	— —	نيلاب	72	20	33	56
Neerdole	— —	نيردول	76	37	19	23
			81	50	16	53
Negapatam	— —	ناگپتن	79	53	10	36
Nehawund	— —	نهاوند	49	0	35	0
Nehrwâla	— —	نهرواله	72	8	23	50
Nere	— —	نير	86	7	26	12
Nere	— —	نير	*Kashmeer.*			
Nikâla	— —	نکاله	*Kashmeer.*			
Nindoona	— —	نندونه	76	29	29	0
Nizampatam	—	نظمپتن	80	44	15	56
Nowlaye	— —	نولاي	75	27	23	2
Nowlgoond	— —	نولگود	75	29	15	30
Nowrus	— —	نورس	75	52	16	51
Nowrozkote	— —	نوروز کوت	*Kashmeer.*			
Nowsary	— —	نوساري	73	1	21	0
Nowshehra, Kashmeer	— —	نوشهره	74	51	31	19
			72	2	34	6
			69	10	25	51
Nowulgoond	—	نولگند	75	32	15	43
Nubat Ghat	— —	نبات کهات	*A Palace at Hydrabad.*			
Nuddy Mahal	—	ندي محل	*Palace.*			

				E.Long. °	′	N.Lat. °	′
Nuggur	—	—	نگر	87	22	23	28
				74	10	32	43
				71	37	25	21
Nuggurkote	—	—	نگر کوت	*Kashmeer.*			
Nuldoorg	—	—	نلدرگ	76	20	17	52
Nunda	—	—	نندہ	82	28	18	15
				77	16	19	33
Nundial	—	—	نندیال	78	33	15	30
Nundoorbar		—	نندوبار	74	25	21	26
Nurbuda	—	—	نربدہ	*River.*			
Nurnalla	—	—	نرناله	77	2	21	15
Nurwur	—	—	نرور	78	3	23	24
Nuseerpoor	—	—	نصیر پور	73	16	33	48
Nyshapoor	—	—	نشاپور	88	35	25	6
Ocha	—	—	ارچه	49	20	22	25
Oodgeer	—	—	اود کیر	77	10	18	27
Okshy	—	—	اخشي	78	5	33	41
Ongole	—	—	ارنکول	80	7	15	31
Oodown	—	—	اردرن	68	35	28	12
				69	24	24	15
Oodown	—	—	اردرن	*Kashmeer.*			
Oojein	—	—	اجین	75	52	23	11
Ookey	—	—	اکي	*Kashmeer.*			
Ooman	—	—	امان	*Arabia.*			
Oomruzpoor		—	امروزپور	75	36	17	14
Oorconda	—	—	ارکند	77	20	14	57
Oosh	—	—	رش	69	15	41	30
Ootgy	—	—	ارنکي	77	50	16	59
Oozkund	—	—	ازکند	69	40	41	53
Oran	—	—	اران	*Kashmeer.*			

		E.Long. °	′	N.Lat. °	′
Orcha (where Abool Fuzl was killed)	اورچه (جايكه ابر الفضل كشته شد)	78	39	25	23
Orissa — —	وريسه	69	6	30	22
Ormuz — —	هرمزد	57	30	26	40
Owsa — —	اوسه	76	30	18	20
Pagtoor — —	پاكتور	78	3	15	55
Pail — —	پايل	73	22	19	2
Pal — —	پال	74	15	17	34
Palum — —	پالم	76	59	19	7
Palunchinoor —	پالنچينورر	81	30	17	0
Pangul — —	پانكل	78	13	i6	15
Pâniput — —	پانيپت	76	45	29	25
Par — —	پار	73	47	17	51
Patna — —	پتنه	87	27	21	42
		85	9	25	35
		83	40	26	18
Patry — —	پايري	72	0	23	8
Paunch, *Kashmeer*	پاونچ	75	2	34	10
Peitun — —	پيتن	82	44	27	57
Penkonda — —	پنكونده	77	40	14	8
Pentapoondi —	پنتاپوندی	82	10	16	58
Pentapoor — —	پنتاپور	82	40	17	15
Pernala — —	پرناله	74	16	16	48
Pery Kehra — —	پري كهره	69	38	28	59
Peshawur — —	پشاور	71	41	34	5
Pettapoor — —	پتاپور	75	16	22	25
P'harpully — —	پهاربلي	78	4	14	34
Pholo — —	پهولو	75	14	30	20
Pitlâud — —	پتلاود	72	58	20	30
Poona — —	پونه	74	0	18	31

			E.Long. °	′	N.Lat. °	′
Poorundhur —	پورندهر		74	10	18	0
Potnoor — —	پوتنور		—		—	
Pudmawutty —	پدماوتي		Words in Bengal.			
Pugly, Kashmeer —	پکلي		74	36	33	24
Pulicat — —	پليکت		80	23	13	24
Punala — —	پنهالا		74	16	16	48
Punjab — —	پنجاب		Province.			
Punjur River —	پنجر		Kashmeer.			
Punna — —	پنه		80	9	24	44
Punnuj, Kashmeer	پنج		89	33	27	23
Purenda — —	پرنده		76	52	18	45
Purmgolla — —	پرمکوله		Kashmeer.			
Pursuroor — —	پرسرارور		80	19	15	56
Putialy — —	پتيالي		76	18	30	10
Puttun — —	پتن	{	76	5	27	51
			72	9	23	49
Rabery, or Rewary	رابري		76	40	28	10
Rachore — —	راچور		77	24	10	12
Radunpoor — —	رادنپور		71	40	23	40
Rairee — —	رايري		73	43	15	46
Raissen — —	رايسن	{	75	0	18	28
			78	2	23	25
Rajmurda — —	راجامرده		74	18	18	24
Rajanuggur — —	راجانگر	{	90	25	23	20
			82	36	19	27
Rajapoor — —	راجاپور		39	89	23	15
Rajconda — —	راجکنده		78	50	17	11
Rajoory — —	راجوری		74	40	17	58
Rajmundry — —	راجمندري		81	50	17	1

		E.Long. °	′	N.Lat. °	′
Rajpoondy	راجپوندي	74	50	17	19
Rajpoor	راجپور	77	33	30	13
		74	30	22	20
Rameswur	رامیسور	80	50	29	33
Ramgir	رامگر	79	37	18	35
Râmpinjun	رامپنجن	79	29	24	11
Râmpoora	رامپوره	79	12	10	71
Ranoory	رانوري	74	40	19	4
Ravy	راوي	*The River.*			
Ray-Afzây	راي افزاي	*A Palace, so called.*			
Raybagh	راي باغ	74	51	16	34
Reeva	ریوه	81	19	24	33
Rewary	ریواري	76	40	28	10
Rewdunda	ریودنده	73	31	16	43
Roh	روه	85	42	24	54
Rohtas	رهتاس	73	43	33	1
Rohtuk	رهتک	76	36	28	54
Rohunkehra	رهنکهره	*Pass to the N. W. of Ahmudnuggur.*			
Rohut	روهت	83	6	24	48
Room	روم	*Asia Minor.*			
Rubat Ameer	رباط امیر	*Transoxania.*			
Rungpoor	رنگپور	89	22	26	43
		71	41	30	30
Runtunbhore	رنتنبهور	76	23	26	1
Rusoolâbâd	رسولاباد	—		—	
Rutungur	رتنگر	*Kashmeer.*			
Rye, or Tehran	ري	*Capital of Persia.*			
Saadabad	سعد آباد	83	10	25	31

				E.Long. °	′	N.Lat. °	′
Saburmutty	—	—	سابرمتي	*The River.*			
Sâgur	—	—	ساگر	77	13	24	21
				75	8	14	10
Saharun	—	—	سهارن	80	10	23	28
Sahsaram	—	—	سهسرام	83	59	24	59
Samarkand	—	—	سمرقند	64	50	39	41
Sarangur	—	—	سارنگر	82	54	21	29
Sarungpoor	—	—	سارنگپور	76	35	23	38
Sasny	—	—	ساسني	78	11	27	42
Satara	—	—	ستاره	74	11	17	42
Sâvâ	—	—	ساوه	52	0	31	50
Seekry	—	—	سيكري	70	35	23	11
Seepry	—	—	رود سيپري	*River.*			
Seestan	—	—	سيستان	*Province in South-Eastern Persia.*			
Seetulpoor	—	—	سيتلپور	87	17	25	7
Seevapoor	—	—	سيوا پور	*Kashmeer.*			
Seewas	—	—	سيواس	78	27	23	42
				76	14	24	20
Sehasnuk	—	—	سهسنک	78	11	27	42
Sehwan	—	—	سهوان	68	50	26	15
Selandeep	—	—	سلاند يپ	*Island Ceylon.*			
Selim	—	—	رود سليم	*The River.*			
Sena	—	—	رود سنه	*The River.*			
Sendooz	—	—	سندوز	—		—	
Seray Lado	—	—	سراي لادو	*Caravansera on the Indus.*			
Serhind (or Surhind)			سرهند	76	22	30	38

			E.Long. °	′	N.Lat. °	′
Serinuggur, *Capital of Kashmeer*	—	سربنگر	79	50	34	40
Setpoor	— —	سهتپور	71	8	29	7
Sevạna	— —	سوانه	73	4	21	26
Sewalik	— —	سوالک	*Mountains.*			
Sewee	— —	سوي	75	20	19	21
Sewgaum	— —	سوگاون	76	41	25	47
Sewly	— —	سولي	76	4	20	24
			85	51	23	23
Sewust'han	— —	سوستهان	*Province West of the Indus*			
Shadiabad	— —	شديا باد	83	23	25	41
Shadman	— —	شادمان	*Transoxania.*			
Shahabad	— —	شاه آباد	87	29	25	16
Shahabpoor	— —	شاهب پور	*Kashmeer.*			
Shahdroog	— —	شاهدرگ	77	35	14	11
Shahnowaz	— —	شاهنواز	*Transoxania.*			
Shapoor	— —	شاپور	75	23	34	18
Sharokhia	— —	شرخيه	*Transoxania.*			
Sheergur	— —	شيرگر	70	37	21	18
Sheerwan	— —	شروان	*Province in Persia.*			
Sheevur	— —	شيور	*District N.W of Moultan.*			
Shewala	— —	شوله	*A name for Ceylon.*			
Shewpoor	— —	شيوپور	76	54	25	45
Shiraz	— —	شيراز	55	0	32	0
Sholapoor	— —	شولاپور	75	5	17	35
Shoojalpoor	— —	شوجلپور	76	50	23	26

		E.Long.		N.Lat.	
Shooturgurdana (the Camel's pass)	شتر گردنه	*Transoxania.*			
Shujawund	شجاوند	*Transoxania.*			
Shumsabad	شمساباد	78	10	27	2
		72	32	33	57
Sicacolum	سکاکولم	80	55	16	15
Sidpoor	سدپور	72	21	23	57
Sikundurpoor	سکندر پور	*Kashmeer.*			
Sind	سند	*Province.*			
Sind	رود سند	*River Indus.*			
Singram	سنگرام	82	21	25	54
Sinoor	سنور	73	31	21	55
Sirala	سراله	74	15	17	0
Siry	سري	82	32	5	13
Soane	سون	*River.*			
Somapoor	سوما پور	89	27	26	20
Somnat	سمنات	70	30	21	45
Songeer	سنگير	74	58	21	8
Songhur	سنگهر	73	48	21	12
Sonkehra	سنکهره	77	10	24	52
Sonput	سنپت	76	20	19	3
Sooltanpoor	سلطانپور	77	7	31	59
Soonam	سنام	75	53	30	8
Soonargam	سنارگاون	89	27	23	17
Soonere	سنير	76	27	23	32
Soopa (near the Godavery River)	سُپه	74	38	15	16
Soorkhab	سرخاب	*Transoxania.*			
Soorsutty	سورستي	90	49	24	33
Soorsutty	رود سورستی	*The River.*			

			E.Long. °	′	N.Lat. °	′
Sorut	— —	سورت	*Prov. Western Guzerat.*			
Sialkote	— —	سيالكوت	74	32	32	35
Sreenuggur	— —	سرينگر	75	50	34	40
Subooly	— —	سبولي	{ 87	9	24	9
			{ 90	35	23	49
Subzeea	— —	سبزيه	*Kashmeer.*			
Subzwar	— —	سبزوار	67	15	39	20
Suisapoor	— —	سويساپور	—			
Sukeet	— —	سكيت	78	38	27	4
Sulah	— —	صلح	*Kashmeer.*			
Sumatra	— —	سمتره	*The Island.*			
Sumbhul	— —	سنبهل	78	38	28	37
Sumnan	— —	سمنان	—			
Sumthur	— —	سمتهر	79	3	25	40
Sumurkote	— —	سمركوت	*Kashmeer.*			
Sunja	— —	سنجه	*Kashmeer.*			
Sunkeswur	— —	سنكشور	71	54	23	23
Suntravul	— —	سنتراول	73	27	22	40
Surgooja	— —	سرگوجه	83	10	23	8
Surgdewary, or Hurdwar	— —	سرگدواري	78	9	29	58
Surhind or Serhind		سرهند	76	22	30	38
Surjoo (or Suroo)		سرجو	*River.*			
Surkech	— —	سركوچ	72	40	23	0
Surmore	— —	سرمور	*Hills.*			
Surohy	— —	سروهي	72	49	24	52
Surtuk	— —	سرتك	76	19	29	54
Suruksh	— —	سرخش	*Transoxania.*			
Sutgam (Chitagong)		ستگاون	91	48	24	15

				E.Long. °	′	N.Lat. °	′
Sutlooj	—	—	ستلج	*River.*			
Sutnoor	—	—	ستنور	76	27	21	48
Sutwas	—	—	ستواس	76	45	22	30
Swad	—	—	سواد	71	50	34	30
Sydpoor	—	—	سيد پور	87	13	24	52
Tabreez (Tauris)		—	طبريز	47	30	38	0
Taee	—	—	طاي	*Messopotamia.*			
Tahneswur	—	—	تهانسر	76	50	29	58
Talikhan	—	—	تالهخن	68	50	36	40
Talikota	—	—	تليكوته	76	22	16	29
Talnere	—	—	تها لنهر	75	7	21	21
Tanda	—	—	ٹانڈه	67	20	24	55
Tandla	—	—	ٹانڈ له	74	39	22	3
Tanna	—	—	تهانه	{77	18	26	26
				{73	4	19	12
Tapty	—	—	تپتي	*River.*			
Târâpoor	—	—	تارا پور	88	3	23	50
Tarpully	—	—	تار پلي	79	46	16	38
Tatpak	—	—	تاتپک	*Transoxania.*			
Tedzen	—	—	ٹدزن	*Transoxania.*			
Teergiram	—	—	تر کهران	*Transoxania.*			
Thibet	—	—	تهبت	*Province.*			
Tikona	—	—	تكونه	73	30	18	20
Timoor	—	—	تيمور	*Island East of India.*			
Tiprah	—	—	تپراه	83	29	26	43
Tirhoot	—	—	تهرهت	*Province.*			
Tirma	—	—	تهرمه	*Kashmeer. (famous for its shawls.)*			

			E.Long. °	′	N.Lat. °	′
Tirowry	— —	تروري	81	8	24	44
Toglukabad, *suburb of Delhi*	— —	ترغلكاباد	77	19	28	32
Tokharistan	— —	تخارستان	*Transoxania.*			
Toohana	— —	طوهانه	75	54	29	41
Toolumba	— —	طولمبه	72	20	30	34
·Toong	— —	تونك	75	13	13	18
Toongbudra	— —	تونكبدره	*River.*			
Tooran	— —	توران	*E. Persia and Transoxania.*			
Toorkistan	— —	تركستان	*Prov. of Tartary, country of the Turks*			
Toorkul	— —	توركل	77	40	18	11
Toormooz	— —	ترمذ		—	37	17
Toos	— —	طوس	57	0	39	0
Trebizond	— —	تربيزند	40	0	30	30
Tuckul	— —	تكل	78	8	16	1
Tukeeabad	— —	تكيا باد	66	2	33	40
Tul-Ghât	— —	تل كهات	*Below the passes.*			
Tulingana	— —	تلينگانه	*The Province.*			
Tulwara	— —	تلواره	72	18	25	21
Tumbola	— —	تمبوله	74	14	31	50
Tallygaum	— —	تليگام	{74	59	20	28
			{75	48	18	43
Tutta	— —	تته	68	8	24	45

			E.Long. °	′	N.Lat. °	′
Udgerrydoorg	—	ادکریدرک	79	22	14	52
Ulmulla	— —	الموله	73	3	23	12
Veeragootun	—	ویراگوتم	83	40	18	32
Velumpultun (perhaps Belumconda)		ولمپتن	80	5	16	31
Verool or Ellora	—	ویرول	75	16	20	7
Vishâlgur	— —	وشالگر	73	50	17	30
[illegible]	— —	واي	74	3	18	0
[illegible]	— —	واکر	72	3	22	24
[illegible]	— —	والوا	74	35	17	4
Wâr	— —	وار	74	47	20	50
Warapully	— —	وراپلی	79	43	16	45
Wooreea	— —	اوریه	79	9	9	50
Woshagur	— —	اوشاگر	75	45	20	33
Wully	— —	ولي	74	16	19	4
Wurungole	— —	اورنگول	79	41	17	57
Wyrâgur	— —	اویراگر	80	2	20	26
Yehar	— —	یهار	79	2	24	43
Yekdulla	— —	ایدله	81	0	25	38
Yelgundel	— —	یلگندل	78	10	17	58
Yesâvul	—	یساول	72	40	23	0
Yezd	— —	یزد	57	0	36	0

			E.Long. °	′	N.Lat. °	′
Zeinabad	— —	زينا باد	73	41	23	0
Zeingur	— —	زينگر	Kashmeer.			
Zeinpoor	— —	زينپور	Kashmeer.			
Zemeen Dawir	—	زمين داور	District of Khorassan.			

Note.—Circumstances have prevented this table from being so complete as it might have been made, chiefly owing to the want of good maps [illegible] and Transoxania.

THE END.

The author, Mohamed Kasim Shah Ferishta, a noted Persian historian, has tried to give a true account of the sovereigns of Delhi and of the Bahmuny kings of the Deccan. He also wrote in detail the histories of all the other Mohomedan princes who held independent sway in India during the 17th century. He continued his narrative by commemorating in the first place, the deeds of the illustrious monarchs who reigned over Bijapore. He wrote facts in simple language. *The History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India* (in 4 volumes bound in 2) is the honest performance of the author.

Ferishta presented the first draft of his history to Ibrahim Adil Shah in 1606 AD and spend the rest of his life in revising it. The work has come to be regarded as a classic and still maintains a high place as an authority.

ISBN 81-7536-076-3 (Set)
ISBN 81-7536-078-X (Vol. 2)
ISBN 81-7536-077-1 (Vol. 1)

LOW PRICE PUBLICATIONS
Delhi-110052